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THE
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1882.

THE INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL CONGRESS.

NO doubt, all the readers of the "International" are to a certain extent physicians, even if unprovided with diplomas to that effect, just as they are political economists and theologians. We all think that we know something about hygiene, the curing of colds, disease germs, and criminals supposed to be insane; nor do many of us decline to give advice to our friends about their health upon the ground that we do not know enough about the matter to make our advice of any special value. Whether this general diffusion and dilution of medical knowledge are peculiar to the so-called Aryan races, being relics of survival of the patriarchal organization of those far-away forefathers of ours in the Hindoo Koosh, where the head of each family was physician and priest as well as ruler, or whether they are derived from the ancient customs of Assyria and Rome, where, according to Pliny, there were for many years no physicians especially so designated, and persons seriously ill were taken in their beds to the market-place, in order that each passer-by might give the patient the benefit of his experience and advice, is uncertain. It is sufficient for us if the popular interest in and acquaintance with the medicine and medical men of the present day warrant a brief paper upon the largest and most important assemblage of physicians which has ever occurred, on this earth, at all events—namely, the great International Congress which met in London in the beginning of August last.

Certainly, no one of the three thousand medical men who were gathered in St. James's Hall at the opening ceremonies of the Congress ever witnessed a more impressive scene than was there presented. In that room were assembled medical representatives from every civilized

nation, amounting to nearly two per cent. of all the physicians in the world, and including at least three-fourths of all the scientific medical investigators, skilled general practitioners or celebrated specialists of the present day whose writings or teachings have made them known as contributors to the common stock of medical knowledge.

Upon the great stage, rising above each other tier on tier, were the faces of the princes of medicine, the leaders and pioneers of the age, the men whose names are known not only to the members of their profession, but to the whole civilized world. There, too, were other princes, the King of England and the Emperor of Germany of the future, the presence of each of whom, as the *Lancet* remarks, testified to the fact that the practitioners of the present day have been found able to cope with the gravest difficulties, as well as to the appreciation of those charged with affairs of State of the important part which medicine plays in the life of a nation. "While princes see so much to remind them of the divisions among nations, it must have been a matter of no little interest to these heirs of two of the greatest thrones in the world to have such a proof that there is much that binds men together. By patronizing such a Congress they were aiding in the highest work open to them—the binding of nations in one common bond of esteem, respect and mutual toleration."

And Professor Longmore, in his opening address before the section of Military Medicine, made a good point in saying that, while each nation or its representative is justified in maintaining a certain amount of reticence with regard to certain parts of military science and practice, upon which the safety or superiority in power of the country may be supposed to depend, such would not be the case in regard to measures for caring for the sick and wounded. "We can speak quite openly of all our professional plans and arrangements. If they contain any features better than those belonging to our neighbors of other countries, we have no fear of imparting them. We hope, indeed, if they are really better, that they may be adopted and turned to account, for, if practically applied, our own people may possibly be among those who will be benefited by their adoption. Even in time of war there are no enemies within our sphere of action."

Large as was the assemblage, and important as its proceedings seemed to those connected with it, it was curious to see how little attention it attracted in the great city. The addition of a few thousand strangers more or less to the ceaseless ebb and flow of the tide of life in the streets of London made no perceptible change. A goodly

number of cabmen learned for the first time the location of the building of the Royal College of Physicians, and the crowd about Burlington House, if not larger than a month before, when the rooms were occupied by the Exhibition of the Royal Academy, was, at least, of a very different character; but out of the immediate vicinity of these localities few knew anything of the Congress. The Irish Land bill, then before Parliament, and the condition of President Garfield, were topics of much greater interest.

When one remembers that within the ten mile circle of which Charing Cross is the centre there lives one three-hundredth part of the entire population of the earth, and nearly two per cent. of all those whom we commonly class as civilized people, this is not surprising, and one of the lessons of the Congress to its members was that the individual is by no means as important and indispensable a factor in the world's machinery as he is often disposed to think. There must have been few of those present throughout the meetings who did not feel that they had met better, wiser, stronger men than themselves, and in greater number than they had thought possible, and the few who did not have this experience must have been very great—or the reverse.

Into the details of the Congress, the addresses given, papers read, or the results of discussions, it is not proposed to enter. The speakers at all such meetings are, as a matter of course, disposed to regard it as an "epoch"—which gives rise to the accusation referred to by Dr. West, viz., that all such meetings are apt to resolve themselves into mutual admiration societies, where each one praises what the others have done, and all join to extol what their own generation has accomplished.

We all know, however, that medicine has made during the present century progress—and great progress—although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between true progress and mere fashion, and we can also appreciate Reynaud's remark that between skepticism and medicine there has always existed a certain affinity, although this is not intended in the same sense as the ancient proverb, "*Ubi tres medici ibi duo athei.*"

The address of Dr. Raynaud on skepticism and medicine is, in fact, one of those which would be most interesting to the general public, both as regards the matter treated of and the style. Distinguishing between skepticism proper and philosophical doubt, which last is not only perfectly legitimate, but the first condition of all knowledge, and also between skepticism and the spirit of criticism, he inquires as to

the nature and causes of the skepticism of the men of the world on the subject of medicine.

"Skepticism flatters two of the deepest and not most honorable instincts of our nature—idleness and vanity. Idleness, by disposing of the need of seeking for truth, which always requires an effort to be discovered, and which, like the kingdom of God, suffers violence; and vanity, by setting us up to criticise and reckon the labors of others at a cheap rate, and to take to ourselves the gentle persuasion that we are superior to and see through the common prejudices.

"People talk a great deal of the progress of knowledge, but if we look around we shall find the same ignorant infatuation, the same mixture of the most unreasonable skepticism with the most infantine superstition, the same sneering, jesting spirit which believes nothing and yet believes everything, which refuses scientific medicine, and yet accepts without suspicion table turning, spiritualism and homeopathy, all without any other reason than pure fancy. And this disposition is not seen only, or even principally, among the common people. It is in the upper classes, in minds otherwise intelligent and cultivated, sometimes even in learned men."

No doubt very much of this skepticism of the laity arises from the skepticism of the physicians themselves, and this last is largely due to the fact, as Professor Raynaud points out, that every medical man, conscious of the dignity of his art, has a painful feeling of his powerlessness in the presence of so many ills, and of the contrast between the extent of the services which are expected of him and that which he is really able to render.

Is there, after all, such a thing, properly speaking, as medical science, or the science of medicine? Professor Huxley would assert that there could be no such thing apart from biology, and that, as biological science is still in its youth, so, also, it is but very recently that anything like a science of medicine has been developed. Whether medicine has done most toward developing biology, or biology toward improving medicine, is, however, something like the well-known question as to the relative priority of the chicken and the egg.

The three large volumes which will be formed of the proceedings of the Congress will give a birdseye view of the prevailing opinions among medical men upon those questions which are now of the greatest interest to them. They will not contain very much that is absolutely new, for in these days of journalism and the telegraph investigators do not brood long over their discoveries, although for

their own fame it would, no doubt, often be much better if they did. Nor are the extemporaneous discussions which follow the reading of papers at such meetings especially calculated to develop new truths, or to be of much more than temporary interest. The real discussions do not take place in the section rooms, but through the press for years after the meeting. Probably the greatest interest and value of the Congress to those who took part in it lay, not in the formal meetings or debates, but in the social intercourse, the casual conversations where two or three were gathered together, in which the President, Sir James Paget, rightly predicted that there would be "a larger interchange and diffusion of information than in any equal time and space in the whole past history of medicine; and that this interchange will be a larger increase, for in the mart of knowledge he that receives gains, and he that gives retains, and none suffer loss."

Each one who came was, no doubt, interested in some one or a few special matters, but, as a rule, his conversation about these was only with members of his own section, while outside of that he found himself drawn into discussions upon those points which affect all branches of medicine and are of interest to all medical men.

For example, the theory that certain diseases and complications of disease or of injury are due to minute, insoluble living particles of matter or organisms, in other words the germ theory, was one of these subjects of general interest. The physiologists, the surgeons and the sanitarians, all recognize the great practical importance of this theory as applied to those diseases with regard to which we may hope to apply it to explain their method of causation. No one whose opinion is of any importance in the matter now doubts that the disease known in man as malignant pustule, or in another form as the wool-sorters' disease, and in animals as splenic fever, or charbon, is caused by a minute vegetable organism, the *Bacillus Anthracis*; or that the so-called chicken cholera is due to another minute organism of the same class. Although much yet remains to be discovered with regard to the life history of these minute beings, more especially as to the possibility of their being developed under certain conditions of temperature, food, etc., from certain of the very common and entirely harmless *Bacilli* which may be found in every marsh, pool or river, still we have so far a scientific knowledge of them that we can predict their action, can cultivate them with as much certainty as we do vegetables in the garden, and, most important of all, we know that they can be so modified by cultivation that when inoculated in the living animal

they no longer produce death, but comparatively slight local effects, while at the same time the animal becomes insusceptible to the effects of the unmodified germ of the same kind, and is no longer liable to take the disease which this germ would produce upon an animal not so prepared for it. In other words, Pasteur, to whom this discovery is due, claims that he has found a method of vaccination against splenic fever and chicken cholera, and that upon the same principle other diseases due to minute organisms can each be provided with its own preventive vaccination. It may be well to make some allowance for the natural enthusiasm of the discoverer of so new and important a fact as that which Pasteur seems to have demonstrated by his experiments, and to remember that it by no means follows that in other diseases due to germs the organisms will behave in like manner; although it no doubt presents strong inducements for careful and repeated experiments in those diseases—such as measles, scarlet fever, yellow fever, whooping cough, etc.—which, as a rule, affect the same person but once in his life.

As yet, however, it must be confessed that we have no satisfactory evidence as to the nature of the causes of these diseases, so that we seem to be, as yet, a long way from preventive vaccination for them.

This germ theory is of interest to the surgeon and gynaecologist, because it is now believed by the majority that many of the evil effects of wounds, whether these are made by accident or purposely by the surgeon, are due to certain of these minute germs, or to their products, getting into the fluids of the living body. Instead of proposing vaccination against these germs, modern surgery tries to keep them out, and the various modes of doing this, with the results obtained, formed the subject of several papers, among which was the general address before the Congress from the representative from Germany, Professor Volkmann. He took the ground that the surgeon of the present day is responsible for the success of his treatment to a far greater extent than were the surgeons of twenty years ago, who, however learned and successful they might be, would not have been willing, in any case, to promise or guarantee a cure, nor would have reproached themselves in case of failure, holding themselves not responsible for the result of what were to them, at that time, uncontrollable circumstances.

"To-day," says Volkmann, "we may say, with the deepest conviction, that the surgeon is responsible for every disturbance that occurs in a wound; that it is his fault if even the slightest reaction or redness is developed within it; or, if an amputation is not healed by first

intention, he must reproach himself if, after an operation, bagging of pus occurs, and especially if death occurs from pyæmia. We know that a great responsibility rests upon us, but we also know that, with honest, well-directed knowledge of our subject, and the use of all our powers, we are able to satisfy its demands."

To those who are interested in the prevention rather than the cure of disease, the sanitarians, this germ theory has also a special interest and direct practical value. For, after all, those diseases which we either know or suspect to be due to these germs are but little amenable to treatment. They can be prevented, but not cured, and when the poison has once fully entered the system nearly all that can be done is to treat symptoms and complications, and to assist nature in resisting its effects and eliminating or destroying it, or in some cases it may be the habituating the system to its presence. This last phrase may perhaps require a little explanation. While, as Trevaraneus remarks, every part of the body stands to every other part in the relation of an excreted substance, it is equally true that every part of the body stands to every other part of the body in the relation of a gland—that is, of a secreting organ. For example, it is possible that the immediate locality of the body in which a vaccine vesicle has flourished is so changed by the process that it continues thereafter to affect the constitution of the blood in such a way that the poison of small-pox cannot flourish therein; and this hypothesis accords with the fact that in the case of the loss of the limb upon which the vaccine cicatrix occurred the susceptibility to unmitigated small-pox has been found to return.

It is upon the essential truth of the main principle of the germ theory, namely, that a large number of those diseases which are most destructive to human life are due to particles of non-gaseous, insoluble, living matter, which particles have the power of growth and reproduction under favorable circumstances, that the modern sanitarian bases his attempts to avoid or destroy these causes. Abundance of sunlight and fresh air seem to be fatal to many of them, while all have their powers for evil destroyed by exposure to a dry heat of 260 degrees Fahrenheit, or a sufficiently long exposure to chlorine or the fumes of burning sulphur. By proper arrangements of house drains and sewers the sanitary engineer seeks to prevent these germs from passing into our houses. By isolation of cases of small-pox, diphtheria, etc., the health officer seeks to prevent the scattering of the germs of these diseases among the children of the community; and the skilled quarantine

official, in dealing with the ship known or suspected to contain the germs of yellow fever or cholera, seeks to apply to every cranny and nook in the ship where such germs might be lurking the cleansing and disinfecting agents which scientific experiments in the laboratory have shown will most certainly destroy them, and he seeks to do this with the least possible delay, not only that the vessel may be allowed to proceed at once upon her voyage for commercial reasons, but also to avoid the making her a floating pest-house by the development of these germs, as happened sometimes under the old forty days' system. It is evident, therefore, that all of us, whether physicians, legislators, merchants or others, have reason to be interested in this germ theory, and in the manner in which it was looked upon by this Congress, composed, as it was, of those whom we must esteem to be competent judges upon the merits of such a question.

Medicine, like law, theology, politics, agriculture, commerce, and other matters which furnish occupation to the world, is a matter of probabilities. In this world there is very little that is certain, and what little there is relates to the past, and not to the future. The verdict of the Congress—not, it is true, formally expressed, but none the less unmistakable—was that, while it seems at present more probable than not that the germ theory of organization is the true one for some of our most destructive diseases, it is certainly highly desirable that further investigation should be made in this direction; and from the point of view of mere expediency—the greatest happiness of the greatest number—it would seem that laymen should be much more urgent for such investigations than the physicians themselves, since the prevention of disease is certainly much more to their interest than it is to that of the doctors. This is, however, not by any means the case. On the contrary, we find a goodly number of laymen, and these of what are known as the educated classes, who are opposing such investigations; not, indeed, as a rule, directly, but indirectly, by their opposition to experiments on animals, and this brings us to another subject of which one heard very much at the Congress, not only in the formal meetings, but in private houses and casual conversations—namely, that of vivisection, and the folly of the English Government in its recent legislation with regard to it.

The case was stated by Mr. Simon, as follows:

At this most productive epoch in the growth of medical science our English studies have been interrupted. The Cruelty to Animals act has made it difficult or impossible for scientific observers any longer to follow in this country such a course of experiment as those which of

late, at the cost of relatively insignificant quantities of brute suffering, have tended to create an infinity of new resources of relief for the sufferings both of brute and human. The act does not in express terms interdict the performance of such courses of experiment. It nominally allows them to be done under a variety of limited licenses, which may be granted by the principal Secretary of State, but the limitations under which these licenses are granted, and the trouble, delay and friction which attend obtaining of any one of them are, practically, little better than prohibition.

Professor Virchow took, as the subject of his address, "The Value of Pathological Experiment," declaring that none of those who attack vivisection as an aid to science have any conception of the true importance of science nor of the value of this means of acquiring knowledge, and Professor Fraser brought out the fact that, while he could poison with strichnia, thus subjecting them to one of the most painful of deaths, as many animals as he chose, provided that he gave the drug by the mouth, he was not allowed to inject under the skin of the animal through a hollow needle a small quantity of even a harmless drug for the purpose of determining its properties, with a view to its use as a remedy in disease. The opposition to experiments upon living animals is, as Professor Virchow pointed out, based upon much the same grounds as those upon which in ancient times dissection of human bodies was forbidden, and anatomists were confined to the dissection of dead animals. The feeling of the masses revolts against the dissection of human bodies, and it is well known that the church did not grant permission for it until the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Still another very common topic of conversation among the members of the Congress was the condition of the medical profession in various countries, and this more especially with reference to medical education, and the attitude taken toward this, and the licenses to practice by the state. There seems to be in almost all European countries more or less discontent with the existing state of affairs in this regard. In Great Britain especially is this the case, and a royal commission has been engaged for the past year in collecting evidence with regard to medical education and medical examinations as they are and as they should be throughout the realm.

This, however, is a subject to which it is impossible to do more than allude at present. It merits an article by itself, and this may be given hereafter. With these few specimens of what may be called "The Medical Topics of the Time," we must close. East and west, north and south, over mountains and seas, each to his own place, have scattered the members—and never can again the same men be brought

together; but it is safe to say that there will be other congresses of the same kind, composed to a certain extent of the same elements, and whose work will be strongly influenced by that of the one to which we have referred. Although the great Congress is gone, it is not like a flame blown out, but like a handful of seeds scattered.

JOHN S. BILLINGS.

THE PURSUIT OF ART IN AMERICA.

“**T**O do our duty,” said Sydney Dobell, “is the condition of our existence in this world; to do it beautifully, is the tenure of our entrance into another.” This is a poet’s statement of the fact that among the primary conditions of civilized man may be reckoned the adjustment of the principles of art to his daily life. If the “pursuit of holiness” proves essential to spiritual advancement, we may with equal warrant avow that the earnest pursuit of art will tend to foster and develop the love of beauty, that external manifestation of an energy which holds a place on the high level of truth and of goodness. Here in America this pursuit has been thus far of a very vague and shifting nature, resulting in crude and unsubstantial achievements, for the temper and attitude of the community have seemed unfavorable, in the main, to that patient and reverent study which the subject demands. Those who have given thought to these things must have been struck by a curious complacency which pervades our country in regard to mental or æsthetic culture. Nowhere, it may be said, is there so general a desire for advancement, for further knowledge, nowhere so assured a reliance upon present ignorance. Under the easy superintendence of those who represent this point of view educational systems have reached a rapid growth, and a civilization which has been defined by somewhat uncomplimentary terms is here for judgment.

More recently, and as opposed to this popular attitude, there has arisen another class who demand with a half pathetic eagerness that in all matters of political and social education we may here avoid the blunders and offenses of the old world. We need to have learned,

they say, what is called the lesson of the past so well that we may gather up and apply these advantageous methods with which the nations have fortified their labors while we leave out and do away with all encumbering waste and extravagance in the ways and means of study or of acquirement. Yet, in actual fact, so potent is the environment, so greatly are we involved in our circumstances, our *locale*, either as a nation or as individuals, that experience is not proved to repeat itself; it is found not to be enough that we see and understand why other peoples in other lands have attained to success or been the slaves of failure, and we are driven back, not to the schools alone, not to succeeding modes of thought, but behind all methods to the abstract principles upon which the education of a people is to rest and of which we are to make anew the application, according to the conditions, the needs, the capacities, not of Romans nor Russians, but of Americans.

At the present time, then, we are beset in the pursuit of art by two dangers: one resulting from the ignorant assumption that we are sure to know what is good and the best way of acquiring it; and the other betraying a readiness to accept as models schemes of education which have proved adequate under circumstances remote and different from our own. It is not difficult to see that there are grave and sufficient causes for the existence of this state of things, and before going further let us recall some of the conditions of our early life as a nation and their bearing upon our topic, even at the risk of repeating what is already known.

There can be no doubt that the first century of American existence gave room for little beyond maintaining the barest necessities of work-a-day life; and the century which followed, wherein we assumed the aspect of a prosperous province, was scarcely better if we remember the privations which all but a very few endured, the absence of enriching associations with the past, together with the many and vexing problems of the present. To take root, not to flower, was the lesson appointed to be learned up to the time of our independence. It is evident as we read the history of this early period that, beside the little accumulations of silver, china and stuffs stored in the closets and buffets of the wealthy, there was almost nothing in provincial life which even suggested the realm of art.

Succeeding this came the multiform aspects of the nineteenth century. At home, and throughout the world almost equally, we find a vital stir, a pressure not only of new ideas but of new things, and, at the moment

when we were crystallizing into more highly organized being, the entrance of applied science into affairs made an incalculable difference. There is no space in a brief summary to consider justly the effect of this new factor; we make only a passing allusion to it in considering the stage of our national life which followed fast upon the rigors and austerities of colonial existence.

This stage it was which proved most conclusively how great and how various were the facilities of the United States—facilities in obtaining the products of the soil, in developing new and abundant resources, in adding to material comfort. All these furnished keen incentives to the spirit of enterprise and ambition. But at this time what was the position of the aesthetic element in the young nation? Hitherto, as has been said, it had only existed in a starved condition, and early in the present century we find it still ignored or directed into unworthy channels.

The Puritan sentiment in New England (and New England at that time struck the keynote of the country's progress) had scarcely loosened its hold upon the customs and manners, the churches and houses of the people, when, coincidentally with freer living, there appeared unlooked-for hindrances to the healthy growth of the principles of art. Haste, superficiality and constant change were all inimical influences, while more directly came, among other practical deterrents, the application of machinery to the industrial arts—an influence the scope of which can hardly be overestimated upon the mass of the population. Opportunity was found to furnish by the new method every article of domestic living at a low price, indeed, but of poor construction and without any reference whatever to standards of good hand work. Such standards, in fact, were regarded rather in the breach than in the observance, even the best native mechanical work being done, as has been cleverly said, on the basis that "originality lay in changing the pattern." Any one who has noted the course of machine labor in the production of household articles finds that there is not only the reduplication to the thousandth and ten thousandth of whatever thing is made—a fact which necessarily destroys interest in the result—but that also the forms of all domestic utensils, of furniture, and of interior decoration in general, have been manufactured, even though models were professedly used, regardless of good design. A period of cheap imitation—when pretension, not fitness, was a prime condition, where show usurped the place of strength, where ornament was degraded from its true station; such a period as this could not fail

to hinder the sound expansion of that instinct in human nature which cries out for the beautiful with him who

“thought it nobler to be dead—
To die for Beauty than to live for Bread.”

Again, while on one side successful industries were flooding the country with inartistic products, our schools and colleges gave very little heed to formal art teaching, or even to such instruction as might impart to students everywhere broad and substantial suggestions regarding first principles. In short, until within a very short period, this has been an uninstructed people, which, while possessing extraordinary quickness of perception, has, nevertheless, occupied its æsthetic powers in forming, for the most part, very bad taste.

Yet it may be said, on the other hand, that never was there so large nor so varied a field for the exercise of all liberal arts as our civilization presents—a field hitherto left uncultivated, as we claim, but opulent in opportunities for the expression, according to the methods of art, of those great ideal forces which have dominated this new life in a new world.

This is but another way of tracing how closely in a republic the threads of development are bound together; how essential, for example, we find it that æsthetic culture must become general before we can look for any great or representative school of art in America. Many causes contribute to this necessity; the rapid change in the social and political standing of men and women, the quick accumulation of wealth, the complex and stimulating modes of life—all make it essential that the *individual* should be considered as never before in the constitution of a nation. There is no longer the repose nor the picturesqueness of “class” to fall back upon; we have subdivided till we have reached the unit, and to each unit we must look, in art as well as in morals, for the fulfillment of our country’s type.

Let it be remembered that in all this we have been considering art education as regards the whole community: The technical instruction of special students is like all other technical instruction; but the *milieu*—the atmosphere so essential to all artists’ life—can be provided only by the apprehension and sympathy of those for whom they labor; and while at certain epochs it has sufficed great artists to be sustained and encouraged by kingly patrons, the final appeal for support is to the royal court of the human heart. And as this is true, so also is the converse to be maintained: Only when the people demand the highest things in art, will artists rise to their true level and claim their birth-

right. In the best sense, therefore, we are educating our leaders in art when we are educating their followers.

But, in asking for this enlarged teaching, what demands shall be made? what things are needed for the more successful pursuit of art in America? There would seem to be no doubt that a first requisite lies in introducing into schools throughout the country a well considered system of industrial training. Already it has been discovered that there is a flaw in our public school education. It is said that the children who graduate from its classes betray a partial and unequal development; and the reason is obvious when it is remembered that by the method pursued the training of the mental qualities has been conducted with little reference to moral teaching, while it cannot be long before it is recognized also that a satisfactory scheme of public instruction needs the harmonizing element of æsthetic culture. So far the knowledge of art has not been regarded as essential knowledge. It has been treated as if it were a thing apart, not meant for the open air of the common day; for not yet has it been accepted as an indispensable truth that no one of the great forces which deal with the broad aspects of human life can be narrowly administered; nor yet is it understood that the highway of art is as broad as the world.

But, to return, we give a first place to industrial training, not only because such training leads directly to achievement in the lower arts, but because here first and best can be had that form of education which calls upon eye and hand and mind alike, which awakens or arrests the budding interest which a child takes in form and color, and which teaches the elements, at least, of the laws of relation and of adjustment in regard to visible objects.

It is not necessary to demonstrate what would be the results from a judicious application of these methods. The most obvious of them would be the greater play of individual capacity, the larger chance for the development of skilled labor, together with a more intelligent judgment in matters which relate to mechanical and domestic pursuits. Too much stress cannot be laid upon the practical advantages of good art. Much of the waste and extravagance of the present civilization is due to the ignorance of our community in regard to the first principles of art as applied to common living. There is, indeed, found too often a mock sentiment, styling itself artistic, which has worked great harm in its tawdry vulgarities and fictitious shows—usurping the place of those simple and direct means by which true taste will assert its presence and claim vindication by an appeal to utility on one hand

and to imagination on the other. When this economy of means to ends can be understood universally we shall find that it is not in vain. Taught by just standards, the student who sees that in all beauty fitness is a prime condition, would have no interest in over-wrought or clumsy utensils; he who learns that "nothing can be beautiful which is not true" would be less open to the allurements of unworthy imitations; those who are made to see the intrinsic harmony and freedom of the human structure would be less willing to degrade or deform it; while it may be said all would be more ready to understand and appreciate—let us go a step further, to demand—pure and noble forms in all the departments of art.

The methods of industrial training are too varied to be considered in this brief paper; but it may be said that no one province is of such wide value as that of drawing. To teach how one may represent, even in the simplest way, an object or group of objects is to put into the hand a tool of inestimable value, whatever vocation one may follow. Already it has been found practicable to introduce drawing into the public schools of Massachusetts, and with modifications and improvements this scheme may wisely be followed throughout the country.

The consideration of the first requisite for better knowledge brings us easily to the second, which lies in the establishment, not of large museums alone, but of small collections everywhere—we might almost say in connection with every school—composed of photographs and casts from the best works. On the other side of the water original examples from the great masters serve to stimulate an impulse which is inherited and is fostered in a hundred ways; here their reproductions must represent to the art student almost his sole guide to a right understanding of the principles and practice of his profession. And if these standards be of inestimable value to those who make art their calling, no less will they have a chastening effect upon the many; for the popular mind in this direction, as in others, has a tendency to over-rate clever and superficial work, and to make dextrous handling and brilliant *technique* the sole test of merit. In the grave simplicity and depth of meaning which distinguish all enduring art-work lies the best rebuke to the redundant and shallow statements made in varying ways by the half-educated and self-confident men and women of the day; for, if the well-known assertion that "poetry is a criticism of life" be admitted, the claim may be made on equal terms that art shall represent life's concentration, and be among the most powerful of its deepening forces. Taking this claim as a test, the poverty of our

advance in true art development is proved by the lack of character which confronts us everywhere in multifarious forms. The rage for production is not modified and directed by earnestness of search, nor seriousness of purpose—no, nor finally, by that devotion to the ideal which, betrayed equally in Cellini's cup or the Sistine Chapel, is evermore the token of loyal service. Art in alien hands becomes a rogue—terms are used, pictures are painted, effects are produced, to match the fickle desire, the “wayward impulse,” of the time. Again, art seems hopelessly involved with pedantry, or is made the tool of charitable intention; bad work is sustained either by pity or by insincerity, and in a thousand ways her needs are hindered.

The same evils naturally are found in current art criticism among us. It has been asserted lately, and with reason, that in no other department of critical testimony would statements so partial be tolerated. Critics find their standards for the most part in popular and personal preferences, or too often allow the skillful handling of tools to usurp the praise which belongs to high intention or original thought. The first function of criticism is to bear witness to the essential element in the work done. To show *how* it is done, the consideration of method, which is the secret of happy expression, this must be second, for method is only valuable as it serves the purpose of supplying the most effective way of conveying the central thought.

We have thus hastily recalled some of the aspects of the pursuit of art in America. We have seen its difficulties, its dangers, its necessities; let us remember also, in closing, its bewilderingly great opportunities. Among the various channels of the art movement, the first and most universal, perhaps, will be in the direction of household art, for the new world gives undreamed of leave to highten domestic culture. Architecture has made rapid strides in all its branches within a very few years, but especially in the direction of houses and interior decorations, and already the change from dull, cold effects to more hospitable tones is seen everywhere. While fortified with broader knowledge, it cannot be long before the quick and growing nature of our people will learn how to apply the principles of “selection and control” in the useful as well as in the fine arts, so that not only custom, but character, may be satisfied. Slowly, but with certainty, it must come to be understood that not to elaborate expression, but to concentrate meaning, is the function of decorative art, and by a curious paradox the use of ornament should be for the sake of brevity and accuracy. The house, so far as may be, must represent the house-

holder, otherwise it shall mean to those who enter it no more than the shop or the street.

But, far beyond all lesser manifestations, we anticipate the widening and deepening of the higher levels of art in just proportion to the rise and progress of greatness in the race. That gods and heroes do not multiply, may be true, but little by little the whole world is to shape itself to God-like stature, and in this great company, with infinite variety of experience, shall be made known sources and springs of beauty as various also.

Since the period of the Renaissance, which flung open wider doors than the classic era had even dimly known, the hopes and aims of men have constituted a new and profound element in painting and sculpture; while with the present century the spirit of the age has sought to express itself in interpreting the aspects of nature, and has called upon earth and sky to bear witness to the endurance, the suffering, the desires of the human soul.

"The conception of the classic epoch," says a well-known French writer, "furnished artists with an admirable and brief subject. By reproducing it incessantly they were incessantly improving the infrequent details; and thus it was that ancient art touched perfection. But we, with less accomplishment and less training, possess more points of view, perceive more ideas, know more; and what we but half guess stretches into an infinitely greater distance. Neither the passions, nor the sentiments, nor the needs, nor the instincts, nor the fears of men are still crouching on the humble level where Plato's philosophy found them; they have all risen, they have all multiplied. This host of winged genii which leads, directs or misguides us, henceforth called legion, this it is which irradiates human faces with expressions and meanings that not Praxiteles nor Phidias could discern. Yet it is beauty, the beauty of an era, not of happiness, but of life; life doubled and redoubled."

"*Un long cri désespérance a traversé la terre;*" and this ardent voice sounds in the ears of the new republic as it has never sounded before in the life of the race, while some of the longings and beliefs to which the cry gives utterance are to be made known only through the supreme achievements of art, which wrings the world's secret from the hand of time and commits it to eternity.

Thus it would seem that the pursuit of art in future generations will not be in vain to those who seek nobly. "Forever," says Emerson, "beauty will come unannounced, springing up between the feet of brave and earnest men."

SARAH W. WHITMAN.

PRACTICAL ELEMENTS OF THE LABOR QUESTION.

THE social scientist regards the labor question as involving all conditions by which the environment of the wage-workers of society may be influenced, and the two expressions, social science and the labor question, become, so far, coequal in their comprehensiveness, while each may have some special features not kindred in their nature or application. The labor reformer, on the other hand, regards the labor question as involving principally his particular panacea for all the ill conditions which grow, or are supposed to grow, out of the relations of employer and employed, and looks upon all other matters and issues as merely sympathetic or subsidiary to the one solution he believes to be embodied in his theory.

To this class belong the agitators whose error generally consists in contemplating results and mistaking them for causes; as, for instance, those who advance the theory that enforced shorter hours of labor will relieve the wage-worker from most of the embarrassments under which he labors, fail to see that shorter hours can only be the result of generally improved conditions, and not the cause—they are the fruits of civilization, not the blossoms from which the fruit grows. These agitators have the same tendencies which Phillips Brooks tells us belong to some preachers—to constantly preach about Christianity, as if it caused Christ. They forget that as civilization advances the labor question, like government, becomes more and more complex, and that what might have been at one period a solution of many difficulties becomes only an element of the general question. Of course, the one vital, technical feature, comprehending the just and equitable distribution of profits, or how labor may be rendered more generally attractive and remunerative, or what organization of labor is required so that all the workers of society may have their proper share in the distribution of profits, has been the foundation or the motive of all the schemes which have been advanced during the century passed for social improvement, and all the pet panaceas have been created with the firm hope of giving a definite answer to the propositions given. These panaceas have varied but little in the essence of their composition for fifty years, and, till within a decade or two, nearly all the discussions upon the labor question have centered

about them. The hours of labor have furnished the material for much debate, and the legislative regulation thereof has constituted the capital of many honest seekers after some practical method by which workers should become greater sharers in the results of machinery. To-day, the fact that England's cotton operatives work but fifty-six and one-half hours per week, while those of the Continent work sixty and sixty-five, and of America from sixty to sixty-five, is staring the producers of Great Britain in the face as one of the causes of their depressed industrial condition. So the question of the hours of labor is fast becoming one of the elements of an international political economy, rather than remaining a matter for local legislative action. Our agitators in this direction have preached a solution of difficulties while failing to comprehend the very essence of the difficulties they have sought to cure; but they are, so far as the hours of labor are concerned, fast abandoning their old position, and now most generally admit that in local State regulation of working time there is very little, if any, amelioration of bad conditions, but, on the contrary, in many cases and in many communities positive injury to industrial interests. They have, however, been largely instrumental in bringing all just men to see that it is an exceedingly poor civilization which does not by its own growth bring with it a decrease in the length of time necessary to secure the means of support. It is a fact substantiated by all research that, as development has shortened the hours of labor, the condition of workers has improved and the value of their wages increased. This will continue to be the direction of growth; its pace will be slow, still commensurate with all advancement, but as a leading element of the labor question the policy of legislating upon the hours of labor belongs to the past, for its place, along with that of the multitude of minor solutions proposed at recurring periods of depression, has given way to the presence of elements which are to some extent absorbing the attention of thinking men in all departments of life, and will more fully absorb the attention, and the minds, too, of the large-hearted and large-brained workers in the cause of humanity.

The statutes of the world voice the progress of labor; in them we can read the advancing steps of industrial interests to a higher and truer plane, as we can the growth of the philanthropy of nations in educational and eleemosynary institutions; the statutes, however, have followed and simply record the better sentiment—they have not caused it.

The elements of the labor question, which the exigencies of the present relegate to the region of dead issues, as well as all the exploded Utopian schemes for the rapid perfecting of the human race, have bequeathed something of value to the world, have left in their decay a richness which fertilizes the growth of the future. As dead matter, animal and vegetable, furnishes the life-giving nourishment which quickens the seed into growth, so the dead failures of the efforts of one age for the improvement of men—the decayed civilizations, even of one epoch—strengthen the growth of a newer and a grander condition, a brighter and a higher civilization.

Political economy has been more remiss in its duties to the labor question than the agitators have been faulty in their proposed solutions. The political economists of the old school have failed, and it would seem wilfully neglected, to consider the ethical bearings of their science and the very conditions which must exist on the part of the employed before any very satisfactory prosperity can come to individuals or nations. They have failed to teach the cosmopolitan nature of the questions which enter into the discussion of the laws of the acquisition of wealth, and they have also failed to see that the true wealth of a people depends as much, if not more, upon the right use of property as upon its rapid accumulation. They have invariably put the question “Will it pay?” at the sacrifice of the nobler proposition, “Is it right?” By this course they have alienated the working-men, and have so jeopardized the very existence of their science, once warm, now cold-blooded, that a new school of political economists are finding a place in the world of thought and a larger space in the hearts of the lovers of humanity. The new school of political economists will have to deal with the elements of the labor question of to-day and the near future, and they will be the ripened fruit of the seed planted by all the agitators and writers from William Godwin to Karl Marx, and they will absorb the better elements of the labor parties; they will meet the socialists face to face and formulate all that is good in socialism, and quietly, yet positively, consign its weaknesses to the rubbish pile, which already holds so many; it will give a healthy tone to industrial society, which really gives tone to all society; it will stimulate statesmen and politicians to grand efforts in legislation based upon the comity of nations, not the destruction of peoples, and it will cause the regulation of commerce upon ethical and equitable conditions, which shall in time establish an international interest on the ruins of selfish and destructive national policy which

seeks industrial success at the expense of others' distress. There can be no rational prosperity in a land whose people depend upon the distress of the people of other lands. The war between nations which creates a demand for our products is a financial and commercial boomerang always, and the sooner this truth sinks into the minds of men who are accustomed to shape public sentiment the better for the welfare of the world, and the political economy which fails in the future to build its structure upon the bases stated will find itself upon a foundation of sand. Humanity and the conduct of governmental affairs, as well as all industrial and commercial relations upon an ethical basis, must and will constitute the creed of the political forces that will rule in the future.

In this light, what are the elements of the labor question, as shown by investigation either to exist or to be coming into existence, as important factors in future considerations. The return of prosperity is regarded by many as removing in great degree various problems belonging to the realms of the labor question from the list of topics demanding serious attention at present; on the contrary, however, prosperity should inspire a more thorough examination of every phase of such problems, and we should learn from adversity the means to be adopted to avoid the repetition of unfavorable conditions. When depressed times prevail the quacks of political economy have the majority over the philosophic believers in the science, and are ever ready with remedies. During prosperous periods we should earnestly consider means for the prevention of evils; and, again, prosperity brings its dangers, which social and political economy should teach us to avoid. The worst oppressors of labor, certainly those who cause the greatest actual distress, are those self-constituted reformers who insist upon doing the workingman's thinking, and during prevailing distress these men secure by glittering descriptions of benefits to accrue from the adoption of their ideas a certain following which sound sense is powerless to turn aside. The prosperous period restores men to their normal mental condition, and enables them to consider calmly the relations of life surrounding them.

The workingmen of this country are perfectly competent to manage their own intellects and to weigh propositions and form conclusions; they can comprehend a philosophy or detect a fallacy, and they know well what constitutes the truest elements of the labor question. This body of men claim the right to educate their children; they believe that in education is to be found the leading, in fact the supreme,

factor in any plan for the progress of their kind. That practical education which enables the young to mark out for themselves a line of study and reading for self-culture and for work forms the real, underlying basis of the questions under discussion. It may be that in our endeavor to reach perfect democracy in our educational system we have gone too far, and have weakened the growing generations rather than strengthened them for the actual service of life. It is true that the political education of the young has been neglected, and it is certainly true that upon such education depends in a great measure the success of our own governmental experiment. That every child should understand the composition of the state and national governments, as well as the nature of the elementary principles of the constitution, sufficiently to comprehend the functions of the chief officers under the constitution, is of the greatest importance, for the beliefs of the many, whether sound or unsound, of moral or immoral tendencies, are sure to be reflected sooner or later in the action of legislatures. The grandeur of educational facilities in the United States has too often furnished the topic for learned writers to be introduced here; but what is insisted upon as the first element in the labor question is the necessity of fitting all youths to be independent thinkers upon the matters which are constantly coming before them, and on which, directly or indirectly, they serve as the final board of examination. No one need fear this political education will make our people a nation of politicians in the vulgar meaning of the word; on the contrary, it will include instruction in all the lines of study bearing upon health, morals, social economy, industrial art, and it is to be hoped political and domestic economy; these are not only the essentials in the education of the workers of the land for their own immediate welfare, but they are the positive essentials in that progressive movement, dawning upon us, which shall insure peace, harmony, and material prosperity in the industrial undertakings of the future. With such a curriculum established, many studies now occupying much time, and leading to great expense, become clearly non-essentials; but they need not be displaced, for the producers of society, who are the taxpayers of society, will not object to the complete equipment of our schools, in which they not only take just pride, but so largely participate. The point aimed at should be to give the majority, which drops out before reaching the higher schools, as a rule, not a smattering of what might be gained by a full course, but something full, satisfactory, and valuable for future use. As the elements of the labor question become

more clearly developed, the character and scope of the education of the masses will be more clearly understood. The renown of America's schools, so great already as to command the warm approbation of the advanced educators of the world, and to incite the fierce opposition of ultramontanists everywhere, can and will acquire newer and brighter luster when the schools make of our artisans artists, of our working-men artisans, and of our common laborers the educated conservators of the public weal. Invention will greatly stimulate this education, for its tendencies are to take muscular labor out of competition with mechanical forces, and give to the common laborer the control and superintendence of the powers they now look upon as their enemies; under it they will be capable of defining and applying all those subtle distinctions which separate the use and the abuse of the results of inventive genius, and enable them to reap a greater reward from the combination of the constituents of productive energy than has heretofore been their lot.

Sanitary science, including every means which can be adopted to secure the health of operatives, will hold a place in the labor question, almost, if not quite, unapproached till recently. Political science in its application has not sufficiently embraced the elementary conditions of individual physical development as prerequisites to sound and permanent governments. If the health of each generation of workers finds a successive degeneration, hopes for the stability of institutions must grow correspondingly weak. It is unreasonable to expect a body of people whose blood is fed, or rather poisoned, with vitiated oxygen, to possess the mental calibre to enable them to reason with any correctness upon even the ordinary topics which should engage the serious attention of all citizens, and especially of those whose personal welfare is most largely at stake. If, as Napoleon once said, the seat of revolutions is the belly, it is equally true that the seat of mental responsibility, always granting the existence of sufficient brain power to facilitate thought, is in the blood. If the digestive organs must be kept occupied to a normal degree in order to secure the freedom of a community from personal violence, how essential that, in addition to physical food taken into the stomach, there should be received into the lungs the vital elements essential to purify the blood. Solids can be of but little use without the necessary power of the blood. Bad sanitary conditions lead to so much imbecility in one generation that the danger extends to those coming up to take its place. Statesmen, in their endeavors to secure political advantages to their country, too

often fail to discover that the governments they administer can secure through sanitary regulations the highest order of supporters. Agitators do not find in this question so much matter for popular demonstration among the operative masses as they do in the more superficial topics which give them occupation. The value of an hour a day taken from the working time of men and women surrounded with bad sanitary conditions is nothing whatever in comparison with good sanitary conditions without the added hour of leisure. Bad drainage, bad ventilation, unclean streets, constitute topics for the most earnest discussion, and are attracting the attention of legislators; and when the working people themselves become aroused to the importance of demanding purer conditions, the necessary laws will follow, if, indeed, they are needed. No corporation has fairly realized the essentials to industrial prosperity whose management cannot or does not appreciate the positive necessity of the healthiest surroundings. Social scientists, indeed, are doing much to promote reform in the direction indicated, but education in sanitary matters is needed among the workers themselves; it should become one of the vital elements of the labor question, yet the labor reform platforms are rare, if not absolutely unknown until recently, that have embodied a plank calling for sanitary regulation. The State can and should open the door of every home, whether private residence or crowded tenement, and insist upon the purification of every poisonous influence. There can be no question as to the constitutional right of the people to enact all requisite sanitary laws, and of such a character that the object sought to be reached can be reached effectually. Legislators are very ready to provide that one man shall not injure another; why can they not be as ready to insist by statute that a man shall not injure himself? If a man gives me that which makes me a terror to my family, in some of our States the law holds him responsible. Why should it not hold one responsible for taking the same course as to himself? It is too late, after the State has said no man shall establish a nuisance to the injury of his neighbors, that all children shall attend school, or that this person may vote and that one shall not, or has said the many things in form of law which regulate private business and protect public convenience—it is too late, after these things, to say the State cannot step in and relieve any portion of its people, especially its children, or enact laws to improve them mentally, morally, socially and physically, and improvement in this direction may be secured more largely through wise sanitary education than by any other means. If it is not the plain duty of a State to see

to it most earnestly that the young have an opportunity to grow up under such conditions of cleanliness as to secure better mental and moral responsibility, there can be no reason why she should be much concerned for them after they have arrived at maturity. Economy demands, and surely the very best interests of the workers of society demand, that the cheapest methods be adopted, and that means that the early age is the most favorable in which to lay the foundation for strong bodies and sound minds. The proper care in this direction would render unnecessary the costly edifices we now build as homes for the insane, the criminal, and the defective of all grades. Under a code of efficient sanitary laws, which can only come as the result of education in the elements of sanitary science, intemperance will lose half its terrors, and relieve society of half its terrible results. Bad air and the poison which comes from filth of any kind as surely leads to a desire for alcohol as absence of food leads a man to eat. Society has no right to place any obstacles in the way of free beer and free rum, so long as it criminally allows individuals to breathe in the very ingredients which stimulate their want. As well might the surgeon complain of the flow of blood from the severed artery while he persistently held it open. Such a surgeon is a fool, and any legislature which attempts to stop rum drinking, and yet allows the rum drinker to constantly feed himself on the most voracious appetizer for rum, is a body of such surgeons. With the appetizer for rum removed, or to a great degree checked, by wholesome sanitary regulations and practices, the employers of labor have it in their hands to kill rum drinking at short notice by refusing to employ men given to it. Already many concerns in this country are bringing their people to understand that in sobriety is to be found the surest means to happiness. Instances could be given when corporations say to their employés, you can work here so long as you are sober. If you fall we will still give you a trial and a chance to right yourself; we will help you up; but, if you continue, you must seek some other employment. In these instances the rule is having the best possible effect. It is teaching the men the road to take to manhood, and it is also teaching them that, with the exercise of the same care which employers give to the economies of their business, the employé can place himself in a condition to meet the adversities of business.

There should be but two classes in society—sober men and paupers. Sanitary conditions prevent much of the intemperance of crowded factory towns. The removal of intemperance induces frugal habits,

and frugal habits prevent strikes; and the industrial enterprises where these conditions have been secured have in all instances paid the largest dividend to invested capital, secured the largest division of profits to the workers, and given the least employment to the executors of law.

With the thorough understanding of the potency of an education in sanitary matters as one of the most prominent elements of the labor question, there would naturally follow a vigorous demand for the exclusion of children from the workshop. Here the labor reformer has done noble service in the dearest cause of humanity. The good results to children surrounded by the best sanitary conditions at home are lost in a great measure by the evil consequences arising from their employment at too early an age. It cannot be denied that one of the effects of modern thought and education is too often the desire to secure a living with as little positive exertion as possible, and that this results as much from exempting children from work as from almost any one cause. It is probably unwise, therefore, to allow children to become accustomed to the idea of living upon the earnings of their parents after a proper age; yet this truth does not stand in the way of the proposition to exclude all children under fourteen, or say sixteen, years of age from constant service in mills and stores. Many States have already passed laws regulating this matter, but too few have taken the pains to thoroughly execute such laws. The workingman, first of all, should demand the exclusion of such children, for their very presence in the factory tends to decrease his wages, and this is true to such extent, as investigation proves, that child labor is now necessary in a large proportion of operative families to secure support for the family. This is all wrong, and all agitation, all investigations that will lead to a public sentiment sufficiently strong to take child labor out of the factories of the world—in fact, to strike the term itself from the language—are instruments, almost God given, in their mission to humanity for the building up of the race.

Bad as child labor is, it is comparatively harmless beside the baneful effects of the employment of married women in textile works; a most harmful wrong, and yet the most difficult to reach. Socialists are usually far in advance of labor reformers in their demands upon this point, as in the matter of the sanitary inspection of all conditions of labor, means of subsistence and dwellings included, but with them even it is a subordinate element, while to the truest lover of his race it is one touching the very character of the growing generations. If

such an expression would not be considered as bordering upon the insane, we should say, not only from a physiological point of view, but from an ethico-economic stand, married women ought not to be tolerated in mills at all. No ten-hour law can apply to women's work, which never ceases. It is not too much to hope that vital science will one day demand their exclusion, for the civilization which has not brought with it the elevation of women has hardly been entitled to the name. Her position is vastly better than of old, but she has not reached her equality with man until the life dangers she passes through in giving the world its soldiers, its men in all hazardous callings, shall be her equivalent to their danger, and shall consecrate her to a holier life of usefulness than can be found in an occupation which subjects her life danger to a worse brutality than often falls to the lot of men. We thank Dr. Azel Ames, Jr., the author of "Sex in Industry," for a recent suggestion, personally made, that the statistics of deaths in child-birth would place woman, so far as the courageous sacrifice of life for humanity is concerned, on a grand equality with man for all his glorious sacrifices of life in the battles for humanity. The study of this question proves that it is not rare for married women to remain at the loom till a few days before confinement, and, what is still more wicked, to be found at their posts in so short a time afterward that not only is decency shocked and outraged, but crime to the offspring is committed. Not the slightest evil effect of such employment is the loss of respect, not for women alone, but for motherhood itself. How easily might it be shown that such loss of respect has in history often led to the moral decline of the nation and its sure resultant—the stagnation of its industries. We commend the admirable work of Le Play, entitled the "Organization of Labor," to all who see any prosperity, industrial, moral or social, for that state which neglects the practical ethics growing out of an adherence to the best labor platform ever constructed—the decalogue. When the workers of society so far depart from the principles of this platform as to lose respect for women and for motherhood, the chivalry of the race will take on features which will not include the protection and defense of the noblest of human kind. Perhaps no regulation can be established which will reach the evil we are contending against, for it is an evil that is sapping the life of our operative population, and must sooner or later be regulated, or, more probably, stopped. It is a difficult subject to treat, so many obstacles come up, so many seemingly insurmountable barriers, so much that appears to smack of sentimentalism, but still speaks to

one's highest appreciation of real justice, and equity and mercy, and to one's sympathy for the helpless who now must be raised in such a way as to entail constant expense, when by proper treatment and deprivation from immediate earnings, comfort and strength for old age would be secured. It is a knotty point, and one which must demand the attention of philanthropists and large-hearted law-makers, as it already has of mill-owners themselves, and which will call for serious consideration. As an important element in the labor question, it has been subordinated to the desire to establish more noisy reforms.

As yet the labor question has not included any planks in its platforms relating to crime and its presence as a most serious factor in the problems sought to be solved. It has been deemed of importance to agitate the abolition or limitation of labor in penal institutions, forgetting that it is far more important to lessen the number of convicts than to be troubled about the work they may do. If there is a body of men who should be concerned about the expense crime entails upon taxpayers it is the body of wage-receivers. There are in the state prisons of the United States thirty thousand convicts, and in the minor penal institutions as many more. Fifty per cent. of all are under twenty-six years of age. A large majority are criminals by accident, but the penal institution settles them into positive criminals. The best interests of workingmen would be subserved if they would demand of the state some better method of caring for this large number of morally sick members of the community, and at the same time demand some more rigorous punishment for a class of crimes that neither entitle the criminal to consideration beyond subsistence and healthful surroundings nor freedom from personal castigation. The future will insist upon making crime absolutely unprofitable, surely and swiftly a losing game, while it will consider the unfortunate and morally defective class proper subjects for a method of treatment which shall not be penal in its nature. The competition which comes from the labor of convicts bears no reasonable relation to the injury resulting from the expense and presence of crime. The reduction of crime and the alleviation of poverty are results all men of whatever party can unite in securing. In the adjustment of wages these elements are most potent, for the value of wages or profits can only be estimated by a multitude of coexisting conditions, certainly not by the dollars and cents measure, and most assuredly poverty and crime cannot be reduced to the minimum while bad conditions of any description attend the people. The very presence of these twin evils

corrupts the beholders and inflates the expense of all living. Socialist and labor reform platforms are mysteriously silent upon this topic, and in all their fiery arraignments of society they have the faculty of dealing only with such features as can be readily worked into political capital. If they would put half the invective used against capital into a crusade against crime, the fruits of their labors would be seen growing out into enhanced values, safer surroundings, purer and happier homes.

The social life of workingmen constitutes an element productive of most interesting and valuable study in connection with the consideration of causes which lead to increased city population. Society may find it necessary, in order to check the stream of people constantly flowing into over-crowded cities, to provide more adequate means for the social improvement, recreation, amusement and entertainment of the mechanics and laborers of country towns. Man seeks society; will society seek man and endeavor to hold him in localities free from the evil influence of cities, yet supplied with all the healthful adjuncts which in so large a degree attract him to manufacturing centres? Public halls, free debates, institutes for scientific and literary lectures, rational entertainment for tired men, music and all its mellowing influences, all at the expense of society for society's benefit, are among the general possibilities the true elements of the labor question recognize as desirable of accomplishment.

Among the practical elements of the labor question are to be found the laws relating to credit. If there is any one thing which affects the price of living more than another outside of the subtle influences arising from demand and supply it is the pernicious effects of the credit system. Probably as nearly as to any single cause the initiation of periods of industrial distress can be traced to this. The evil finds its way into the dealings between employers and employed—is the feature of the baneful truck system of payment which prevails in greater or less degree in many, if not all, the States in the Union; it increases all prices more than the price of labor; it causes extravagance in public and private ways; it leads to luxury, and luxury leads to moral decline, for it not only saps the virtue and the integrity of those who indulge in it by compelling them to secure the means for its gratification at all hazards, but it corrupts the fidelity of those who witness it, and weakens their moral responsibility in all their engagements. Some day, at the demand of all engaged in the production of essentials to comfort, health and true refinement, the business men

of all classes will learn not simply to rely upon honor as the sole lien upon the debtor, but will ask to have the processes by which to enforce claims greatly abridged, if not wholly relegated to the realms of obsolete methods. In any case, the best material and moral interests of our workingmen can be greatly enhanced by strong and logical agitation against the continuance of so vicious a system. The expansion of personal credits is only equaled in mischievous results by the expansion of public credit. This opens, of course, the whole currency question, which constitutes a prominent element in the discussion of the labor question, but belongs in its very nature without the design of this article, which comprehends those elements only which pertain to the practical work of life, and which can be seized upon and made effective in right directions by discussion and agitation, and such as can be handled by society whenever its spirit is willing.

The points to which attention has been called are usually ignored by political economists in weighing the means for securing that material prosperity, the accomplishment of which constitutes the chief objective of that grand science, and by the reformer whose main endeavor is to secure a larger share of the results of labor. We have had no intention of including among these elements the features belonging chiefly or in part to the province of speculation; they have been ignored as not constituting true practical elements. To extend this paper to a discussion of such elements would involve the treatment of productive coöperation, socialism, the machinery question, the influence of the supply of the precious metals, food, etc., the ruling influence of the cost of support of field hands in cotton-growing States, the transportation question, and the full discussion of the tariff question. All these are elements in any free consideration of the labor question; but, as has been stated, they are not of that grade which admits of practical handling by society. These elements, given as belonging to the practical work of this and the next generations, have been treated as such because investigation has developed the fact of their importance as prominent factors in the industrial enterprises of to-day, and because study has shown that in the past the economists and the agitators have failed, as a rule, not only to consider them, but to include them in their estimates of the vital conditions essential to insure the highest industrial prosperity. Of course, socialists, moralists, and theologians of all classes are unanimous in locating the existing evils, whatever they may be, upon the foundation weakness of human nature, selfishness; but the grand fallacy of the socialist has

been and is that he expects to eradicate selfishness by working upon the aggregate of society, while the only way to purify the aggregate is to develop the individual. This fallacy belongs also to the system of coöperation as applied to production. Nor has it been sufficiently recognized yet that the true position of the labor question is an international one, and as such must be based on those principles which will in their application bring about the best condition morally and physically—almost the same thing—of the workingmen of nations dealing with each other. It is an individual matter with all engaged in productive industry. All that has been said, of course, applies to all walks in life—to establish the absolute principles of the decalogue and the golden rule as the only effective platforms. It is a mere truism, so apparent that it hardly need be stated, that the growth from individual self-seeking to a realizing sense of public duty, from self-love to love of the race, from the constant and ever narrowing pursuit of one's own interest at the expense and injury of all others, up to a recognition of the fact that the welfare and the happiness and the prosperity of all implies the prosperity and contentment of every individual in all the nations. There can be no harmony of the whole with inharmonious parts. Political economists and agitators have failed in teaching the cosmopolitan character of the labor question in their zeal to establish the success of individual communities.

Religion is, of course—and this is the conclusion of life-long reformers who have successively passed through the enthusiasms of different schemes—religion is the highest force in the solution of social problems, but it brings with it practical endeavor to realize the work suggested, for with head and heart only it can do but little; with arms, legs and feet obedient to the desire of the heart and the will of the head it can work out the hardest social problems, which unfortunately it has left too much to socialists not only to formulate, but for which to suggest the solution.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

DEAR FOOD.

IN a sermon delivered on the day appointed for a national Thanksgiving a well-known minister is reported to have said :

Let us see whether God is starving us out. The corn crop this year is 1,276,132,900 bushels, valued at \$867,770,372 at the seaboard. This crop is worth \$267,000,000 more than that of last year. What if the crop is less in amount—it is more valuable. Is not a bushel of corn worth one dollar as valuable as two bushels at fifty cents each ?

The natural inference is that the price (which is but an accident of value) of corn is a matter of small moment ; and that if the price of food rises or falls slightly it is all the same ; the moral and social condition of the people will undergo little or no alteration. If the principle that a bushel of corn worth one dollar is as valuable as two bushels at fifty cents each, why can it not be extended ? Why, under such reasoning, would not one bushel at three dollars be just as valuable as six bushels at fifty cents, or, to take a very extreme case, why would not one bushel at \$867,770,372 be just as valuable as 1,276,132,900 bushels ? Undoubtedly, so far as regards the mere purchasing power, the value of the wheat in either case will be the same ; but there are many and important results, both social and moral, which accompany even a slight increase in the price of food and make it preferable to have two bushels of wheat at fifty cents, instead of one bushel at one dollar. In short, it is best to have food as plentiful and as cheap as possible, provided also it may be of a high quality. High prices never have indicated and never will indicate prosperity.

The effect upon the animal body of an insufficient amount of food is too well known to require any extended notice. The waste of the body cannot be repaired, the necessary functions of the body are not performed, and if the deficiency continues for a length of time inanition and death ensue. But what constitutes the requisite quantity or quality of food required by man depends upon many circumstances, such as occupation, habits, climate, age and sex. A man may exist in inaction on a scale of food supply which would be followed by death were he put to any exertion. The quantity of food required in a warm climate is much less and of a very different quality than that which is called for in a cold climate, for a much smaller proportion is required to preserve the animal heat of the body. While a laborer in the

Spanish vineyards consumes daily between eight and nine pounds of vegetable food, an Esquimaux will eat twenty pounds of animal food a day. A relatively larger quantity of food is required by a young, active and growing body than by one in which the parts are fully developed; and a man requires more food, both relatively and absolutely, than a woman, because his vital processes are more active. Thus, it cannot be said that a definite quantity of food of a certain composition is absolutely required by the animal frame, because this is largely dependent upon circumstances, and the various computations to determine this are more curious and interesting than exact, and are of a greater value to the chemist and physicist than to the economist. But let the body be stinted of its food for a single day, and some effect will be felt. The body is rendered more subject to disease, and it has been amply demonstrated that there is an intimate connection between scarcity and pestilence, between bad seasons and epizooty; and there is a tendency which arises among a population deprived by some circumstances of its full supply of food to contract the so-called zymotic diseases, as typhus and malarial fevers, and dysentery.

From an economic standpoint there is no difference between a real scarcity of food and high-priced food, and the one is usually accompanied by the other. Every increase in the price of a commodity at once acts upon the number of consumers, and as the price rises the number of consumers falls. In the case of luxuries this result would not be prejudicial to the population at large, although the manufacture or growth of the commodity affected might be discouraged. But, if there is a real scarcity of an article of prime necessity to life, the result will be more widespread and will act injuriously, for the consumer will pinch and deny himself in other ways to be able to obtain what is necessary to his existence. So that with every rise in the price of necessary articles of food a portion of the population, and it is that portion which is least able to give up any of its expenditure, is driven to an insufficient or a lower and meaner diet, and this may result in injury to the health and laboring capacity of the population. An underfed laborer is always an indifferent worker; and, when it is considered that the laborer constitutes by far the greater portion of every society, it may be readily seen how general must be the effects produced by any increase in the cost of living. Whether this results from a failure of crops, legislative interference, speculation or currency experiments, the effects will invariably be first felt by the lower and poorer classes of society.

M. Messance, a French writer on population, from a careful study of the statistics of France, concludes that those years in which corn has sold at the highest price have also been those in which mortality was greatest and disease most prevalent; and that those, on the contrary, in which corn has been cheapest, have been the healthiest and least mortal. Nor do these results hold good for France alone. Take, for instance, an example from England. The harvests of 1799 and 1800 were deficient, and in the following years there resulted great distress among the poorer population. There is no better evidence of this distress than the record of the burials in those years, as given in the report of a Parliamentary committee to discover means of relieving the people:

Year.	Price of wheat per quarter. <i>s. d.</i>	Burials.	
		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1799.....	75 8	189,586	
1800.....	127	208,063	
1801.....	128 6	204,434	
1802.....	69 3	199,889	

And the result is still more startling when the number of births and burials are compared. In 1801, a year of scarcity, the number of births in England and Wales was 237,000, and the burials, as above, 204,434; while, in 1804, a year of plenty, the births ran up to 294,000, while the number of burials fell to 181,000, although in the three years the population had increased. In 1867 Dr. Stark, the Registrar-General for Scotland, in his report wrote: "In countries where the mass of the population is dependent for their sustenance on the crops which they raise, and where they have little or no external trade, it is the crops which are the great regulators of the mortality, after the weather. For, if the crops partially or wholly fail, the price of the food rises so high as to be beyond the power of purchasing by the lower classes. In such countries, therefore, the amount of sickness and death almost invariably rises and falls with the price of provisions. When provisions are abundant, and consequently cheap, the amount of sickness is small and the death rate low; but a failure of the crops almost invariably brings a high amount of sickness, and the death rate becomes excessive." And a very slight increase or decrease in the cost of living may produce results apparently out of all proportion to the cause. Dr. Farr, in his Statistical Abstracts, shows that the death rate of the population of England falls three per cent. for each decrease of two shillings in the price of wheat. Again, there is a close connection between the price of wheat and the number of marriages among a

population, and particularly among the poorer classes. So that, from a physiological point of view, dear food is an evil.

But there are also results which we must turn to Europe to see in their full force. The immediate consequence of any marked deficiency of food is an increased emigration from the affected districts into more favored parts. Such a calamity as the Irish famine of 1846 led to one of the most remarkable removals of persons from one hemisphere to another in modern times, and resulted in the almost total depopulation, so far as regarded effective labor, of entire counties. But it is not necessary to depend upon such extreme cases for illustration, for every rise in wheat is reflected in the emigration. This cause, however, must not be too much insisted upon. In recent periods it is an undoubted fact that emigration proceeds more spontaneously and functionally, and is less dependent upon violent forces, than in past times. But the apparent coincidence of increased emigration with increased cost of living is too marked to be neglected. Still, the price of food is only one of many causes.

It is difficult to realize how rapidly emigration has developed within a comparatively recent period. England, in the year 1815, sent out only 2,081 emigrants; but under the pressure of the European wars the number rose in the following year to 12,510, and in 1817 to 20,634. There was a regular and small increase until 1847, when it suddenly rose. While in only three years during the long interval between 1815 and 1842 had the annual emigration risen to or exceeded 100,000, in 1847, the year after the Irish famine, it rose to 258,270, and this increase has been sustained, with a few exceptional years, down to the present time; and it may be shown that the fluctuations in the number of emigrants from year to year has closely coincided with the fluctuations in the price of wheat, this being taken as the staple food of the people, and its price regarded as a measure of the cost of living. But, again, the reader must be warned against attributing the increase in emigration wholly to the price of food, for there are other factors in the problem. Dr. Weisz thus summarizes the results of his investigations with regard to English emigration by decades, arranging the totals of years in which wheat was cheap, of medium price, and dear:

<i>Decade.</i>	<i>Cheap.</i>	<i>Medium.</i>	<i>Dear.</i>
1821-30.....	18,425	24,998	29,255
1831-40.....	64,661	87,587	67,333
1841-50.....	290,173	119,868	168,403
1851-60.....	234,783	223,760	225,597
1861-70.....	230,584	204,882	151,315

It will be seen that, though the principle that emigration is influenced by the price of food holds good for the first two decades, a different result is shown in the last three. But in these years there were other forces in operation which tended to conceal the influence exerted by an increased cost of living. The discovery of the gold mines in California and Australia, the political reaction following the attempted European revolutions of 1848, the results of the adoption of the principles of Free Trade by England, and the Rebellion in this country, are factors the influence of which it would be impossible to overlook. But, if particular years be compared, it is plain, that the price of food was an active cause of emigration.

Years.	Price of wheat per quarter.			Emigration.
	£.	s.	p.	
1817-20	3	10	1	(aver.) 108,937
1821-24	2	16	1	" 69,301
1847	3	19	9	258,270
1854-56	3	12	1	" 676,780
1857-59	2	8	1	447,279

The emigration was not confined to Great Britain alone. It was European, and notably in the North of Europe among the German and Scandinavian nations. In Belgium, in the decade 1841-50, the average number of emigrants for four years in which wheat was cheap was 5,180; but the average for two years in which wheat was dear was 5,266; in the following decade, four cheap years gave an average of 7,588 emigrants, and three dear years an average of 10,267. But in the decade from 1861-70 there was some cause that produced a contrary result; for four cheap years the average was 10,635, and for three dear years, 9,938.

In Prussia the effect is still more marked. In the six years, 1845-50 (inclusive), the average number of emigrants for four years in which wheat was low in price was 8,458, and for the two years in which wheat was high in price, 15,784; and in the following decade (1851-60) the averages were, for six cheap years, 18,868, and three dear years 25,638. Owing to the changes that have taken place in the territory of Prussia since 1860, the results for the years between 1860 and 1870 can not furnish any means of comparison with the former years. But a very recent movement in German emigration has occurred which deserves attention, and which is clearly attributable to the social condition of the people.

The year 1873 marked the beginning of one of the longest and most severe financial and commercial crises ever experienced, and it is

specially notable because its influence was not confined to one country, but the whole civilized world. It followed, too, a year of apparently great prosperity. The effect on emigration from Germany was at once very marked. The number of emigrants from Würtemberg between the years 1871 and 1879 amounted to 23,093 persons, of whom 14,801 crossed the ocean in the first three years of this period, leaving but 8,292 persons as the emigration of the remaining six years. Thus, while the average of the first three years, two of which were years of great commercial activity, was 4,933, from 1874 to 1879, during which the depression was becoming more burdensome and widespread, the average annual emigration was only 1,382. It would be natural to suppose, looking only at the German figures, that emigration should have increased during this time and not have decreased; but, so long as the depression was general and affected all the countries to an equal degree, there was nothing to be gained by a change of home.

To what a degree immigration from Europe into this country was influenced by "hard times" is shown by the returns of the Bureau of Statistics:

1872.....	351,265	1876.....	120,103
1873.....	396,380	1877.....	105,092
1874.....	261,232	1878.....	100,832
1875.....	181,635	1879.....	133,070

The first dawn of prosperity appeared in this country in 1879, while the condition of Europe was rendered more miserable by a general deficiency of crops. The condition of the agricultural and laboring population was miserable to an extreme, and the cities were crowded with a desperate population which was barely able to obtain sufficient to sustain life. With the year 1880, as soon as it was seen that the appearances of prosperity in this country were real, that trade and manufactures were reviving, and that it was easier to gain a living in America than in Europe, the tide of German emigration swelled to enormous proportions. During the first six months of that year 4,617 emigrants left the kingdom of Würtemberg alone, being at the rate of 9,000 per year, or of an annual emigration of 4.8 persons for every thousand of the population, against an average annual emigration of 1,382 for the six years previous. And by far the largest proportion of this number, about eighty-seven per cent., has been drawn from the rural population, not only laborers, but in many instances proprietors, who were in by no means unfavorable pecuniary circumstances. The small remainder was drawn from the overcrowded cities where the

unemployed and criminal classes abound. Consul Grinnell, writing from Bremen in April, 1880, says that "the emigrants this year are, without exception, of the best agricultural and industrial classes, taking money with them, the savings of years, the proceeds of their tenements sold here. My own inquiry and observation confirm the truth of the statements of the German journals that Germany has never before lost such numbers of worthy and industrious people as are this year emigrating to the United States, and that the loss to the German Empire can scarcely be over-estimated." The full returns of emigration from Germany for the year 1880 showed a total of 106,190 persons, and the high average was fully maintained during the first six months of 1881.

The major cause of this great increase in the emigration in the years 1879 and 1880, an increase of 300 per cent., according to the report of the Imperial Commissioner of Emigration, was undoubtedly the difficulty of maintaining life in Germany, as compared to the comparative ease in the United States. The grape and grain crops had proved failures for the three years preceding 1879, and the cost of living had largely increased, while wages had remained stationary, or even decreased, as in the case of the wages of the agricultural laborers and industrial workmen, which were lower in 1880 than they had been for some time. Nor were the climate and crops wholly to blame. The protective policy of Bismarck not only increased the difficulties of the situation, but did not afford the relief to trade and manufactures that he had confidently predicted would follow the adoption of his policy. The annual report of one of the oldest trade associations in Berlin describes many branches of industry in Germany as hampered by the rise in import duties. The home market suffers through the increased prices of commodities, and consumption is checked by increased taxes and higher prices of articles of food, while the export trade is injured through the increased cost of raw materials and half-manufactured articles which enter largely into production. Added to these are the burdensome taxation for military expenditure and the enforced military service.

We may, then, accept Danson's proposition that "the variations of the stream of emigration will be found to coincide nearly with the fluctuations in the prosperity of small capitalists and the ruder class of laborers in the countries from which the emigration proceeds," and in estimating this prosperity the cost of food is an important factor.

But in thus dealing of the effects of dear food, we have till now been

occupied rather with the effects on the body's health and on the social status of man. There are other results to the mental and moral natures of man which flow from an increased cost of living, though this matter has been but little noticed. The ordinary mental changes attending starvation are thus described by Müller: "They are feelings of general debility, actual and gradually increasing loss of strength, fever, delirium and violent passions, alternating with the deepest despondency." But, again, it is not necessary to take such an extreme instance as actual starvation. For even a slight increase in the price of the prime necessities of life will produce in time some changes in the mental and moral condition of man, though the exact relation has never been determined. There can be no doubt that poverty and underfeeding are powerful agents in the production of some varieties of insanity. Imperfect nutrition is one of the most frequent causes of insanity and imbecility among the poor, and it is in the lower classes—those classes that are dependent upon their wages and lead a hand-to-mouth existence—that the larger number of insane are found. But, while the statistics of all European nations clearly show the powerful affinity that exists between poverty and mental disease, there has never been any attempt to show that there is any relation between the price of wheat and the number of insane, although such a relation undoubtedly exists. The great difficulty in establishing such a relation is in the time which must elapse between the cause and the effect. While the effects of an increase in the price of food upon the bodily or social condition of man are either immediate or appear after a short period of time, the effects upon the mind and morals of man require a longer and more continued action.

Morselli, in his recent work on suicide, shows that there is a large increase in the number of suicides in years of agricultural crises, which are followed by distress and misery, and an increased struggle for existence:

The two years 1860-61, distinguished by high prices in western and middle Europe, showed a remarkable increase of suicides in France, Belgium, Würtemburg, England, Austria, Sweden and Hanover. The same was observed in the years following the war of 1870-71, in Germany, which, instead of being enriched by victory, has, on the contrary, been impoverished. The crisis on the Exchange, in 1873-74, produced in Austria an unforeseen leap from 1,800 suicides annually to 2,200, and even to 2,500. And it was the dearness of food in 1873 and 1875 which was accompanied in Italy by a similar redoubling of such deaths. Within the last half century, the years 1846-47 and 1854-56 were throughout Europe noteworthy periods of scarcity, while 1848-50, notwithstanding revolutions and wars, produced excellent harvests. As compared to the two preceding years, 1846-47 showed an increase of suicide in all countries except Sweden and Bavaria; and the same, only in

greater intensity, was seen in 1854, with respect to 1852-53, Scandinavia alone excluded. * * * Of this economical influence we have other clear proofs by confronting later years, whether in single provinces or in the state [Italy]. The year 1869 shows a noteworthy decrease of voluntary deaths, compared with 1868, from 784 suicides to 633. And in all Italy the economical conditions of that year were most favorable. And so, compared with 1873-74, years of general scarcity in Italy and of very high prices for absolutely necessary food, 1875, on the contrary, favored by the best economical conditions and with bread at the lowest price, gave also fewer suicides.

The more carefully are the phases of crimes studied, the more clearly is it recognized that criminals form a distinct class of the community, a class that is continually recruited from the worst paid and poorest of the population, and that the criminal propensities of this class are due in great part to a defect in their mental condition, a defect that may be handed down from generation to generation, and producing a series of criminals, and in part to the environment of the offender. The returns of crime would then be expected to show a regular and normal increase commensurate with the increase of population, due allowance being made for any improvements in the preserving of peace and administration of justice; and when any year shows a marked and rapid increase in the number of commitments there must be some other incentive active apart from the usual circumstances leading to crime. As the ranks of crime are recruited from the poorer classes, whatever tends to make their existence more difficult to support, whatever causes retrogression in the condition of the people, whether arising from a failure of crops, commercial panics, depressed trade and industry, a depreciated currency, or errors in legislation, at once causes an increase in the amount of crime.

Of the relation between the price of wheat and the criminal statistics there has been to my knowledge no study in this country. The results of English and German studies have clearly shown that such a relation does exist, and that the mutual variations are not mere coincidences, but a cause and an effect. In years of dearth and scarcity the number of commitments is very largely increased unless there are other forces which may counteract the full influence exerted by an increased cost of living. Every alteration in the criminal law, every change in the fiscal and commercial policy of the nation, must have some effect upon the social welfare of the people, and must influence the number of criminals, though this influence may not be at once apparent, but may require a considerable lapse of time to be clearly recognized.

In a little work on "Crime in England," published by Thomas Plint in 1854, there is a chapter on the influence of variations in the price

of food on the ratio of crime to the population, and, from a comparison of the price of wheat and the number of criminals for each year between 1805 and 1846, he shows that certain variations in the price of food and concomitant variations in the amount of employment for labor are always accompanied by an increase in the number of criminals committed. And in that long interval of time there are found but two exceptions to this rule. For the only instances of an augmentation in the amount of crime unpreceded or unaccompanied by a rise in the price of food are in 1815, on the return of the army and disbanding of the troops, and in 1834, when it rose fictitiously from the assaults and other offenses against persons, which had theretofore been arbitrarily omitted, being now for the first time included in the returns. And he also shows that in dear years the increase was greater in the most densely peopled—the manufacturing and mining—districts of England. But his statistics must be imperfect, because there is not included in them a large number of offenses against persons and against property committed while the Corn laws were in force, and who will hesitate to say that these laws were a fruitful source of crime? There could, from the nature of the case, be no record of all the offenders taking part in the many riots and disturbances, whether religious, political, agrarian or for the destruction of machines, during this period, which were largely due to a scarcity of food, the direct result of a series of bad harvests, but heightened and intensified by legislation. But the tables given by Dr. Weisz, in a recent number of the "Jahrbücher für National-Œkonomie," prove that the amount of crime in France, Belgium and Austria is increased by every rise in the price of wheat.

But while the influence of the price of food upon the mass of crime is clearly recognized, it has also been proved that the two great classes of criminal deeds, crimes against persons and crimes against property, are very differently influenced. In his report for 1847, Frederic Hill, the Inspector of Prisons, says:

The conduct of the working class of Manchester since trade became bad and commercial distress prevailed has been highly praiseworthy. Though there has been much suffering, there has been no violence; and, except that there have been more petty thefts than usual, there has been no increase of crime of any kind. * * * Since trade has somewhat improved and the number out of employment has decreased, the number of petty thefts has also diminished.

And Plint thus sums up his studies in this matter:

It appears that periods of distress do not aggravate the causes, whatever they may be, which lead to the fouler and more atrocious offenses against the person; nor yet does it appear that personal quarrels, mere assaults, are increased by them. Nor is the increase of

simple theft at all remarkable, being under the average increase of *all* crimes. It is far different with all classes of offenses in which practiced skill and daring and systematic fraud are more or less concerned, separately or conjointly. Burglaries, highway robberies, house and shop breaking, receiving stolen goods, frauds, forgery and uttering base coin, are fearfully augmented. It would seem as if the number, activity and recklessness of the adult classes of the criminal population were greatly increased by the action of general distress. * * * The fact remains, and it is undeniable, that in periods of general distress and destitution crimes of all kinds, except the more serious offenses against the person and simple assaults, are increased twenty-four per cent. on the average of all England; that crimes against property, accompanied with violence, are increased fifty per cent.; and that breaches of the peace, sedition, etc., are increased ninety per cent.

But the Germans have reduced this relation almost to a law, and Oettingen and Mayr have both determined from a different set of statistics that, with every rise in the price of wheat, the number of crimes against property increases and that of crimes against persons decreases, and an opposite result follows a fall in the price of wheat. And Mayr has shown that an increase of one larceny to every 100,000 inhabitants of Bavaria accompanies every rise of three farthings in the price of wheat, and, on the other hand, an equal diminution in offenses against property follows an equal fall in the price of wheat. This relation holds good for the long interval between 1835 and 1861, and is the most exact relation between food and crime yet determined.

The effects of dear food have been best illustrated by examples taken from European nations, because in them the struggle for existence is rendered more intense and the effects are sooner apparent than they would be in the United States. The various systems of land tenure, of taxation and of state interference with private enterprise, restrictions on employments or on commerce, have tended to render the condition of the European laborer comparatively much more miserable than that of his more favorably situated fellow laborer of America. But this is not to say that the same results may be brought about by the same cause in America as in Europe; it only says that the results may not be so widespread or so intensified. The American has a greater distance to fall. It may with a reasonable degree of certainty be said that the present situation of the country is such as will allow this agency of dear food to act with great force. In the brief and necessarily imperfect sketch we have given of some of the effects of this agency, it has been shown that the cost of obtaining food does exercise a marked influence upon the body and mind of man; and whenever this cost is increased, or, in other words, when a greater expenditure of money or of labor is required to obtain a subsistence, the physical and social condition of the lower classes deteriorate. Now these specula-

tions are of interest at this time, because during the past three years there has been a very rapid advance in the prices of commodities of consumption, and notably of food; and the advance has been specially marked in this year on account of the long continued drouth. Mr. Grosvenor, of New York, who has made the subject of prices a special study, by taking the *per capita* consumption of the population during the four years past arrived at the following results:

To purchase the same quantities of the articles embraced in the comparison [food, clothing, iron, etc., and lumber, etc.], therefore, would have cost 21.54 per cent. more about November 1, 1879, than on the same date in 1878; it would have cost 4.2 per cent. more in 1880 than in 1879; and would have cost 7.65 per cent. more November 1, 1881, than on the same date last year. The advance in general average of prices since the lowest point, about November 1, 1878, has, therefore, been 36.4 per cent. It will be observed that a very large proportion of the advance has been in articles of food. In that class the rise of prices has been greater, but less regular, than in any other. The main advance has been in breadstuffs and port products, and this season in milk, in consequence of the prolonged drouth. In beef, mutton, tallow, and even in butter and cheese, the increase, though considerable, has been much less than in grain and pork. * * * While the increase in the cost of grain since 1878 has been 50 per cent., in meats 44 per cent., in dairy products 70 per cent., and in sugar and the remaining articles of food only 15 per cent., the increase in clothing has been 26 per cent.; in the class embracing the metals, coal, oil, hemp and glass, and representing the department of tools and machinery, the increase has been 31 per cent.

He also shows that it now requires \$111 to purchase what in October, 1878, required but \$81.40, and the tables given by Mr. Burchard, the Director of the Mint, in his last report to Congress, point to a like result.

What will be the effects of this great rise in the cost of living? Turgot, in his "Reflexions on the Formation and Distribution of Wealth," laid down the harsh principle that, on account of the competition among laborers in every species of labor, it must, and in effect does, happen that the wages of the laborer are only sufficient to procure a bare subsistence for himself and his family. And it was at one time vainly endeavored to determine what are the "necessary wages" of the laborer, by which is meant such wages as will procure for him a sufficient quantity of food and other articles, and below which he cannot subsist. But this quantity cannot be determined once for all, because, as we have said, it is largely dependent upon circumstances. The standard of comfort varies widely among different peoples. The Chinese will subsist on rice, the Irish on potatoes, the Scotch on oaten diet, and the English on wheat, and no common measure could be found among them. Doubtless there are in every country large numbers living on the verge of starvation, whose wages barely suffice to procure the necessities of life, and on this class any increase on the

cost of food will fall with terrible effect. Their more fortunate brethren can retrench their expenditure, and thus be able to bridge over any temporary difficulty. But they, too, will suffer. For wages do not follow the fluctuations in the price of subsistence. What may be called for convenience *necessary wages* is only the lowest point to which wages can fall and the laborer yet exist, and to this extent it may be said that wages are governed by the price of food. But, unless the rise in the price of provisions is permanent, there may occur sudden and violent fluctuations in the price of food without any accompanying variation whatever in the rate of the wages of labor. Mr. Grosvenor's figures show that, since November, 1878, the average rise in the prices has been 36.4 per cent., and doubtless there has been a rise in the price of labor which may partially compensate for this advance. But that it has not equaled it is shown by the discontent and strikes among laborers, the numerous complaints that are finding utterance, and the many and confident predictions that the coming winter is to bear heavily upon the lower classes. Whether this has been produced by inflation, or by a partial scarcity, it is all the same in its results. It means that the lower classes must be more poorly fed, more poorly clothed and more poorly housed; that they must labor longer, and that they must stint themselves in their enjoyments. It means that, as food takes a greater portion of the wages of labor, there will be less to spend upon manufactures, that less labor and capital will find employment because of the decreased demand for manufactured products, that the prices of manufactured articles will fall, and the weaker holders of large stocks will be unable to sustain their credit, and their fall may involve larger and stronger houses, and thus by a cumulative process a rise in the price of food may produce a crisis, just as the abundance and cheapness of wheat in 1879 secured prosperity to this country after years of depression. But we hope to discuss the purely economic effects of dear food and high prices in general in a future article. In order, then, to relieve this distress, it is necessary to remove whatever influence may tend to intensify it. The tariff is a grievous and wholly unnecessary tax upon the laboring portion of the population; there is undoubtedly an inflation in our currency which may be easily remedied, and, if the speculation in food products subsides, prices may find a lower and more natural level. Dear food and dear money are no elements of prosperity. Food can not be too cheap. As Bentham says: "Provisions, the produce of agriculture, constantly and necessarily produce a market for them-

selves. The more provisions a man raises over and above what is necessary for his own consumption, the more he has to give to others to induce them to provide him with whatever besides provisions he chooses to have. In a word, the more he has to spare the more he has to give to manufacturers, who, by taking it from him and paying him with the produce of their labors, afford the encouragement requisite for the productions of the fruits of agriculture."

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

SPURIOUS SYMBOLISM.

WITH no disposition to disparage either the beauty or convenience found in the legitimate use of symbols, it is proper to guard against the logical inversion by which, after a concept, perhaps noble or holy, has been evolved or depicted by mere instruments, the latter receive canonization. In especial it is at this time desirable to protest against the misapplication of symbols in studies of North American ethnology. Few writers on the pictographs, customs or religious rites of the North American Indians have successfully resisted the temptation to connect them, through a correspondence of symbols, with those of certain peoples of the eastern hemisphere. The Spanish priests found in Mexico many delineations of the cross and serpent, which satisfactorily proved to them the former introduction of Christianity. Adair delighted to show the existence of Israclitish ceremonials among the Muskoki. Kingsborough spent his life and fortune to establish similar relations between the chosen people and the Aztecs and Mayas, while Lafiteau traced the customs of the Iroquois to the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece. Schoolcraft's ponderous tomes are rich in symbols of the most abstract character, such as "power," "deity" and "prophesy."

The frequent recurrence in America of the number *four* has become a new mine of treasure to writers infatuated with the mysticism of numbers. Alphabets, Runic, Akkad, Phœnician, and of all other imaginable origins, have been distorted from the Dighton Rock and multitudinous later precious "finds"; while other inscriptions are photographed and lectured upon to exhibit the profound knowledge by some race, supposed to have existed some time in North America,

in the arbitrary constellations of astronomy, and its familiarity with zodiacal signs now in current use. Our learned associations are invaded by monomaniacs, harmless save for their occupation of valuable time, who declare that every ancient cisatlantic object means something different from what is obvious to common sense; and their researches are gratified by frauds and forgeries, sometimes originating in mischief and sometimes in sordid speculation.

In examining the subject it is necessary to understand the precise relation between signs, symbols and emblems. These terms are often used interchangeably, but with liability to misconstruction, as many persons, although with small etymologic authority, ascribe to symbols an occult and mystic significance. A sign is the most general of these terms—that by which anything is made known or represented. A symbol has been defined as the sign of something moral or intellectual by the images or properties of natural objects; but that would include an emblem, in which, by a figure of thought, corporeal objects stand for moral and intellectual qualities, and a symbol should be distinguished as that species of emblem which is a constituted sign among men of such qualities. While, however, all symbols come under the generic head of signs, very few signs are in accurate classification symbols. S. T. Coleridge has defined a symbol to be a sign included in the idea it represents. This may be intelligible if it is intended that an ordinary sign is extraneous to the concept, and, rather than suggested by it, is invented to express it by some representation or analogy, while a symbol may be evolved by a process of thought from the concept itself; but it is no very exhaustive or practically useful distinction. Symbols are less obvious and more artificial than mere signs, require convention, are not only abstract but metaphysical, and often need explanation from history, religion and customs. They do not depict, but suggest, subjects; do not speak directly through the eye to the intelligence, but presuppose in the mind knowledge of an event or fact which the sign recalls. The symbols of the ark, dove, olive branch and rainbow, would be wholly meaningless to people unfamiliar with the Mosaic or some similar cosmology, as would be the cross and the crescent to those ignorant of history. The last named objects appeared in the class of emblems when used in designating the conflicting powers of Christendom and Islamism. Emblems do not necessarily require any analogy between the objects representing and the objects or qualities represented, but may arise from pure accident. After a scurrilous jest the beggar's wallet became the emblem of the

confederated nobles, the Gueux, of the Netherlands; and a sling, in the early minority of Louis XIV., was adopted from the refrain of a song by the Frondeur opponents of Mazarin. The portraiture of a fish, used especially by the early Christians for the name and title of Jesus Christ, was still more accidental, being, in the Greek word, *ἰχθύς*, an acrostic composed of the initials of the several Greek words signifying that name and title. This origin being unknown to persons whose religious enthusiasm was in direct proportion to their ignorance, they expended much rhetoric to prove that there was some true symbolic relation between an actual fish and the Saviour of men. Apart from this misapplication, the fish undoubtedly became an emblem of Christ and of Christianity, appearing frequently on the Roman catacombs, and at one time it was used hermeneutically.

Some further illustrations may be useful. An alphabet, or scheme of signs by which a language is written, is not in its essence symbolical, and the Semitic scheme, to which nearly all the graphic systems prevailing in the world can be traced, had not even its origin in symbols. The first step toward writing was the rude pictorial representation of objects without indication of any accessories, followed by application of symbolic meaning to some of the figures most used and known; and some pictures, more and more abbreviated, also gradually became conventional signs, which in time were made to stand for sounds, either syllabic or alphabetic. So the growth of symbols and phonetic characters, nearly related, but quite distinct, proceeded simultaneously with increasing divarication. Most ancient writing was indeed hieroglyphic—that is, a record made by one ignorant of, or unwilling to use, a phonetic method—but hieroglyphs dealt more in ideographic signs, representing objects by simply imitating their forms, than in those purely symbolic, which indicated their nature or properties. The development of writing began with rough marks for days, deaths, trophies, sheep, and the like, noting mere primary ideas, and slowly marched to abstractions through attempts at conveying by similar presentations such ideas as were but secondarily connected with them. Another advance indicated parts for the whole, and afterwards a few strokes suggested distinctive features of an object or an abstract idea related to it. Then certain pictures became representatives, not only of words and syllables, but of the initial sounds of names, which approached among the Egyptians very near to phonetic writing, but their hieratic system never completely separated ideo-grams from phonetic signs. The Phœnicians adopted exclusively the

latter, improving upon the Egyptian model, thus forming a true alphabet. But for present purposes it is only necessary to assert that, whatever be decided by paleographers to be the primordial originals of our A, B and C, they were signs and not symbols long before the Sidonian inscription was carved upon the sarcophagus of Ashmonozar.

It is true that the letters of an alphabet may, like a multitude of other objects, be adopted as symbols. In the science of algebra it was convenient to represent known quantities by the first and unknown by the concluding letters of our alphabet, so that in time A was considered a symbol of the fixed or certain and X of the doubtful or mutable. This is not criticised while the application is limited and its wholly arbitrary nature borne in mind; but suppose some ardent algebraist and symbolist should insist that the significance of these symbols was intrinsic to the letters, or even suggested from their forms. "Observe," he might say, "the very frame of A, a pyramid standing on its base, the embodiment of solidity, still further strengthened by a cross brace; of course it must signify the fixed and certain. And X, two bars only united at a middle point; top, base and sides nearly equal, and thus liable to be deflected readily to any position—perhaps an image of the spokes of a wheel, never at rest—surely it is the vague, the unknown." This *reductio ad absurdum* is not more obvious than many cases where symbols are manufactured and misapplied by enthusiasts.

Volumes have been devoted to the symbolism in the arbitrary signs used in arithmetical notation. The decimal system prevailed only because the human race rejoices in ten fingers for ready objective exhibit, and not some other digital allowance, and after the expedients of notches in wood, bags of stones, strings of shells, knotted cords, and the like, when the Hebrews and Greeks acquired the notion of representing number by characters, they employed the letters of the alphabets already in their possession. Our more convenient notation came through the Arabs, who about the tenth century obtained it from Hindostan (where, it has been asserted, the figures were anciently the initial letters of the Sanscrit names for the digits), and has rendered easy those calculations and deductions which display many curious properties of, and relations between, numbers. But it behooves to distinguish the ideas elucidated through mathematical experiments from the mere signs or value of the notation—that is, the apparatus employed—so that the latter may not claim a retroactive significance. The digit 9 is found to possess one peculiar property that, when the sum of the figures expressing a number is exactly divisible by it, the

number itself is also so divisible. That, however, is merely a casual incident to the decimal system, and that system is not only without claims to sacredness, but is so imperfect as to be recognized as an unfortunate adoption. Leibnitz has demonstrated the binary system to be so far superior that for many calculations it is advantageous to reduce from the decimal to it and back again after performing the operation. The property of 9 just mentioned would, in the duodecimal system, which also has its advantages, not belong to that number, but to 11, so that its mystical character in that respect is an accident of an accident. Many of the curious and often beautiful results from combination of numbers have, on close examination, no more intrinsic import than the also curious and beautiful reflections produced by turning a kaleidoscope, and dependent on much the same principles of mathematical relations between quantities and magnitudes.

Devotees of symbolism, in their undue zealotry, seem to have pried about with a number in their hands, determined to fit it into some object, like trying a stray key to all accessible locks. A not very ancient work sets forth among other attributes of the number seven, with much flourish, that there are *seven* planets and *seven* metals, which, indeed, was the limit then known; but we now recognize at least fifty metals, and the planets have also increased on acquaintance, apart from the asteroids, which at the present rate of discovery may soon swell the list to two hundred. Belief in the mysticism of numbers has often retarded scientific research. Huygens, in 1655, discovered a satellite of Saturn; he then stopped observations because the six planets (Saturn then being the oldest known planet) and the six satellites, one of the earth, four of Jupiter and this one of Saturn, made the "perfect number" of twelve. So, as he asserted solemnly, nothing more of the planetary system was left to be discovered. This blunder warns us not to build symbols needlessly on the shifting sands of ignorance, to be demolished by the advancing ocean-wave of science.

Symbols which have once reigned with perfect title may degenerate into petty signs. The chevron, an honorable ordinary in heraldry, representing two rafters of a house united at the top, was originally bestowed on the founder of a house or family thereafter entitled to bear arms, and in that use was a perfect symbol. When the modern army uniform was planned the facility of forming an obtuse angle by two strips of cloth led to the selection from among all the heraldic blazonry of the chevron to mark the sleeves of non-commissioned

officers, so that, while retaining both its name and form, its purport wholly disappeared. The initial character of medical prescriptions met a fate still more humiliating. Once portraying the extended wings of Jove's eagle, and used as a prayer to the king of gods for his aid to the action of the remedy, its very shape was corrupted until, resembling the letter R with a flourish, Rx, it is vulgarly called an abbreviation of the word "recipe." So, though once a sublime symbol, it has ceased to be even a respectable sign.

The barber's pole in the middle of its history was perhaps a symbol, having started as an honest, though prosaic, sign, and ends in the United States, at least, as one neither appropriate nor significant. The bloody band used by barber chirurgeons in their phlebotomy, wrapped for convenience spirally around a supporting rod, was in the last century still found in some Old World nooks, and when that utensil was exhibited in front of the shop it signified "bleeding done here," just as the old boot that the cobbler hangs over his door is the advertisement of his humble calling. When the red band was painted on the contrasting white ground of a pole, and the tonsor only drew blood by accident, instead of by profession, the device might claim some symbolic dignity; but the blue was added of late years in the United States, so that in the combination of colors now shown a fanciful physiologist has detected the distinction between venous and arterial blood, and the more poetic and religious mind has been exalted to suggestions embracing the colors of the ark of the covenant. Now the change has occurred from the enterprise of some patriotic barbers, who added blue to the red and white so as to include all the national colors, and the fashion once set to the imitative race which mainly does our shaving has lately advanced another step, so that their newest poles show the blue in a union, with the proper arrangement of stars, and the red and white stripes extending straight, instead of spirally, thus becoming nothing more nor less than a wooden United States flag of clumsy shape.

In conclusion, reference may be made to the persistent application of symbols to the interpretation of the pictographs and sign language of the Indians. All characters in Indian picture writing have been loosely styled symbols, and, as there is no logical distinction between the characters impressed with enduring form and those outlined in the air, all significant Indian signs and gestures might with equal appropriateness be called symbolic. But, while picture writing and sign language can undoubtedly be and is employed to express highly

metaphysical ideas, to do that in a symbolic system requires a development of the mode of expression consequent upon a similar development of the mental idiocrasy of the gesturers far beyond any yet found among historic tribes north of Mexico. A very few of their etchings, paintings and gesture signs may at first appear to be symbolic, yet even those on closer examination will probably be relegated to the class of emblems.

The several tribal signs for the Sioux, Arapaho, Cheyenne, etc., are their emblems precisely as the star-spangled flag is that of the United States, but there is nothing symbolic in any of them. So the signs for individual chiefs, when not merely translations of their names, are emblematic of their family totems or personal distinctions, and are no more symbols than are the distinctive shoulder-straps of army officers. The *crux ansata* and the circle formed by a snake biting its tail are symbols; but *consensus*, as well as invention, was necessary for their establishment, and the Indians have produced nothing so esoteric, nothing which they intended for hermeneutic as distinct from descriptive or mnemonic purposes.

The point specially urged is that, while many pictographs and gesture signs can be used as emblems and both can be converted by convention into symbols, or be explained as such by perverted ingenuity, it is futile to seek for that form of psychologic exuberance in the stage of development attained by savage and barbaric tribes. All predetermination to interpret either their signs or their pictographs on the principles of symbolism as understood or pretended to be understood by its admirers, and as are sometimes properly applied to Egyptian hieroglyphs, results in mooning mysticism. This was shown by a writer who enthusiastically lauded the *Dakota Calendar* (which is a mere figuration of successive occurrences in the history of the people) as a numerical exposition of the great doctrines of the Sun religion in the equations of time, and proved to his own satisfaction that the Indians preserved hermeneutically the lost geometric cultus of pre-Cushite scientists.

Another exhibition of this vicious practice was recently made in the interpretation of an inscribed stone alleged to have been unearthed near Zanesville, Ohio. Two of the characters were supposed, in liberal exercise of the imagination, to represent the A and Ω of the Greek alphabet. At the comparatively late date when the arbitrary arrangement of the letters of that alphabet had become fixed, its initial and concluding letters might readily have been used to repre-

sent respectively the beginning and the end of any series or number of things, and this figure of speech was employed in the book of Revelations. In the attempted interpretation of the inscription mentioned, which was hawked about to many scientific bodies, and published over the whole country, the supposed alpha and omega were assumed to constitute a universal as well as sacred symbol for the everlasting Creator. The usual *menu* of Roman feasts, commencing with eggs and ending with apples, was also commonly known at the time when the book of Revelations was written, and the phrase "*ab ovo usque ad mala*" was as appropriate as "from alpha to omega" to express "from the beginning to the end." In deciphering the stone it would, therefore, be as correct in principle to take one of its oval and one of its round figures, call them egg and apple, and make them the symbols of eternity. In fact, not depending wholly for significance upon the order of courses of a feast or the accident of alphabetical position, but having intrinsic characteristics in reference to the origin and fruition of life, the egg and apple translation would be more acceptable to the general judgment, and it is recommended to enthusiasts who insist on finding symbols where none exist.

GARRICK MALLERY.

THE LAW OF RENT IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

IN view of the very general discussion of the land question in Ireland, provoked by the attitude of the Irish Land League, the action of the British Government, and the frequent and persistent occurrence of agrarian outrages over a wide area in that unhappy country, it has seemed to me that a brief restatement, in familiar form, of the economical doctrine of rent might be found instructive and not uninteresting to the readers of the "International." Few international questions, surely, concern the people of the United States more nearly than that which relates to the tenure of the homes and the farms of that country in which two millions of our fellow citizens were born.

Perhaps we shall be better prepared to consider this troubled question of the ownership and occupation of land in Ireland after clearly discovering, in the light of economical science, what rent is, whence

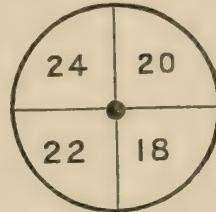
it arises, what is its measure and limit. If, indeed, there is any good reason why rents should not be paid in Ireland while rents are paid without challenge and with the consent of all decent and well-meaning people in England and in France, that will best appear after such a discussion as that proposed. If, on the other hand, the no-rent agitation is both lawless and groundless, this conclusion cannot but be established with greater assurance if we have first found out why rents are paid at all, and who, in the final result—*i. e.*, in their ultimate incidence—actually pays them. It is not my purpose so much to discuss the Irish Land Question as to lay a foundation for that discussion in a systematic and dispassionate statement of the economical principles governing rent and the price of land resulting from rent.

The term rent signifies the money or produce paid by the occupier to the owner of land, the latter word being used in its largest sense, embracing mining resources, water privileges and building sites. For the purposes of the present discussion, however, it will be best to draw all our illustrations from the occupancy and cultivation of arable land.

Rent arises from the differences in productiveness existing between the several areas of soil under cultivation¹ at the same time.

By productiveness is meant, in this connection, productiveness with a given application of labor and capital.

Let us suppose a community to occupy a circular tract of land, divided, as in the following diagram, into four sections equal in extent, but so differing in fertility that one picce will, with so many days' labor in the year given to plowing, cultivating and harvesting, yield twenty-four bushels of wheat per acre, while another will yield to the same amount of labor but twenty-two bushels, the third but twenty, and the fourth but eighteen. In order to simplify the elements of the problem, let us assume that all the inhabitants reside in and about the centre of the tract:



Let it first be supposed that the community is of such numbers

¹ A quarter of wheat may be raised in Kent, or Essex, or in the Carse of Gowrie, for a fourth or fifth part, perhaps, of the expense necessary to raise it on the worst soils under cultivation in the least fertile parts of the kingdom.—J. R. McCULLOCH.

that all the wheat required for its subsistence can be grown advantageously upon a portion only of what may be designated as the twenty-four bushel tract. If that tract be held by a number of competing owners, each acting for himself in the view of his own individual interest, no rent will be paid, or only a nominal rent so small that the principle *de minimis non curatur* will apply. Each owner of land in this tract will be desirous of securing for himself whatever compensation, if any, is to be paid for the use of his land; but, as all the soil of this degree of productiveness is not by our assumption required for the subsistence of the community, competition between owners of land will soon bring rents down to the minimum, since one may as well let his land be occupied for next to nothing as not be occupied at all, which would be the alternative in the situation described.

If, however, we assume such an increase in the wants of the community, in the way of subsistence for increased numbers, that the tract first in contemplation cannot provide all the wheat required, a portion of the twenty-two bushel tract will, perforce, be occupied for cultivation, and rent will emerge in distinct form. Any cultivator may just as well—may he not?—pay something for cultivating a part of the twenty-four bushel tract as cultivate a portion of the twenty-two-bushel tract for nothing. How much will he pay? Exactly the difference between the crops to be grown on the two soils with the same application of labor and capital—*i. e.*, two bushels, since he can afford to pay this rent rather than move to the less productive soil.

We said that no rent would be paid so long as all of the twenty-four bushel tract were not required for cultivation, provided that tract were held by a number of competing owners. If, however, that tract were held by one person or by several persons acting in concert, a monopoly would be established, and a rent might be exacted. What would be the limit of that rent? Two bushels per acre, since one would do better for himself to take up a portion of the twenty-two bushel tract for cultivation, paying no rent, than to give more than two bushels for the privilege of cultivating a piece of the more productive land. Would this rent of two bushels per acre be paid for the whole of the first tract? No; for only the number of acres actually required for cultivation; and all the owners in “the ring” would have to divide among themselves the aggregate sum so obtained. If any one owner tried to overreach the others and secure the full rent

for his own land, the ring would be broken, competition would set in, and rents would fall to the minimum.

But, to resume the course of our narrative, interrupted by this discussion of the effects of a monopoly of the best lands, let us suppose that in the course of time the twenty-two bushel tract becomes fully occupied, and still the community increases in numbers till not enough wheat can be raised from the two tracts to supply its wants. We must now contemplate the twenty bushel tract as coming under cultivation.

And we note, as the result of this downward movement of the limit of cultivation, two things:

First—The twenty-two bushel tract now begins to bear a rent, since one can as well pay a rent for the privilege of cultivating it as to cultivate a portion of the new land for nothing. The amount of that rent will be determined by the difference in productiveness between the two tracts, being, in this case, two bushels per acre.

Secondly—The tract first cultivated now brings to its owner a rent ($24 - 20 = 4$), not of two bushels per acre, but of four. It is no better land than it was before; it produces no more wheat under the same application of labor and capital; yet it yields its owner a rent twice as great as before cultivation descended to the third grade of soils.

And if, again, we suppose that the increasing needs of the community require the cultivation of the eighteen bushel tract, even the twenty bushel tract will bear a rent, viz., two bushels per acre; while the rent of the next tract on the scale of productiveness will be four bushels, and that of the most productive land will rise to six bushels, or three times its original rent.

We have said that by productiveness was meant productiveness with a given application of labor and capital. It must now be said that by productiveness is meant productiveness under similar conditions as to the cost of transportation, or, better still, after deducting the cost of transportation.

If, for example, we suppose that, in addition to the four tracts already described as surrounding the central village of our community, there had been another tract, of fertility equal to the best, situated at such a distance that the cattle and men bringing the wheat produced thereon down to the market necessarily consumed, going and coming, two bushels out of every twenty-four, that land, though precisely as fertile as the first tract described, would have borne no rent even when the second grade of soils came under cultivation.

Though its fertility had been expressed by twenty-four, its productiveness, net, after allowing for the cost of transportation, would have been but twenty-two. When, however, the third grade of soils came under cultivation, this land would have borne a rent, viz., two bushels per acre, which would have been increased to four bushels when cultivation came to be driven down to the lowest grade of soils.

It is evident that it does not matter, so far as the effect of the cost of transportation upon rent is concerned, whether that cost is made up of a certain amount of wheat actually eaten by the cattle and men bringing it down to market, or of the price of the same quantity of wheat sold and paid over to the owners of the railroads and steamships which, in an advanced industrial condition, replace the cart and oxen in bringing the produce of land to market.

In the light of the foregoing illustrations, we see:

First, that rent arises from differences in productiveness existing between the soils actually under cultivation at the same time and for the purpose of supplying the same market.

Secondly, that such differences in productiveness furnish the measure of rent, the rental of each piece of ground being the produce to be raised thereon, with a given application of labor and capital, over and above what can be produced on the least productive soils under cultivation.

Such is the economical doctrine of rent.

The price of land and the rent of land stand in a certain necessary relation to each other. Land has its price because it can command a rent. But while the relation between the two is a necessary one, being no less direct than that of cause and effect, the ratio between the rent of land and the price of land, expressed in terms of produce or of money, varies widely. In some countries, where the amount of accumulated capital is large, where a high degree of civil security exists and the rights of property are respected, the price of land may be twenty, twenty-five or even thirty times the annual rental. In other countries, from the failure of one or all of the conditions recited, land may not bring in sale more than fifteen, ten or even five times its rental. In the Southern States to-day there are vast breadths of good cotton lands for which a handsome annual rent, in kind, can be obtained by the owners, but which, if put up for sale, will not, on account of the scarcity of capital, command seven, perhaps not even five, years' rental. But, while the ratio between the amount of annual rent and the selling price of land thus varies widely, it must

be remembered that the relation of rent and price is a necessary one. Land bears a price only because it will bring a rent. No rent, no price. To say, therefore, that no rents shall be paid, is in effect to say that lands shall not be sold. To say that they shall not be sold, is to say in effect that they shall not be owned.

From the law of rent, as it has been stated, can be deduced the very important proposition that rent forms no part of the cost of obtaining agricultural produce.

Instead of reasoning abstractly concerning this proposition, which Mr. Buckle pronounces one of the most difficult theorems in the whole range of political or social science, let us take a concrete case. Let us suppose that a philanthropic English landlord, with a rent-roll of £10,000, should call his tenants together and say to them that, considering the very hard times and the great suffering of the poor, he had determined this year to remit the entire rent of all his farms, in order that the farmers might be enabled to sell wheat at a lower price, and thus the poor be enabled to buy bread at a cheaper rate. Two things would inevitably follow—first, the tenants, while humbly and gratefully thanking his honor, would, every man of them, laugh a very horse laugh in their sleeves; and, secondly, the quarter of wheat would be sold in every market of England, and the quatern loaf would be sold in every baker's shop, at exactly the same price as if the landlord had exacted his rents to the uttermost farthing. That amiable, but mistaken, gentleman would simply have made his farmers a present of £10,000, to be added to their savings in bank or otherwise disposed of.

But, asks the philanthropic landlord, is not the rent which my tenants pay me a part of their expenses, as producers of wheat, and, therefore, a part of the price of wheat which they sell? Yes, and no, answers the political economist. It is a part of the individual expenses of your farmers, as producers of wheat. It is not a part of the price of the wheat which they sell, since the price of wheat is fixed by the cost of producing it upon the least productive lands under cultivation—that is, the no-rent lands, the lands whose rental or selling price is so small that for purposes of economical reasoning it may be treated as *nil*. These lands now cultivated are cultivated because the community has grown so large as to require the wheat grown upon them, even at the expense of paying the cost of their cultivation. Unless that cost be repaid, through a price of wheat high enough to support the cultivators, those lands will go out of cultivation. But the fact that they are cultivated shows that the community

cannot do without the wheat from them, and must have it even at that price. But if the price of wheat is and is to be kept high enough to repay the cost of cultivation on the least productive lands, it must, *ex vi termini*, be high enough to afford a surplus on all the lands further up in the scale of productiveness. A farmer cultivating fertile lands is not going to sell his wheat at a lower price because it costs him less. He will get the same price as the cultivator of the poorest soils, since in the same market, at the same time, there can be but one price for different equal portions of the same commodity. A surplus will thus result, which, under the operation of the economical principle described, will go to the landlord as rent. The landlord may, if he please, forego a portion of it; but in that case the benefit inures to the tenant, not to the purchaser of grain or the consumer of bread.

The question of rent is, therefore, we see, a question between landlord and tenant solely. It is not a question between the producer and the consumer of agricultural produce.

We have now stated, with what may seem unnecessary particularity, and perhaps some iteration, the economical doctrine of rent. Our application of it is soon made.

The so-called law of rent, as enunciated, is true hypothetically; that is, true under the condition assumed, viz., that the owners and the occupiers of land, each for himself, fully understand their own pecuniary interests, and will unflinchingly seek and find their own best market.

How much does this mean? A great deal. It means that the landlord would as soon take a new tenant as retain one whose family had been on the soil for centuries; that he will entertain no other consideration than the realization of the largest possible rent, and that he knows all the facts which bear on the highest rate which could be charged for the use of the land, without driving away all would-be tenants.

On the tenant's part, it means that he would as soon move to another farm, to another county, or to another country, as stay where he is, should the least pecuniary advantage be offered by a change; that he has the means to remove himself and family; that he thoroughly knows and can intelligently canvass within himself all the varying advantages of a sufficient number of localities to make his choice practically indefinite; and that neither fear, nor dread of change, nor love of home, friends or country, will intervene to keep

him from his best market—that is, where he can rent land of a given degree of productiveness at the lowest annual rate. In a word, the doctrine in question assumes that rents are determined solely by competition, and that competition is perfect within this sphere.

The briefest recital of the foregoing conditions shows clearly that the law of rent as laid down cannot furnish a formula by which the rent of a single piece of land on the globe can be determined in advance. The law is true only hypothetically, and the conditions assumed exist nowhere, and never did exist in the full degree assumed in respect to any portion of the earth's surface.

Yet this theoretical doctrine of rent is not, therefore, to be regarded as vain and illusory. In some countries, as notably in the United States and in England, it furnishes the great underlying principle according to which, with more or less of divergence from general or from local and individual causes, the actual rents paid are primarily determined. In other countries, like those of continental Europe generally, where not competition, but custom, is the main force operating on the rental of land, the doctrine of rent is still of the highest importance; first, as clearly furnishing the legitimate outside limits of rent; secondly, as establishing, beyond controversy or doubt, the proposition that, up to those limits, the rents paid, be they larger or smaller, do not form a part of the cost of agricultural produce; and that the question of rent or no rent, of high rent or low rent, is purely a question between landlord and tenant, and not between the producer and the consumer of food.

We have said that in some countries the economical doctrine of rent furnishes the principle which primarily determines actual rents. The United States offer the most striking illustration of this. No owner of land in the United States would for a moment hesitate to demand on the expiry of a lease the utmost rent which he believed the tenant would pay rather than move away. And there is no public sentiment which would rebuke such action. So completely is the American mind imbued with the feeling that a thing is worth what it will bring; so little sympathy is here found for the notion of classes which, by reason of weakness, must for pity's sake be hedged in from contact and competition with outside forces; so vast are the tracts of arable land not yet occupied; so freely do our people move from place to place; so slight are their attachments to locality, that no prejudice whatever would be created by a landlord's demanding the utmost rent which the tenant could, and in the result, would, pay. The

fact that the tenant actually paid the rent demanded would be proof sufficient that he ought to pay it, that the land was worth it, and that the landlord showed only a proper sense of his own interest in advancing the price. Nay, should the tenant refuse to pay the increased rent and give way to another, I know not an American community where the slightest odium would attach to the landlord. It would be felt, it would be freely said: If the tenant does not wish to pay the price of the land, let some one take it who does. And what is true of the United States in this particular is true probably in nearly equal degree of Canada and Australia, new countries exhibiting the same general conditions of social life.

When, however, we reach the shores of England, we find a new force entering actively to influence rents, all on the side of the tenant's interest. Here the sentiment that there are classes which, by reason of wealth, education and social position, are bound to do much, on the one hand, and to forbear much, on the other, out of regard to the interests of classes which are deemed to be, by reason of poverty and ignorance, permanently and hopelessly weak and, in a greater or less degree, dependent, is universal. Society is built up and compacted together under the constraints of this feeling. *Noblesse oblige*: the gentleman must never forget, in dealing with his servants, his laborers, his tenants, and even in some degree his trades' people, that he is dealing with inferiors and dependents, who are, in a sense, under his protection, who cannot easily defend themselves against encroachment or fully assert their own interests, and that, in consequence, he is bound to act somewhat differently, it may be very differently, from what he would were he dealing with his equals.

But it is in regard to land that this sentiment operates with the greatest force. It would be morally impossible for an English landed proprietor to feel that freedom in regard to raising rents which might characterize the action of an American land-owner. A gentleman there who should undertake to force up rents to a maximum without respect to the views of his tenants, especially without regard to the interests of such of them as, by reason of losses, of age or of personal injuries, should be less self-helpful than others; who should act on the principle that if his present tenants could not or would not pay his price he would find others to do it, would simply be "cut" socially in any county of England. Gentlemen would not sit with him on the bench; ladies would not call upon the ladies of his family. An English landlord who should drive away tenants whose families had

been on the soil for centuries, would feel the lash of public indignation descend on his back till life was made a burden to him. Instead of gaining increase of style and state through an enlargement of his rent roll obtained in this manner, his social standing would be destroyed at once.

With a condition of public sentiment thus acting strongly and steadily in restraint of the natural impulse of the land-holding class to advance rents to the maximum, we should look to see a divergence of actual from theoretical rents, all on the side of the tenant's interest; and such, indeed, we find to be the case on the admission of so earnest a radical as the author of the "History of Agriculture and Prices in England." "The rent of agricultural land," says Prof. Rogers, "is seldom the maximum annual value of the occupancy; in many cases is considerably below such an amount."

On the Continent of Europe rents are, in general, not determined by competition, but by custom, to which Mr. John Stuart Mill has assigned the same beneficent function in economics that it has always performed in the sphere of politics, as "the most powerful protector of the weak against the strong." In Switzerland, France and Italy rents were formerly fixed almost universally by the custom of the country, at a certain definite portion of the produce of the land. This species of tenure, known as the metayer tenancy, has been fully recognized by economical writers as giving to the peasantry of the countries where it prevails the use of land at less than the maximum rents as determined by the application of the purely economic formula. So strong is the force of custom in protecting the tenants' interest in these countries that oftentimes it happens that, even where cities have sprung up during the continuance of a family upon the soil, giving a local market for produce, and, by consequence, greatly raising prices, the landlord, even in admitting a new family to the estate, does not attempt to exact a larger share of the produce by reason of the increased advantages of cultivation.

"A proprietor," says Sismondi, writing of Tuscany, "would not dare to impose conditions unusual in the country, and, even in changing one metayer for another, he alters nothing of the terms of the engagement."

Having seen how far actual may be made to diverge from theoretical rents, all on the side of the tenant's interest, by the force of a public sentiment restraining the greed of the landlord class and protecting a class deemed necessarily helpless and dependent against

exaction and against eviction, let us now turn to a country where, in the time of which we are to speak, the population was not homogeneous; where prejudices of race and religion had engendered animosities which descended from generation to generation as a sacred legacy; where no friendly public opinion stood guard over the interests of a peasantry whose own improvidence and recklessness concurred with the unrestrained greed of the landlord class in inciting a fierce and unremitting competition for the occupancy of the soil.

The sad and shameful story of the wrongs done to Ireland from the reign of the Tudors down to that of George III. is so familiar that it is needless to enter into details to show why it was that in Ireland nothing intervened between landlord and tenant to break the force of competition. It was not merely that the two classes were of different races, of different religions, and in some degree also of different speech. The confiscations and colonizations of Elizabeth, the wars of Cromwell, and lastly the Penal Code, of which the temperate Hallam says, "to have exterminated the Catholics by the sword, or expelled them like the Moriscoes of Spain, would have been little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic"—these were the prime causes which had engendered antagonisms and animosities such as have rarely, in modern times, divided the population of any land. "On the same soil," says Macaulay, "dwelt two populations locally intermixed, morally and politically sundered. The relation in which the minority stood to the majority resembled the relation in which the followers of William the Conqueror stood to the Saxon churls, or the relation in which the followers of Cortes stood to the Indians of Mexico."

So late as 1874, Mr. O'Connor Morris, writing of three of the four great divisions of Ireland, said, "probably seven-eighths of the land belong to a proprietary of Protestants, and perhaps even a greater proportion of the occupiers are Roman Catholics." A century before, not even a pitiful eighth part of the land belonged to members of the church which comprised the great body of the people. The first act which relaxed the severity of the laws against Catholics in their relations to land was that of 1771, which permitted a Roman Catholic to take a lease for sixty-one years, of *bog*, of not less than ten or more than fifty acres, with not more than half an acre of arable land for the site of a house, provided the same were not within a mile of any town.

In addition to the prejudices, antipathies and animosities engen-

dered between landlord and tenant by differences of race and religion and by the effects of conquest and confiscation, another cause added to the severity with which rents were exacted. This was absenteeism, a great part of the soil being owned by landlords who resided in England or on the Continent, and transacted their business in Ireland through local agents or through "middlemen," who assumed the estimated rental of large estates and wrung from the peasantry whatever they could.

By a kind of natural selection, out of these agents and middlemen came to be developed a distinct species of social animal, peculiarly fierce and cunning, of preternatural acuteness to search out every possible occasion for fresh exactions, and with hearts of flint and faces of brass. Only men with a natural aptitude for exaction, distress and eviction were selected for such a work; years of practice made them perfect in the arts of extortion, while the consciousness of being despised and hated with a frenzy which turned an open-hearted, generous peasantry into assassins and midnight fire-raisers, choked every casual thought of pity, and made absolute heartlessness both a professional virtue and a condition of self-preservation. Meanwhile, the landlord, expending his rents in distant cities, it might be in noble state and splendor, it might be in riot and debauchery, heard nothing of the piteous appeals for forbearance or remission of rent, saw nothing of the misery of distress and eviction, had nothing to apprehend from the frenzied rage of the ruined and homeless peasant.

Such was the situation in Ireland, on the part of the landlord class, furnishing all the conditions necessary to a rigid and relentless enforcement of rent, up to the economical maximum—*i. e.*, to the extent of giving to the owner of the land the entire surplus produce above the cost of cultivation on the poorest soils.

How was it on the side of the peasantry? Were they prepared to supply the conditions which should prevent competition from becoming disastrous, destructive? Unfortunately, the peasantry of no country in Europe were less fitted to enter upon such a struggle with the landlord class. Generous, sanguine, improvident even to recklessness, the Irish people clung the more closely to the land the more miserable their lot; multiplied at a rate altogether inconsistent with the capacity of the soil for providing subsistence, as the art of agriculture was then understood, and competed among themselves for the occupancy of smaller and continually smaller parcels with a passionate eagerness which allowed little thought to be given to the

probability of being able to fulfill the promises so lavishly made in order to secure possession of the coveted land. Had it been a stationary population, like that of France to-day, which entered on this struggle for the fruits of the soil, the peasantry might have had some chance; but, with a population at least fifty per cent. beyond the capabilities of the soil to support, while every year largely increased the number of eager, penniless competitors, misery could hardly fail to result. There is little doubt that the Roman Catholic clergy and the Tory party agreed in encouraging the early marriages and the frequent christenings which became the curse of the Irish peasantry, and in denouncing the benevolent doctrines of Malthus as obscene, profane and even blasphemous.

In the situation described, with the aggressive tendencies of the landlord class stimulated to the highest degree, and uncontrolled by the kindly sentiments or the conservative usages which in every other country in Europe during this period operated for the protection of the tenant's interest, and, on the other side, with the power of self-assertion in the Irish peasantry reduced almost to a minimum, it was a matter of course that rents were advanced to the full limit allowed by the economical law we have stated. But there was more than this and worse than this. Rents were demanded by the agent, or middleman, rents were even offered by the peasantry in the eagerness of their competition, far in excess of the economical maximum; in excess of what could possibly be paid; in many cases in excess, incredible as it may seem, of the whole annual produce of the soil.¹

But, it may be asked, if the tenants could not pay the rents, what harm to promise them? The landlords clearly would be disappointed; but how would the tenants suffer?

The injury done to the peasantry through this cause was threefold:

First—The whole possible produce, be the same greater or less, above the bare necessities of subsistence, belonging to the landlord, the tenant had little interest in the crop or in keeping up the productivity of the land. Having nothing to hope for, and being in so bad a plight that there was nothing but eviction left to fear, all energy, all inspiration died out of the cultivation of the soil. What was done was always the least and the meanest that could be done.

¹ Cottier rents are nominal in pecuniary amount, because these rents are fixed so high that it is impossible for the cottiers ever to pay them. The nominal amount of the rent far exceeds the whole produce which the land would yield.—II. FAWCETT, Pol. Economy. This statement is probably somewhat too sweeping.

Secondly—The promise of excessive, and indeed impossible, rents kept the tenant always in debt to his landlord. Hopeless debt differs little from slavery; the Irish cottier lived by the breath of the agent or the middleman, who had it always in his power to drive him and his family from their home into a condition of inexpressible misery.

Thirdly—The joint effect of the causes described was continually to lower, until the very bottom was reached, the standard of living, and consequently the cost of cultivating the no-rent land, or lowest grade of soils.

We have said that the price of agricultural produce is determined by the cost of cultivating the least productive soils actually occupied. But the cost of cultivation is made up chiefly of the "necessary wages" of the laborers or occupiers. In "necessary wages" is included all that the laborer will have to eat, to drink, to wear and to warm himself withal, or else he will refuse to marry and bring children into the world to keep up the supply of labor. What the supply of labor shall be must always depend upon the body of laborers themselves, although unjust laws, arbitrary landlords and bad political economy may do much to make the working classes foolish and reckless in the decision of this momentous question.

It is perhaps the worst of all the fallacies of the political economy of the schools that economic forces tend constantly and certainly to the repair of economic injuries. On the contrary, only social and moral forces—like charity, education, religious inspiration—or physical forces entering the economic field, as in the case of the discovery of fresh supplies of raw material, of new and virgin soils, or of previously unknown arts and processes adapted to production, can be trusted to do the work of repair within the sphere of industry. Economic injuries tend to perpetuate themselves, not to disappear. The individual or class that has suffered a loss or injury is, by that fact alone, less fitted to maintain a further contest, while the individual or class that has gained an advantage is thereby helped to gain new and still greater advantages in the next ensuing contest. To him that hath shall be given, is the great law of economic life. This is illustrated in the history of all large fortunes where the first gains are made slowly, singly and with difficulty; but, the command of a considerable body of capital once obtained, subsequent accumulations are made with increasing ease and in almost a geometrical progression.

Specifically, it is the doctrine of the economists of the *a priori* school that the more miserable the lot of the laborer in any given

place or any given avocation, the more readily will he move to another place or take up another occupation, and the more will he withhold his increase, so that the evils of his condition will, in due time, be corrected. The human fact, so often to be distinguished from the economical theory, is that, as his lot becomes more miserable, the laborer is the less able, if not the less disposed, to change the scene or the nature of his work, and that it is the very poor and destitute who, in sheer recklessness, bring forth children most abundantly. So it proved in Ireland, under the conditions recited. As the lot of the peasant, under the pressure of population and the ever-increasing exactions of the landlord, grew more and more pinched and painful, the faster did population increase, and the more stationary it became. The Frenchman's paradox that the word fast in English means that which goes rapidly, like a fast horse, and that which does not go at all, like a post fast in the mud, is realized in the description of the Irish population during the worst days of absentee landlordism. Downward, continually downward, moved the standard of living, till the peasantry of Ireland came to be fed, unlike the prodigal of Scripture, upon food which would not even nourish swine.¹

Even so late as 1844, though for twenty years systematic efforts had been made upon the reports of a half score of Royal Commissions and Parliamentary Committees to do something for Ireland; though extensive public works had been undertaken for the benefit of the suffering peasantry; though many judicious remedial measures had been passed by Parliament, and emigration had been carefully promoted; and though the whole body of cruel and wicked laws discriminating against Catholics and Celts had been swept away, Lord Devon's Commission on the Occupation of Land in Ireland found rents frequently exceeding the value of the entire produce of the ground; while of the tenants it is said that "in many districts their daily food is the potato, their only beverage water; their cabins are seldom a protection against the weather; a bed or a blanket is a rare luxury, and, in nearly all, their pig and manure-heap constitute their only property."—[Report of the Commissioners, page 35.]

Now, such a situation demanded the prompt and positive intervention of government. There was nothing in political equity or in

¹ Mr. Torrens, M. P., at the meeting of the Social Science Association, in 1867, stated that, when he was employed in sending out emigrants from Ireland in 1840, he found "that a large portion of the Irish people were living on a kind of potato called 'lumpers,' which were so inferior in quality that even pigs could not fatten on them."

political economy, rightly understood, to have prevented the immediate revaluation of tenancies, the creation of an efficient system of tenant right, the offer of government aid in assisting the peasantry to purchase the lands they occupied, and the peremptory and abrupt discouragement of absenteeism by a heavy tax on the rents of all estates owned by absentee landlords. To cry *laissez faire* in such a situation was simply silly. Foreign force and wicked laws had brought about the result; and, if England really repented of her acts, foreign aid and helpful legislation should have been freely and courageously resorted to for the repair of these shocking social and economical injuries. To call upon a people crushed for centuries under a malignant race and religious persecution, and crowded down into the very mire, to rise up and rehabilitate themselves, with the benign assurance that hereafter they would be allowed fair play and equal rights, seems at this day something very like trifling; but it was, in sooth, not from lack of good will, but from a nervous fear of unsettling "the rights of property," and from the promptings of the bad political economy of that day, with its string of false assumptions and vicious deductions, that the public mind of England shrank from the heroic, which was also the only sensible, way of dealing with the Irish question of 1844. In the same year the factory act was carried through Parliament by the indignant demands of the people, against the opposition of the professional economists of the United Kingdom.

Close upon the disclosures of Lord Devon's Commission came the revolting revelations of the great famine of 1846-7, when a populous country, with no reserves of accumulated wealth, the usual subsistence of whose peasantry was the coarsest and cheapest food, found itself deprived, as by a blow, of that single support. The death rate of Ireland increased threefold in a single year, and famine and fever stalked over the fairest island of the northern seas. The heart of England grew sick at the tales of horror which every day brought across the channel. Never was an awakening of national conscience more complete. Clear-eyed and true-hearted, the English nation only needed to see the wrong it had done to be ready and glad, so far as the cowardice of politics and the teachings of a false political economy would allow, to make acknowledgment and reparation. Justice to Ireland became a ruling sentiment, almost a passion, with liberal statesmen and with the great mass of the English people. Measures that claimed to be in this interest were scrutinized with less of skepticism or conservatism than measures relating to any other

portion of the United Kingdom. "Ireland" has been the countersign at which every sentinel has withdrawn his challenge, and before which every gate has been opened. And this sentiment has not been chilled even by the peevishness of the professed leaders of Irish opinion or their often brutal ingratitude toward their best friends, like Gladstone, Bright and Forster. When one contemplates the legislation on Irish affairs during the last thirty years, in spite of its partial, fragmentary and often inconclusive character, he involuntarily exclaims, is this, indeed, the Parliament of England which speaks! Much, undeniably, that needed to be done has remained undone, or has been tardily done; but this has been due to the vices of political and economical theory already adverted to, or to the endless, senseless divisions among the Irish members of Parliament and the lack of clear, definite demands from Irish constituencies. Had the successive delegations of Ireland stood together on purely Irish questions, as the Scotch delegations invariably do on Scotch questions, without regard to party lines, or even had the Irish liberals, or even only the Irish Catholic liberals, presented an intelligible bill of grievances and a consistent programme of practical measures for redress, it had hardly been possible that they should be denied.

But it has not been in Parliament, or throughout England, alone, that a beneficent change in sentiment has been manifested. Ireland itself has shared in the ameliorating and liberalizing tendencies of the times. Differences of religion have, indeed, not disappeared, but the asperities and prejudices to which they gave rise have been softened to an extent which a generation ago would have seemed incredible. The brotherhood of Saxon and Celt has been recognized, not in terms of speech only, but in acts of daily intercourse, till the animosities of race have ceased to be a factor in the problem of rents in Ireland. This statement seems to be, but is not, contradicted by the petty spasms of hate, of a galvanic, not vital, origin, caused by impulses of a purely political purpose sent over the wires of a seditious league.

While thus the activity of competition on the part of the landlord has been greatly reduced, and the pressure of external force, in the nature of invidious legislation and an unfriendly public sentiment, has been almost wholly removed, the Irish tenant, on his part, has been able to offer an increasingly effective resistance to encroachment, and better and better from year to year to sustain his part in the struggle for the produce of the soil. This has been due to several causes.

First, the actual emigration of three millions of persons, which has sensibly diminished the pressure of population on the means of subsistence. This was, indeed, an essential condition of any large and permanent improvement in the condition of the Irish peasantry. Secondly, the possibility and continual imminence of emigration on the part of those who have remained has excited a powerful influence in raising the tenantry of the kingdom from their low estate. So generally has a knowledge of the conditions of emigration been diffused among the masses of the people, so completely has the Irishman's fear of change been dissipated by the glowing—often too glowing—accounts of the ease and even splendor of life in the new worlds of America and Australia sent home by relatives or friends, and so ready are those who have gone before to extend help to those who remain, that it has been practically within the choice of a great proportion of the Irish tenantry whether to stay in the old country or to seek fresh fields and pastures new beyond the ocean, as they should please. This has, of course, contributed greatly to their freedom of movement within the island, and to the activity, boldness and persistency with which they have maintained their side in competition for the produce of the soil. Thirdly, the rapid advances made in the art and the processes of agriculture since 1851, taking place at a time when all moral and social forces were favoring the efforts of the peasantry to improve their condition, has done much to raise the standard of living, in respect both of comfort and of decency. Fourthly, the remedial legislation of the past thirty, and especially of the last eleven, years has done much to bring about a sound economical order, through clearing off encumbered estates; through securing, in some degree at least, the tenant's interest in unexhausted improvements; through promoting the permanence of tenures; through facilitating the acquisition of small estates, and now through effecting a systematic revaluation of tenancies. The act of the last session seems to me to have supplied nearly all which political cowardice or defective political economy had left undone; and if the government which has had the courage to confront all that is bitter and hateful in England, and the greater courage to encounter the ingratitude of the very people it has sought to benefit, shall only keep its grip on the throat of sedition long enough and strongly enough to allow the benevolent intentions of that act to be fully realized, I do not see why the Irish land question may not be happily and finally settled.

FRANCIS A. WALKER.

THE SETTLED AREA AND THE DENSITY OF OUR POPULATION.

TO ask questions properly about any subject implies a certain amount of knowledge regarding it. The manner, even more than the matter, of the question indicates the degree of enlightenment of the querist's mind. I was asked not long ago, by a foreigner, "What is the density of settlement of your country?" to which I was obliged to give the true Yankee rejoinder, "What portion of my country?" The average density of settlement of such a country as this, some parts of which are peopled as fully as the oldest settled parts of Europe, while great stretches, empires in extent, are as yet almost without inhabitants, means nothing, and the question of my friend implied an ignorance as profound as that which has evolved a new and peculiar race upon this continent from the effects of climate and the admixture of aboriginal blood.

This question, however, although clumsily expressed, suggests an interesting subject, namely, the character of the settled area in 1880 • and its relations to that at each of the preceding censuses.

As population nowhere ceases abruptly, but shades off by almost imperceptible degrees, an arbitrary line must be drawn somewhere beyond which the country must be considered as unsettled, although it may not be absolutely without inhabitants. Such a line may be properly taken so as to exclude regions having less than two inhabitants to a square mile. All the country outside this line may fairly be considered as unsettled territory, peopled, if at all, by a few scattering hunters, prospectors and cattle herders.

Under this definition the settled area is mainly comprised in one large body extending from the Atlantic Ocean westward to the neighborhood of the one hundredth meridian, and from the northern boundary to the Gulf of Mexico.

In this body is comprised probably ninety-five per cent. of our population.

Within this area, however, lie a number of tracts of land which, for certain reasons, remain thus far without inhabitants. The northern and most elevated part of Maine, comprising fully two-fifths of the area of the state, is as yet unsettled. The severe climate, dense

forests, and poverty of the soil, together with difficulties of transportation, have combined to deter the settlers from attempting the reclamation of this region.

A second unsettled region is that of the Adirondacks, where similar causes, added to the rugged, mountainous character of the country, have produced a similar effect. The northern central part of the lower peninsula of Michigan, together with large parts of the upper peninsula, and the northern parts of Wisconsin and Minnesota, still remain unclaimed to the service of man.

These regions have a severe climate and are covered with heavy forests, which causes have been sufficient to turn the main tide of emigration southward and westward to the fertile prairies of Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. But settlement is gradually creeping in on these regions, and year by year reducing the area of the waste lands.

A large part of the peninsula of Florida still remains unpeopled save by a few wandering Indians of the Seminole tribe. The low, swampy unhealthy character of most of this region is probably the cause of its having been neglected by settlers.

Outside this main region of settlement there are three large areas in the extreme west, besides a number of settled tracts of small size scattered about over the great western plateau. The most eastern of these areas extends down the central portions of Colorado and New Mexico, covering the whole breadth from north to south of the former and two-thirds that of the latter, besides extending northward into southern Wyoming. This may be conveniently designated as the Rocky Mountain group.

West of this, lying at the western base of the Wahsatch range, is a second important area, stretching north and south over the whole breadth of Utah and many miles northward into Idaho. This, which comprises the Mormon settlements, and is almost coextensive with them, may be known as the Great Basin group, from its locus.

The third group is that of the Pacific coast, comprised in California, Nevada, Oregon and Washington. It extends almost continuously from Puget Sound southward to San Diego, and from the Pacific Ocean to the Sierra Nevada and the Cascade range.

Besides these there are areas of considerable size in Montana, in the region about the three forks of the Missouri and on the head of Deer Lodge River; in Idaho, about Boise City and in the Salmon River Mountains; on the Humboldt River, in Nevada; about Tucson and

Prescott, in Arizona, besides numberless minor settlements scattered over the valleys and mountains of this region.

The total area of settlement in 1880 is estimated at 1,569,570 square miles, being slightly more than half the area of the country, excluding Alaska. The total population being 50,155,783, the average number of inhabitants to the square mile in the settled area is 32.

For purposes of discussion this settled area may be divided, according to density of population, into five classes, as follows:

1, A population of from 2 to 6 to a square mile; 2, from 6 to 18 to a square mile; 3, from 18 to 45 to a square mile; 4, from 45 to 90 to a square mile; 5, 90 or more to a square mile.

These divisions are not wholly arbitrary. They classify the settled region, to a certain extent, into natural groups, as indicated by the range and character of employments. The first three indicate a predominantly agricultural condition. Generally speaking, in this country agriculture is not carried to such a point as to afford employment and support to a population in excess of 45 to a square mile; consequently, the last two groups may be regarded as indicating the presence of trade and manufactures, with the accompanying quota of professional men.

Of the agricultural groups the first represents a very sparse population, such as might be sustained by the grazing industry in our western country, without agriculture proper. Accordingly, we find this group mainly along the frontier, in Florida, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Texas, California, Oregon, Colorado and the Territories. The poorer farming regions also sink into this class, and hence we find considerable portions of several of the older States represented.

The second group indicates almost everywhere the existence of defined farms and the systematic cultivation of the soil, but this either in an early stage of settlement or upon more or less rugged soil. This group is still well represented in many of the Western and Southwestern States and in the Appalachian Mountain region.

The third group, 18 to 45 inhabitants to a square mile, almost universally indicates a highly successful agriculture. In some cases, however, the admixture of a small proportion of mechanical employments serves to raise a poor farming region into this grade; but in general, where manufactures exist at all, they accompany a population of greater density.

Naturally, then, this group is most largely represented in the

Southern States, where the soil is fertile, the manufacturing interest of small amount, and the inhabitants almost entirely engaged in agriculture. The States in which this degree of settlement is predominant are Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin. Of the New England States, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont have large areas in this class.

The fourth group indicates almost universally the presence of manufacturing and commercial interests in considerable amount. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan this group is in excess of any other.

The fifth group represents a very advanced condition of industry. This is found in excess of the other groups only in Rhode Island and New Jersey.

The following table shows the areas in the different classes of settlement at the date of each census:

TABLE I.—AREAS, IN SQUARE MILES, OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SETTLEMENT.

Date.	Total area of settle- ment; 2 or more to the square mile.	1	2	3	4	5
	2 to 6 to the square mile.	6 to 18 to the square mile.	18 to 45 to the square mile.	45 to 90 to the square mile.	90 and over to the square mile.	
1790.....	239,935	83,436	83,346	59,282	13,051	820
1800.....	305,708	81,670	123,267	82,504	17,734	1,193
1810.....	407,945	116,629	154,419	108,155	27,499	1,243
1820.....	508,717	140,827	177,153	150,390	39,004	1,343
1830.....	632,717	151,460	225,894	186,503	65,446	3,414
1840.....	807,292	183,667	291,819	241,587	84,451	5,828
1850.....	979,249	233,697	294,698	338,796	100,794	11,264
1860.....	1,194,754	260,866	353,341	431,001	134,722	14,224
1870.....	1,272,239	245,897	373,475	479,529	174,036	18,302
1880.....	1,569,570	384,820	373,890	554,309	232,010	24,550

The first point that strikes the eye in glancing over the above table is the fact that with but two exceptions each group has continuously increased from the beginning; that, notwithstanding the constant and heavy drafts made upon the lower groups by the transfer of territory to the higher ones, still they have more than made it up by the reclamation of new territory.

The first decade, 1790 to 1800, shows an increase in the settled region of over twenty-seven per cent. The lowest group, however, suffered a slight loss, while each of the other groups gained in the neighborhood of fifty per cent. At this time settlements were, in the main, limited by the Alleghanies, and little attempt seems to have been made to overstep their boundaries, so that the energies of settle-

ment seem to have been mainly directed toward completing the work previously blocked out.

In the second decade, population having overleaped the mountain barrier, we note a decided change. The settled area has increased more than thirty-three per cent., and the lower group between forty and fifty per cent., a rate exceeded only in group 4.

In the next decade, 1810 to 1820, the total area has increased nearly twenty-five per cent. The greatest relative gains in the several groups have been in groups 3 and 4, but 1 and 2 have also increased very largely. Between 1820 and 1830 the increase in settled area has been twenty-four and four-tenths per cent. In this group No. 5 has made a great relative increase, followed closely by group No. 4. The smallest gain has been in group 1.

The next decade, 1830-40, shows nearly twenty-seven per cent. of gain in the total area of settlement, while all the groups have gained heavily. From 1840 to 1850 the total area has increased more than twenty-one per cent. Group No. 1 has made a great increase, but No. 2 has remained almost at a standstill. Nos. 3 and 5 have increased heavily, the latter nearly doubling in area. The next decade shows an additional area of more than 200,000 square miles redeemed from the wilderness. No. 1 has made but small gain in area, while all the other groups are largely increased.

Between 1860 and 1870 we see plainly the result of the war. The total area has increased but six and five-tenths per cent., while No. 1 shows a decided decrease. It is to be expected that such an event as our civil war should interfere very seriously with the reclamation of new territory, as the pioneer class is that upon which war would draw most heavily. All the other classes show an increase, though in 2 and 3 it is less decided than heretofore.

Between 1870 and 1880 there has been a large increase, more than sufficient to raise the average of the last two decades to the normal increase. This is due mainly to the immense emigration to the West from the Eastern States and Europe, during the past three years. During these years the inroads upon the public domain have been unprecedented in amount. The total settled area has increased twenty-three and three-tenths per cent., and that in group 1 fifty-six and five-tenths per cent. Group No. 2 has increased only two and nine-tenths per cent., while Nos. 3, 4, and 5 have increased in area seventeen and eight-tenths, thirty-three and three-tenths, and thirty-four and one-tenth, respectively.

The following table exhibits the proportions existing between the areas of the different groups and the total areas of settlement at each census.

TABLE II.—PROPORTION OF AREA OF EACH GROUP OF POPULATION TO
TOTAL AREA OF SETTLEMENT.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1790.....	348	348	247	54	3
1800.....	265	403	270	58	4
1810.....	286	379	265	67	3
1820.....	277	348	296	76	3
1830.....	239	357	295	103	6
1840.....	228	361	299	105	7
1850.....	239	301	346	103	11
1860.....	218	296	361	113	12
1870.....	193	286	370	137	14
1880.....	245	238	353	148	16

We see that in 1790 groups 1 and 2 were equal in size. In 1800 No. 2 preponderated largely, while 1 and 3 were very nearly equal. From 1810 to 1840, inclusive, No. 2 continued to be the principal group, No. 3 being next in importance, followed by Nos. 1, 4 and 5, in the above order. From 1850 to and including 1880 No. 3 has been the most important group, followed by Nos. 2, 1, 4 and 5, in the order named.

The details of changes in the settled area can be better illustrated by dividing the country into convenient groups of states. A natural mode of division for this purpose is as follows:

First—The original thirteen States, with those formed from them, namely, Maine, Vermont and West Virginia.

Second—Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida.

Third—The remaining States and Territories.

The characteristics of these divisions are apparent. The first consists mainly of the States lying east of the Alleghanies, which, up to the time of the first census, formed a barrier across which settlement had spread only to a very small extent, only five per cent. of the population being at that time west of the mountains. The second group comprises most of the Mississippi valley, and the Gulf region, and may be said to represent the middle stage in the progress of development. The third group represents the more recent stage. It comprises the border States and the States and Territories of the Cordilleran region.

In the first group of States the increase in settled area went on rapidly until 1830; then its progress was checked, and the increase became merely nominal, as, it may be presumed, all the desirable land

had become occupied. But, while this increase went on rapidly until 1830, it is worthy of note that group 1 did not increase at all, inasmuch as all additions to it from unsettled regions were more than counterbalanced by the areas transferred from it to higher grades. Indeed, in the ninety years between 1790 and 1880 it has been reduced from 72,386 to 12,500 square miles, which is comprised in Maine, New Hampshire and Georgia. The increase in No. 2 stopped at 1810, when it comprised 115,462 square miles. Since that date it has decreased to 60,900 square miles, comprised mainly in Georgia, North Carolina and West Virginia. No. 3 continued to increase until 1860, since which date it has fallen off slightly. Nos. 4 and 5 have increased continuously to the present time.

In the second group of States the total area of settlement has increased continuously up to the present time. No. 1, starting with an area of 11,050 square miles in 1790, increased rapidly to 138,467 square miles in 1840, then decreased as rapidly to 48,637 square miles in 1870. During the last decade it has increased its area to 56,030 square miles, owing mainly to the spread of sparse settlements in Michigan and Florida. No. 2, starting in 1790 with an area of 4,200 square miles, increased to a maximum of 184,607 square miles in 1850, and since that date has decreased to 131,065 square miles. Nos. 3 and 4 have increased steadily from the date of the first census. No. 5 makes its first appearance in 1880, with an area of 3,360 square miles, comprised in Ohio, Illinois and Kentucky.

In the third group of States there were no settlements of any magnitude prior to 1840. Since that time the increase in the area of settlement has gone on uninterruptedly in all the groups. No. 5 puts in its first appearance in 1880, its area being comprised in the State of Wisconsin.

The following table shows the proportions at present of the areas of the five different population groups to the total settled areas in each of the three groups of States:

PERCENTAGE OF SETTLED AREA.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
First group of States.....	3.5	16.8	46.0	28.0	5.7
Second group of States.....	10.0	23.4	44.2	21.8	0.6
Third group of States.....	48.8	28.1	21.7	1.3	0.1

The differences between the conditions of settlement in the three groups of States, as indicated in the above table, are too marked to need any comments. The first and second groups differ from one another mainly in the fact that in the former manufactures and com-

merce are more prominent industries than in the latter, while in the latter agriculture is by far the predominant industry, as is indicated in the table. The new condition of settlement in the third group is brought out startlingly in the table.

HENRY GANNETT.

INDUSTRIAL DAYBREAK IN THE SOUTH.

THE people of the South are beginning to recognize their splendid opportunities for making themselves rich. They have at last come to realize the wonderful possibilities of their section of the country. What is still better, they have learned by a hard and bitter experience that they can avail themselves of those possibilities only by devoting themselves, laboriously and intelligently, to industrial pursuits. A new era is dawning in the South. For the first time in its history its people are pushing forward to wealth, and thereby to the power which wealth alone can give, in the only way the human race has ever been able to attain it as a solid and permanent possession. The pursuit of politics is giving way to those employments and activities which make states and governments strong and enduring. The Cotton Exposition at Atlanta makes clear the fact that there is an industrial daybreak in the South, and a daybreak of such splendor as to promise a noontide of prosperity for the whole country.

The whites of the South were in bondage for a longer time than the blacks. Slavery ceased to exist almost twenty years ago; but, while the negro became a free man, the race to which his masters belonged labored under the disabilities imposed by slavery until very recently. It is a mistake that the blacks alone of the people of the South began their struggle with fortune at the close of the war. The whites also were called upon to solve problems that had never before been presented to them. They had, it is true, one great advantage over their freed slaves. They had the benefit of the traditions and of the heritage of their race. They had better minds and better training; but, in the work of making their way in the world, they had little more experience than the negroes, and they had not the negro's habits of industry. The whites had lived for generations on wealth accumulated by practically unpaid labor. Their chief business in life was to spend the money that was earned for them by their slaves and

their lands. They did not know how it was earned, or whether all that could be was obtained from the soil. The advent of paid labor made it necessary for the Southern land-owner to take charge of his own business, and he was not prepared for the task. He could not understand the first principle of business. He looked upon economy as meanness, and upon thrift and careful management as parsimony. He lived in the midst of one of the richest countries in the world, and he had not the faintest conception of the methods to be employed to avail himself of his opportunities. Not only that, he did not recognize those opportunities. English capital went into North Carolina and opened a few of its gold mines, but it was a long time before the native whites began to think that they, too, might as well go to work to hunt for the riches that lay hidden in their own soil. The war taught a lesson to the shrewdest of Southerners, for these learned from it that a nation cannot live without diversified employments for its people. They had had cotton enough, but they could not eat cotton, or kill their enemies with cotton, or clothe themselves with cotton without mills to make it into cloth. They foresaw that industries must spring up in the South at some time or other, but strangely enough very few of them made any attempt to induce Northern capital to develop their riches. If they did anything at all, they discouraged capitalists from going to them for the benefit of both. The hatreds of the first few years after the war, and the mistaken theory that all would come out right for the cotton States if they could resume their proper place in politics, prevented the South from sharing in the general prosperity of the country. The thriftlessness and extravagance bred by slavery could not be shaken off in a moment.

Time, however, worked wonders in the South, as it does everywhere. Not only did Southern politicians not resume their places in Federal politics, but it was found that men could not live on politics when there were no slaves to carry on the plantations. Poverty drove the Southern whites to work, and the certainty of gaining greater riches than the old slave times ever knew is keeping them at work. The change in the condition of things has been so slow and gradual that it has been hardly observed in the North. It is only within a few months that there has been anything like a general recognition of the important fact that the South is at last making an effort to engage earnestly in industrial pursuits. The absolute necessity of such an effort has but slowly dawned upon the Southern people themselves. They learned at first that they would be obliged to take up the work that

the slaves had thrown down. The necessity of working involved the question of how to work. The necessity of making a living gave birth to the desire to make fortunes. The men who raised cotton by their own labor for the first time, the men who boxed the pines of North Carolina and Georgia for turpentine, or who dug into the sides of the mountains for ore and coal and precious stones, or who grew cane upon the old slave-tilled sugar plantations, began to ask why they could not make as large profits from their rich lands as the wheat growers of the Northwest make from their bonanza farms. Inquiry and intelligent study have led to the realization that Southern industry is of the crudest character. The average cotton grower produces much less than a bale of cotton to the acre, whereas it has been demonstrated that from three to five bales can be grown. After it is grown, the cotton is picked carelessly and permitted to gather the dirt and rubbish of the fields. Then it is carried uncleansed to the gin—a machine still imperfect and inadequate, notwithstanding it was invented almost a hundred years ago. The dirty cotton is then pressed into huge, unwieldy shapes, and partially covered with a coarse jute sacking, which does not protect it from the weather, or from the dirt of the railway stations and the streets and wharves of the cities to which it is carried. So long as he owned his labor, the Southern farmer could afford to stand all this tremendous waste. Now that he must pay for what he gets, it is essential that he should make his cotton return him as much as possible. As cotton is now grown and handled, the average farmer could not make a living were it not for the fact that we raise in this country four-fifths of the cotton of the world, so that it must find a market at a fairly remunerative price. This brief statement indicates somewhat the crude condition of the business of growing cotton as it is now carried on. There are other startling facts to be told concerning the industrial condition of the South. Though settled at as early a day as the far East, its resources are as little developed as those of some of our newest Territories. Gold was found in North Carolina in 1799, but it is within a few years only that capital and energy have begun to work the mines thoroughly and systematically. The gold belt of Georgia is estimated to be about one hundred miles wide. The Southern people have known of the existence of gold ore in the strip of country which includes the western part of the Carolinas and northern Georgia for almost ninety years, and yet no determined effort was made to make available the possible riches which lay at hand. It was for years the most accessible gold

country in the world. It was nearer to railroads than any other mining country. It possessed a great number of excellent water powers, and it was heavily timbered. The last few years only have seen the people of this section recognizing the great possibilities for wealth that are hidden in their hills and mountains. A similar story can be told about iron. It has long been known that in northern Alabama there exist wonderfully rich fields of coal and iron. During the war the Confederate Government obtained its best supplies of iron from the mines there, and it was manufactured into arms at Selma. The opportunities for enriching the South and for benefiting the whole country by mining the ores the existence of which was known were, however, neglected. It seemed impossible that there could be prospective wealth lavish and abundant enough to tempt the people of the South into industrial pursuits. In 1870 Alabama produced only 7,060 tons of iron ore. Delaware produced more, and so did Maine and Connecticut and Georgia. Even to this day no railroad runs east and west through a country which is so rich in ore that Pennsylvania iron masters have been tempted to build furnaces in it. The Southern people sat calmly by and saw a road built into the heart of the region, giving it an outlet at the North. There was no effort made either to mine the rich mineral deposits—the excellence and abundance of which had been tested during the war—or to command the shipment of them from Southern ports when they should be mined. There was thriftlessness everywhere—the thriftlessness of a people who had been weighted down by a wealth acquired without the expenditure of thought or labor. There is no need of going further into the details of the story. The ignorance of the Southern people of their rich opportunities has been equaled only by the absence of desire to learn anything.

All this is now beginning to be changed. Enterprise and capital from abroad have gone into the South, and poverty has so chastened the minds of its people that they are willing to learn even of their ancient enemies. Northern men are welcomed now for the instruction in the arts of industry that they can give. It is beginning to dawn upon the Southern mind that the North is strong because it is rich; that it is populous because it has many different employments for its people; and that it has attained no wealth or power which the South can not equal and perhaps excel. The Atlanta Cotton Exposition is the expression of this new departure. Its collection of machines for the use of the cotton grower and the cotton manufacturer, and the

interest it excites, tell a fact that is full of promise to the commerce and manufactures of the country. The frequent and instructive meetings between the farmers and the spinners emphasize the fact. That fact is that the Southern whites are asking how they can send to the mills of New England more and better cotton. This means the recognition of the prevailing crude systems of cultivation and of handling. It means that the whites have at last taken hold of their agricultural problem, and are determined to solve it, and its solution is of the utmost importance to the whole financial and commercial system of the country; for, while we pay our way to the world in raw cotton, we do not reap as much profit from the staple as Great Britain with its forty million spindles and half million operatives. The new movement is beginning at the right end. The cotton grower is learning the lesson that the New England mill-owner learned years ago. He is learning the great importance of economy. He is beginning to recognize the fact that a business like cotton growing cannot greatly succeed unless due weight is given to every cent, and every fraction of a cent. He is beginning to find out that thrift may be as generous and hospitable as wasteful lavishness. The Northern manufacturer and economist have been giving him lessons from their own experience and observation, and he is beginning to listen with respectful attention to instruction in an art which he would have once called mean economy.

This is a very bright dawning, and there is much of hope in it for the future. Although very little in the way of results has yet been attained, the tide is fairly turned. There is no doubt that the new movement has begun, and that it will go on to its end. The whites of the South will do with their rich country what their race has done with every land in the world in which it has lived. The possibilities of the soil will be made realities. The Southern farmer now finds himself in the hands of the commission merchant and the money lender. Because he raises a special crop which he sells for cash, he is forced to buy all he uses for cash. Therefore, he must borrow on the security of his special crop, and deal on credit. The result is that he pays over fifty per cent. advance on the regular retail prices of what he purchases, and he borrows money at usurious rates of interest. He is learning, from this experience and from the teachings of shrewder men, the value of diversified crops. He does not begin to grow the wheat and corn and oats that he consumes. He does not raise his own food-cattle, or his own dairy products, although he possesses

some of the richest grazing lands in the world, while Dr. Loring, the United States Commissioner of Agriculture, has said that South Carolina and Georgia are the natural homes on this side of the water for the Jersey cattle. Some time or other the Southern farmer will have solved all these difficulties. This is sufficiently clear because he recognizes his backwardness as an agriculturist, and because he sees the end toward which he must work; because, in a word, he realizes his own shortcomings and defective methods. The Southern white farmer is a very intelligent man, and, now that he is awake to the demands that civilization are making upon him, it can be predicted with perfect certainty that he will succeed in doing with his lands all that can be done. Now that he has recognized the necessity of using the best machinery, and of handling his product with such care that it will go to the mill-owner in the best possible condition and with the least possible waste, it is certain that he will succeed in finding out what is the best machinery and what are the best methods of baling and shipping. He has found out that with these better methods he can secure ten per cent. more for his crop, and the change in his labor problem, and his own poverty, make ten per cent. a matter of vast importance to him. How important it is, may be judged from the fact that it would, this year, add \$30,000,000 to the receipts of the cotton growers of the country. The Southern people are beginning to think of more than the mere growing of cotton. They are contemplating the manufacturing of their great fiber. Of the 11,000,000 spindles in this country, the South has a little more than 600,000; but these 600,000 make very large dividends for their owners. Some of the Southern mills pay profits ranging from fifteen to twenty-two per cent. on the capital invested. Statistics show that a bale of cotton costs the Southern mill-owner from five to ten dollars less than it costs the Northern mill-owner. The saving is in baling, freight, and insurance. This makes a difference of more than ninety thousand dollars a year to a comparatively small mill. It is beginning to dawn upon the Southerners that they ought to make use of their splendid water powers, which are rarely dry in Summer and are never frozen over in Winter. They are learning that the humid atmosphere of some sections of the South is favorable to the manufacture of cotton. They know that the first requirement is that they shall produce more cotton to the acre than they now grow, and that they shall send it to the market in better condition; but they look beyond and see the enormous power and

wealth which the business of manufacturing cotton will some day bring to them.

It is the best and surest sign that the South has yet given of the power that lies hidden in its future that it has recognized how far behind it is in all that goes to make a great people, and that it has set about the task of learning how to avail itself of its own possibilities. The hum of industry in the cotton field, the serious questioning about the worth to the farmer of the cotton seed, the speculation about the future of cotton manufacturing in the South, are not the only indications of the awakening of a new spirit. In that old country, contemporaneous with New England, there exists all the enthusiasm that is ordinarily found among immigrants to a new land. The people who were born there and who have spent their lives there have awakened to the fact that they have a country that is still new and undeveloped. That awakening has already accomplished wonders. The advance would be great had it consisted only in setting the Southern people to thinking; but the new birth actually took place months before the North knew of it, and the country was informed of it by some of its results. The North first recognized the poverty of the South's railway facilities, and extended its speculations to that section of the country, but Southern business men have done better. They are actually building, unaided by government, a railway that, when finished, will connect directly the Atlantic ports of the Southern States with the ports of the Pacific. The Georgia Pacific is also an indication of Southern interest in the coal and iron fields of Alabama and in the manufacturing business that must spring up there. When it shall be completed, the South will be in a position to avail itself of all the profit that can be made from the mining and the manufacture of the coal and iron of Alabama. The census of 1880 will show that important results have already been obtained. In the ten years between 1870 and 1880 the production of iron in the whole country increased 99 per cent. The production of Pennsylvania increased 97 per cent., while for every ton mined in Alabama in 1870 more than eight were mined in 1880. To quote the census returns, the increase amounted to "792 per cent." The production in 1870 was 7,062 tons, and in 1880 it was 62,986. No other State in the Union can make such a showing. While Alabama has made the most important advance in the iron industry during the ten years, it is not singular in that respect. To cite the census returns once more: Ohio increased its production "107 per cent." and New

Jersey "112." These are the two Northern States that made the most important advance in the period between the two censuses. In the South, West Virginia increased its production "104 per cent," Tennessee "125 per cent," Georgia "265 per cent," Delaware "308 per cent." Industry has reaped some results in this field already. It is reaping results in some other directions, but it is largely by Northern and foreign industry, and the fruit that has been gathered has been an aid to the experiences of poverty in stimulating the Southern people to the adoption of industries that have brought wealth to their neighbors.

The increased production of iron is but an illustration of what is going on in the South. The gross results are unimportant, for, although Alabama's product of this one ore has increased "792 per cent," the total increase is but 55,926 tons, while the increase of Pennsylvania's product, though only 97 per cent., is 1,779,860 tons. The healthful sign is that there has come to the Southern people a spirit of inquiry and a desire for investigation. They have just turned their faces in the right direction. That they have done this is a great gain for the whole country. There is in this beginning, in this industrial daybreak, the promise of great good to every section of the Union. The end is assured now that the beginning has been made. The Southern people have shaken off the false idea that they stand in the van of civilization, and recognize that, through their own neglect of their opportunities, their country is still new. The surface of the old State of North Carolina is just scratched. Its people know only that its mineral resources have been discovered. They do not begin to know how extensive or how rich they are. Georgia and South Carolina and Alabama and all the old Southern States are in the same position. They are virgin soil, and await the development that a people devoted to industrial pursuits can give them. The material interests of the whole country are about to reap the best and the full fruits of the abolition of slavery. Our aggregate wealth is about to be greatly increased. The North is beginning to have a direct pecuniary interest in the South, and that means the end of such sectional strife as the Union has known almost from its foundation. Northern capital is going at last into Southern railways and farms and factories and mines. It is trusting itself to the care of the local legislation of the Southern States. Northern money lenders are forming companies to loan money to cotton growers at a rate of interest that is high in New York, but very low in Georgia and Mississippi,

where men who ought to be prosperous have been kept in poverty by being compelled to pay as much as twenty per cent. a year on the loans on their lands. Northern spinners are coöperating with Southern farmers, with a view to benefiting both by securing better cultivation and better crops. While the politicians cannot for many more months keep up the semblance of sectional strife, there will doubtless always be sectional rivalry. The direction which that rivalry will first take has already been indicated. It will be between the spindles of the South and the spindles of New England. New England has a long start in the race, and the South is handicapped by the necessity under which its people are to devote all their industry and intelligence to the work of improving their methods of cultivation. The prosperity of the six hundred thousand Southern spindles, however, is a revelation to the eight million spindles of New England, for it demonstrates that the time is coming when the South will be a formidable competitor in the cotton goods trade of the world.

No one can visit the Atlanta Exposition and not have a feeling of exultation at the evidences of the birth of the desire among the Southern people to reap the advantages to be gained by industrial pursuits. It is the settlement of the vexed problem of our recent politics. It ends the controversy between the races. It adds to the Union a free, industrious and intelligent community. It increases our wealth by all the vast possibilities that have lain so long undeveloped and even untouched in the richest section of the land.

HENRY L. NELSON.

PAUL DE SAINT-VICTOR.

IN an article published in *Le Temps*, on the occasion of the death of Paul de Saint-Victor, in July last, M. Ed. Scherer characterized that brilliant and erudite *feuilletoniste* as "one of the notable writers of our century," and his book, "*Hommes et Dieux*," as "*une des choses les plus distinguées de notre temps*." These words of an austere and exact critic would form a sufficient apology—if apology be needed—for presenting to English readers a man of letters of exquisite refinement of mind and remarkable erudition; a man of letters who loved letters for their own sake, and who, during thirty years of incessant

activity as a dramatic, a literary and an art critic, charmed and astonished the French public by an uninterrupted series of articles and studies, in which he placed the dazzling treasures of his style at the service of the passions or of the disdains of his elegant and fastidious taste. In England, where criticism of the scientific, expository and historical kinds has so long attained acknowledged superiority, a scholar and a writer of the calibre of Paul de Saint-Victor ought at once to be admitted into the first ranks of those who have well deserved of letters, not as creators, but as interpreters and praiseworthy zealots, as evangelists of the beautiful and of the excellent in art and in literature. Outside of France his name must be unfamiliar to all but the selected few who closely follow the movement of French literature; and the reason of this is not far to seek: the great mass of his work lies buried in the *feuilletons* of *La Presse* and of *Le Moniteur Universel*. As fastidious toward his own productions as he was toward those of others, Saint-Victor only rescued from oblivion a few of these *feuilletons*, "the least imperfect," as he modestly says, in the preface to "*Hommes et Dicux*." At the moment of his premature death his collected literary baggage consisted only of four volumes, "*Hommes et Dicux*," already mentioned, "*Barbares et Bandits*," "*Les Femmes de Gathc*," and the first volume of "*Les Deux Masques*." When death surprised him he was correcting the proofs of a biography of Eugène Delacroix, in whose house, in the Rue Furstenberg, he spent his life, surrounded by a magnificent collection of old masters and objects of art. At the same time he was preparing for publication the second and third volumes of his *opus magnum*, "*Les Deux Masques*," the notes and rough drafts for which had been published in his *feuilletons* during the past twenty years. It will be of one of the volumes of "*Les Deux Masques*," namely, that devoted to Shakespeare, that Saint-Victor will principally win the posthumous admiration of Anglo-Saxon readers. Indeed, he might be presented to the English reader in his quality of a Shakespearian student alone, so great was his admiration of our English poet. In his plan of "*Les Deux Masques*"—tragedy and comedy, the mask that weeps, and the mask that laughs—he divided his work into three distinct series, the second of which he considered Shakespeare worthy to occupy alone, the first series being devoted to the Greek dramatists, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes and Calidasa, the most celebrated poet of the Indian stage, and the third to the French stage, from its origin to Beaumarchais. This great work Saint-Victor left nearly

ready for the press. Other selections will be made from his writings, and published shortly in a form that will enable the public to assign to Saint-Victor his definitive place in the ranks of literature. The object of these pages is to present to English readers a writer and a critic whose fame is not destined to be short-lived, and who will always number not a few sympathetic and grateful admirers amongst those who find pleasure and satisfaction in communion with the literary and artistic masterpieces of past ages.

The Comte Paul de Saint-Victor was so utterly devoted to literature that his life affords no incident worth recording. He was born at Paris in 1827. His father was a man of letters, of delicate taste, much appreciated in his day. The young Paul de Saint-Victor received the best education that the Jesuit fathers of Fribourg could impart. His intellectual training was completed at Rome, not only in the College Romain, but also in the studios, the churches, the galleries and the salons of the eternal city. In 1848, some time before the revolution, he arrived at Paris, a finished specimen of the culture and polish of the Jesuit educational system. The correct and brilliant society in which he then moved, the distinguished and official personages amongst whom his literary novitiate was completed, rendered him in later life disdainful and often unjust towards a class of writers amongst whom he was destined to be known at the beginning of his career. He became one of the secretaries of Lamartine, who obtained for him the post of dramatic critic in the *Pays, Journal de l'Empire*, and in this capacity he was brought into contact with a joyous, independent, boisterously witty and Bohemian band, of which the leaders were Henri Murger, Champfleury, Charles Baudelaire and Théodore de Banville. The pupil of the Jesuits of Fribourg, with his courtly manners and intellectual elegance, did not relish this rude and rebellious pleiad, and, in a notice of Murger's "*Vie de Bohème*," he did not conceal his antipathy for heroes whose costume was redolent of familiarity with the pawnshop. From the very beginning Saint-Victor appeared as an aristocrat of letters, a Buckingham of style, with his majestic periods, his courtly tropes, and his phrases of a richness as exquisite as that of Venetian lace. He began by imitating the brilliant and highly colored style of Théophile Gautier, and ended by surpassing his master, whom he succeeded as dramatic and literary critic of *La Presse* in 1855. He afterwards wrote for *La Liberté* and *L'Artiste*, and during the past ten years he was dramatic critic of the *Moniteur Universel*, a post which he held at the moment of his death in July last. These

are the only details that we have to record of the life of Saint-Victor. For more than twenty years he shared with Jules Janin and Théophile Gautier the triumvirate of criticism in France. In the relations of private life he was coldly polite, proud and slow to make acquaintances, and still slower to make friends. Famous at the age of twenty-five as "*le Vénitien du feuilleton*" and "*le Don Faun de la phrase*," he never knew what pecuniary embarrassment meant. Well paid for his literary work, and during the last ten years of his life receiving a salary of ten or twelve thousand francs from the State as General Inspector of Fine Arts, he was able throughout his life to be above the necessity of making concessions, and to allow his mind to wander at will and at leisure in those elevated spheres in which alone it found satisfaction.

The sources of Saint-Victor's inspiration were twofold: a strong love of art and a sincere pursuit of truth. Art was for him a veritable intellectual religion. He was a disdainer of the men and things of to-day, and he systematically abstracted himself as much as possible from the epoch in which he lived. As a dramatic critic he dismissed, in a few rapid and incisive sentences, the great mass of vaudevilles and comedies which his brother *feuilletonistes* felt bound to discuss at length; and, brusquely taking leave of the modern stage, he would direct his superb periods to the resuscitation of the legends, the history or the theogomies of the past. By temperament Paul de Saint-Victor was an admirer of the mighty dead, of the great geniuses of the remote or near past, of Eschylus, of Sophocles, of Aristophanes, of Shakespeare. But the true fatherland of his talent was Greece; in intellect he was a Hellene. He might have received from the life of Plato the sacred precepts of eternal beauty. Theocritus and Meleager seemed to have whispered their familiar and graceful verses in his enchanted ear. Art, and art alone, occupied his whole life; and, above all, antique art. The beauty of ideas, of colors, of forms, of words, enchanted his imagination. No writer of the century felt more profoundly than Saint-Victor the mere beauty of language; no writer was a greater magician than him in the imagery that words call up. He knew how to choose the word that paints and at the same time defines; his study of the subtle precision of the Greek language taught him to take advantage of the richness and exactness of his own, and French literature affords few more remarkable examples of style than the studies and portraits in "*Hommes et Dieux*." The conclusion of the prose hymn to the Venus of Milo is worth quoting, as

summing up completely and briefly Saint-Victor's attitude toward the past and the present.

"Who," he asks, "has not felt, on entering the Louvre, in the hall where the Goddess reigns, that holy terror—*δειοα δαιμονια*—of which the Greeks speak? Her attitude is proud, almost menacing. The sublime felicity expressed by her visage, that unalterable happiness which a perfect being draws from its essence, dismays and humiliates you. There is no skeleton in that superb body, nor tears in those blind eyes, nor entrails in that trunk where circulates blood, calm and regular, like the sap of plants. She is of the stony race of Deucalion, and not of the family of blood and tears engendered by Eve. You are reminded of that Hymn of Apollo, attributed to Homer, in which smiles this strophe of such Olympian contempt, of such cruel serenity: 'And the muses in chorus, replying to each other with their beautiful voices, begin to sing the eternal gifts of the gods and the infinite miseries of men, who, even as it pleases the immortals, live foolish and powerless, and cannot find a remedy for death nor a defense against old age.'

"Let the charm work. Weared with the doubts and anguish of modern thought, rest yourself at the foot of this august marble, as in the shade of an antique oak. Soon profound peace will flow into your soul. The statue will envelop you with its solemn lineaments; you will feel yourself, as it were, entwined in its absent arms. It will raise you softly to the contemplation of pure beauty. Its calm vitality will pass into your being. Light and order will be made in your mind obscured by vain dreams, beset by gigantic phantoms. Your ideas will assume the simple turn of antique thoughts. You will seem to be born again at the dawn of the world, when youthful man trod with light foot the virgin earth, and the ringing laugh of the gods resounded under the roof of Olympus like joyous thunder in a serene sky."

Saint-Victor's view of the province and the utility of criticism was not that of Gustave Planche, who described it as "official idleness, a perpetual and voluntary leisure; the painful mockery of impotence, the death-rattle of sterility; a cry of hell and of agony." Like Sainte-Beuve, he found in a work other ideas than the author had perhaps thought of putting in it; but, with a far greater intellectual grasp, a wider erudition and a singularly vivid imagination, Saint-Victor sought in his criticism more than interpretation, more than incisive and psychological imagination, more than the expression of a soul. He was not hampered by the reticences and hesitations of Sainte-Beuve, anxious

to remain on good terms with everybody, and rather an elegant portrait painter than an authoritative critic. On the other hand, the violence of his passions and the bitterness of his disdain made it impossible for him always to maintain the imperturbable and good-natured placidity of Gautier, who rarely took the trouble to pass moral, æsthetic or literary sentences. Among modern French critics, Saint-Victor and Francisque Sarcey, so unlike in all other respects, were almost alone in pronouncing honest and clear judgments, supported with reasons, and saying absolutely why this was good and why that was bad. In spite of his love of the great dead, Saint-Victor conscientiously performed his duty as a critic; and, if he always hastened to return to the study of Hellenic poetry and theogony, of the artistic perfection of the Renaissance, or the universal splendor of the genius of Shakespeare, that surely is no reproach. In order worthily to write about those works and those figures, Saint-Victor fulfilled one condition of primary necessity: he knew how to find beautiful comparisons, graphic words, decisive epithets, the association of sonorous syllables whose harmony enchanteth and commands the soul. He was a creator and a poet as well as a critic; an inventor of an innumerable quantity of figures and images, expressing his thoughts by visible pictures, insomuch that his most erudite pages are not incomprehensible to the ignorant and the artless.

The reader will perhaps find our praise high; after having studied the "*Hommes et Dieux*," or the riper and more splendid work, "*Les Deux Masques*," he will, we think, recognize that such ardor, such absolute comprehension, and such powerful intuition as Saint-Victor has there displayed in the presentation of the Hellenic theogony and in the evocation of the formidable heroes of the Æschylean tragedy, are almost unique in modern criticism. As Victor Hugo said of him, Saint-Victor had "the double gift of the profundity of a great artist and the splendor of a great writer."

Amongst his historical studies Saint-Victor has left monographs worthy of Michelet of the great days of 1835. Nero, Marcus Aurelius, Louis XI., Cesar Borgia, Diane de Poitiers, have been painted by him in pages of the most brilliant originality; for Saint-Victor, in the study of history as in the study of literature, went back to the very sources, illustrating them by contemporary monuments, works of art, portraits, statues and medals. In all his work Saint-Victor followed the spirit of modern science, which, in art and in poetry as in natural history, teaches us that no fact is to be considered by itself and separately, and

that every phenomenon is connected with causes which have produced it, and other phenomena which preceded and followed it.

We venture to anticipate that Saint-Victor's volume on Shakespeare will attract considerable attention in England. It will have more than the interest of a French view of Shakespeare; it will almost have the value of a criticism of Shakespeare, we do not say by an Athenian of the age of Pericles, but by an Attic Alexandrine who might have been miraculously permitted to communicate to mortal the result of his posthumous study of Gothic and Renaissance civilization. The canon of beauty to which Saint-Victor's mind constantly recurs is that of Greek art. While he reads the histories of Shakespeare his memory is full of the terrors of the *Agamemnon* or of the *Eumenides*, and he finds Gothic crime loathsome and trivial as compared with the marble hand of Nemesis. "Incest and parricide," he says in one of his studies of *Richard III.*, "incest and parricide are the traditions of the kings of that dynasty. Their history is nothing but domestic slaughter. Murder for these creatures of violation and violence seems to be a physical necessity, and, as it were, a special appetite developed by the frequenting of forests where they pass their life in hunting. They are the Atrides of the North—Atrides that are deformed and often grotesque. Greek crime always preserves an air of grandeur; the blood that it sheds is beautiful as purple; kings' mantles might be dyed with it. Its victims fall under the sword which immolates them in the noble attitudes of the children of Niobe, pierced by the golden arrows of Apollo. Gothic crime is ugly and trivial; it degrades suffering; it debases death, and makes it grimacing. Orestes is dragged along by the marble hand of Nemesis; Richard III. and King John are kicked by the cloven hoof of Satan."

Saint-Victor was familiar with the works of Shakespeare's contemporaries and successors—Ben Jonson, Massinger, Ford, Webster, etc. Of our prose writers Swift alone, I believe, has been made by him the subject of a special study, and, amongst the many portraits of this hateful pessimist, Saint-Victor's is worthy to be mentioned. Like Taine, Paul de Saint-Victor regards Swift as a violent and repulsive representative of the English genius. In him he finds incarnate the unbridled pride, the sombre egoism, the obstinate hatred, the stinging irony, the unsociable humor, in short all the capital sins of his race and country. He cannot discover a single sympathetic trait in this misanthropical savage, whose life was a maleficent tyranny, interrupted by fits of frenzy. "In Swift," he says, "the talent is the man, a

hangman's dexterity, the misanthropy of a hypocondriac, the laugh of a tyrant. Sometimes he reminds one of the Apollo of Ribeira, with his knife dripping with blood between his teeth, watching the smoking corpse of Marsyas; at other times he suggests Shakespeare's grave-digger, jesting over an open sepulchre and breaking with his spade the skulls of the dead. As a pamphleteer, he is terrible and unique. Never was vengeance eaten more cold or chewed more phlegmatically. 'Woe!' said Augustus, when he bequeathed the empire to Tiberius, 'woe to the Roman people who are to be the prey of such slow jaws!' *Miscrum populum romanum qui subtam lantis maxillis crit!* This cry of Augustus comes to our mind as we witness the executions of Swift, and, like Augustus, we pity the poor wretch who has fallen into the hands of this methodical torturer." Of Swift as a moralist, *à propos* of *Gulliver's Travels*, Saint-Victor says: "This journey of Gulliver is really sadder than Dante's journey through hell. You seek in it in vain for the smallest opening heavenwards. How different from the imaginary voyages of the *Pantagruel* of Rabelais, to which it has so often been compared! Pantagruel's ship sails in the full tide of science and of nature; the breeze of the future swells its sails; the dawn of the Renaissance shines in the horizon before it. Like Gulliver's ship, it lands at the symbolic islands of Lying and Ignorance; but the joyous colossuses who are sailing in it face the monsters, blow upon the phantoms and exorcise the demons with a fulgurant burst of laughter. Swift's Gulliver travels without hope and without ideal. The chimerical countries that he visits show him the vices of humanity monstrously magnified or ridiculously distorted. In them he learns that humanity is incurable and incorrigible, and that all is vanity and calamity. The universe, as Gulliver discovers it, is but a vast system of hells and prisons rolling in the void. Even the idea of immortality Swift tries to disfigure and degrade: In the island of Luggnagg Gulliver finds a race of immortals—the Struldbrugs; but these immortals are idiotic and infirm old men, who drag themselves doting through their miserable eternity. Each lustre advances their decay, each century aggravates their decrepitude. The beings of whom Greece makes demi-gods are, in Swift's eyes, merely old drivellers, fallen into second childhood."

This study of Swift, though not a particularly happy specimen of Saint-Victor's work, is interesting as a foreigner's view of the great misanthrope, and also as another instance of Hellenic symmetry in art and in morals that was ever present in the critic's mind. With all his

hatred of platitude, and with all his disdain of contemporary mediocrity, Saint-Victor was never pessimist. He was too much of an artist and too ardent a worshiper of beauty to appreciate the dismal and pitiable misanthropy of Swift, whose genius is too insular to become acclimatized elsewhere than in his own country. To use Saint-Victor's own phrase, Baal holds sway at Carthage, Typhon reigns in Egypt; their cruel genius forms part of the public mind, their ugliness characterizes the country, their deformity pleases the people as the expression of its originality and of its power. But Rome refuses to adore these rude indigenous fetiches; the eternal and universal city does not admit them into its Pantheon.

From what we have said the reader will perhaps have obtained some idea of Paul de Saint-Victor's turn of mind, of his literary and artistic predilections, and of the nature of his multifarious erudition. Of the splendor of his style it would be hopeless to attempt to give any impression through a translation. Lamartine compared it to a kaleidoscope, and professed to be obliged to protect his eyes with blue spectacles from the glare of its pyrotechnic brilliancy; indeed, if any fault were to be found with this style, it would be that its richness is too abundant, its splendor of expression too perpetual, its intensity too continuous.

It can hardly be said that this grand-seignior of letters was, like Théophile Gautier, a victim of "copy." It is true that as dramatic critic successively of the *Pays*, the *Presse* and the *Moniteur*, he was forced to descend every Monday from the sublime heights of the poetry and art of Hellas to announce in his *feuilleton* the drama, the vaudeville, the clown, the "star," the buffoon, the *danseuse*, the performing elephant, the success and the glory of the week. He submitted to that baleful law of modern journalism that yokes to inferior tasks and ephemeral labors pens which, left free to work at will and in their own chosen path, might have added to the lasting treasures of literature, instead of momentarily satisfying the unprofitable greed of the curious public. Paul de Saint-Victor had conformed himself to this rôle; but he had exalted it by penetrating it with his personality and by putting into it his taste, his knowledge and his talent. His *feuilletons* were loose leaves of a fine book which posterity will collect into precious volumes; for, to quote the words of Victor Hugo, "his work is one of the works of this great century; it occupies the supreme summits of art."

THEODORE CHILD.

SINCE Dido tricked the Numidian king in her survey and purchase of a site for Carthage, the world has been in constant trouble upon the subject of boundaries. The cry of "Fifty-four-forty or Fight," our national watchword in 1846, has found an echo in every age. A very large proportion of the wars of nations, as well as the lawsuits of farmers, have arisen over disputed boundary lines, and it is not creditable to our boasted modern civilization that the chosen representatives of two great governments can not meet and decide upon the line of demarcation of their territories in language that will admit of no future doubt or misconception.

If the truth must be told, it is that the geographer has been denied a voice in these matters, which have been left to the exclusive control of legislator and diplomatist, and the proverbial ambiguity of diplomatic language has been further complicated by an ignorance of geographical conditions. In the halls of Congress, our training school for diplomatists, it is no uncommon thing to hear the expression, "west of the one hundredth parallel." And this almost in the shadow of the office of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, one of the finest institutions of its kind in the world, whose officers, it would seem, are especially fitted to advise in the partition of the earth's surface. That such counsel has been needed and neglected, will appear in the course of this article.

The establishment of our northern boundary with the British Possessions was begun in 1782, and prolonged throughout nearly a century, it having been finally settled within the last decade. In that time it has been the subject of four treaties, whose meaning, after being expounded by several conventions and explanatory articles, was still so uncertain that in one case it was necessary to decide it by the arbitration of a friendly power, while in another instance the common sense of the surveyors had to be relied on to interpret the indefinite and unworkmanlike clause, "the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods," which, through all of this long era of treaty-making, has been named as a turning-point in that boundary line. It is safe to say that no one familiar with physical geography and accustomed to the precise language of mathematical diction would have selected

for an important station of an international boundary a point so vague in its meaning and so fluctuating in its position as this. It would, perhaps, not be difficult to find the most northwestern point of a circle or other geometrical figure with a definite center from which to draw a secant in a northwest direction to its intersection with the periphery, but to find a corresponding point on so unsymmetrical a body as the Lake of the Woods, without center or regular shape, was a puzzle to the engineers until they hit upon the device of drawing a northeast and southwest line tangent to the waters of the lake, and adopting the point of tangency as the station desired. This was first done in 1824-25 by the surveyors appointed under authority of the Treaty of Ghent. "The recovery of this position," said Major Twining, astronomer of the Northern Boundary Commission in 1873, "gave rise to much discussion, and at one time promised considerable trouble." This is not improbable; some of the bloodiest of the world's wars have hinged upon smaller causes than this.

In the early days of the Republic our northern boundary ran in a due west course from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi River; but in 1818, it having been learned that this was a wild-goose chase, owing to the fact that there was no Mississippi River due west of the Lake of the Woods, it was changed to follow the forty-ninth parallel, "from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains." Apparently the authors of this sentence, in convention assembled, thought that the Stony Mountains—the Rocky Mountains of to-day—rose up from the plain as boldly and unmistakably as a Chinese wall, else they would not have assigned to them the important function of a limit to national territory. On the contrary, the Rocky Mountains are almost as unreal as the Mount Caf of Mohammedan fable, which was thought to encircle the earth. They can scarcely be said to have a place except in our popular geographies and in the ideas of Eastern people. Like the rainbow, when seen from afar off they have a definite location, but as they are approached they vanish into thin air. Ask one of the settlers upon their supposed site, and he will point out the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, the Medicine Bow Range or the Elk Mountains, but the best guide on all the continental divide can not show the tourist the Rocky Mountains.

The distinguished geologist, Professor Dana, says of them: "This mountain mass is not a narrow barrier between the East and the West, as might be inferred from the ordinary maps, but a vast, yet gentle, swell of the surface, having a base 1,000 miles in breadth,

diversified with various mountain ridges, or spreading out in plateaus at different levels." Our western boundary was, therefore, at that time, 1,000 miles in width; but, happily, this vast border land, furnishing abundant room for international dispute, was not of long existence. By a treaty of limits with Spain in 1819 our boundary was described along the more precise route of meridians, parallels and the banks of rivers.

In this treaty there occurs a clause which, whether it results from carelessness, ignorance of the meaning of the geographical terms in which it is couched, or an indifference to the possession of a comparatively small strip of the immense territory at stake, is equally reprehensible in a legal document of this nature. It is agreed that the boundary, for a specified distance, shall run due north along "the degree of longitude 100° west from London and 23° from Washington." Here, in one sentence, we have two locations for the same boundary. By the meridian of London we must infer that they intended that of Greenwich, which is a suburb of London, and from which longitudes were reckoned at that time. Such being the case, the two meridians specified in this treaty as one and the same are about two and one-half miles apart. It may be pleaded in excuse that the longitude of Washington had not yet been accurately determined, but still it was no less rash and unmethodical to presume that the origin of longitudes in that city was exactly seventy-seven degrees from the observatory at Greenwich, a condition that could only happen by the rarest chance.

Some boundary lines seem ingeniously contrived to afford grounds for future exceptions and misunderstandings, and to exemplify the old-fashioned diplomatic doctrine that words are principally useful for the concealment of ideas. Such is the eastern boundary of Alaska, established by the convention between Russia and Great Britain in 1825, and adopted by our government on its purchase of that territory in 1867. "The line of demarcation," according to the treaties, "shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast." What mountains? There are range after range of mountains in that country, and it is but natural that their general trend should be parallel to the coast. If our maps of this region are at all reliable, the accepted "summits" are scarcely worthy of the name, since they are merely a succession of spurs from the great divide separating the Pacific and Arctic drainage.

Wherever the summit of the mountains aforesaid shall prove to be more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the treaty says that the

boundary shall be a line parallel to the winding of the coast, and shall never exceed the distance of ten leagues from the same. But who shall define that meaningless expression, "the winding of the coast," where the edge of the land is broken with such a wilderness of indentations from the sea as are found here; and, this line having been described, by what laborious process shall the settler on the frontier determine his distance from this curve of reference, and in this manner learn the nationality of the soil which he possesses and the flag and jurisdiction which are over him?

In former times that indefinite point, the source of a river, was a favorite origin or station by which to locate a boundary. At one time the source of the Arkansas River was a turning-point in our boundary with Mexico. In our national outline, as laid down in the treaty with Great Britain in 1783, there were two courses of this unsatisfactory nature, one "due north from the source of the St. Croix River to the Highlands," and the other from the junction of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, "straight to the head of St. Mary's River." It is to be feared that the framers of this state paper had but little familiarity with rivers except that which was gained from the geographies of their childhood, otherwise they would have realized that they could hardly select a more indeterminate boundary mark than the head or source of a river. While the theoretical or ideal river may be followed along its main branch to some unmistakable fountain head, the real stream does not always fulfill these favorable conditions. Sometimes it rises in a swamp or lake of great extent; sometimes it forks into two or more branches of equal size, and thus it becomes hydra-headed; and sometimes its source in summer, when the springs are dried up, is many a mile down the valley from its headwaters in the rainy season. In this case it becomes necessary for the treaty to be supplemented by a commission "to particularize the latitude and longitude" of the river's source. Such was provided for by the fifth article of the treaty of 1794 with Great Britain, to clear away the doubts as to "what was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix." Here we have the incongruity of commissioning a body of men to discover what was in the thoughts of a previous assembly, when in all probability the originals themselves could not have told what they meant. It is in keeping with the occult processes of geographical diplomacy, in which conventions explain treaties and the surveyor guesses at the meaning of their explanatory articles.

South Carolina has gone into history with credit for a supposed

cession to the United States of a strip of territory extending from her present western border to the Mississippi River, when, in fact, she had no such land to give. This mythical territory was duly transferred by South Carolina, accepted by the United States, divided between Georgia and Mississippi, and frequently mentioned in the state papers of a hundred years ago, and it is not astonishing that the historian should treat it as a reality. An investigation shows that when Georgia was detached from South Carolina its northern boundary was drawn, by charter, westward to the south seas from the head of Savannah River, or from its intersection with the north boundary of South Carolina, should this stream reach so far. Thereupon South Carolina contended that the head of the Savannah River was at the confluence of its tributaries, the Tugaloo and Keowee Rivers, where it lost its name, and laid claim to the zone of America situated between the latitude of that junction and the parallel of thirty-five degrees, the south boundary of North Carolina. She found this ground untenable, however, and was obliged to recede from it in the Beaufort Convention of 1787, when she relinquished all title to the territory which she afterward ceded to the United States.

"Northwestward" was the original description of the course of the western boundary of Maine. In 1737 it became necessary to learn what this direction was, in order to survey the line. "The agents for New Hampshire at the Court of Commissioners," says Hutchinson, "insisted that everybody understood 'northwestward' to be north a little, perhaps less than a quarter of a point, west." On the other hand, Massachusetts, the proprietor of Maine, claimed that it meant from southeast to northwest, in a direction perpendicular to the general line of the coast. But the commissioners, in their wisdom, decided that "northwestward" meant north two degrees west.

With the diffusion of geographical knowledge these loose methods of establishing boundaries are going out of vogue, and the immutable lines of meridians and parallels are coming into favor. Over these, unvarying as the stars themselves, there is no possibility of war, except, perhaps, a bloodless war of the astronomers. Mountains may crumble, rivers may turn aside, and their names may be lost as languages change, and still the meridian or parallel can be recovered though forgotten for a hundred years.

These imaginary lines, then, are the safest for boundary purposes. Of natural objects a mountain range would be the best were it not for

the fact that it wears its nomenclature almost as lightly as the clouds which rest upon its summit, and the same name does not invariably mean the same thing to all men. As there is comparatively little communication of ideas across a mountain, it often happens that a peak or range has a name for each side, like the two-faced shield of the old story. A stream, however, along which people have their habitations and travel freely, can be more surely identified, and hence a boundary drawn along a mountain range, which is described as the watershed between two rivers, will admit of no doubt or dispute.

All boundaries traced along the edge of water surfaces or along the channels of streams must partake, to a certain extent, of that instability for which water is celebrated. The most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, as established by the surveyors in 1825, was found to be several feet under water in 1872. The States bounded by the Mississippi River are constantly gaining or losing in area by the shifting of the channel of that stream from one side to the other of its bed, and, not infrequently, by the cut-off and transfer of entire promontories from one political division to another.

In some cases a meridional boundary of great length is dependent for its position upon the mouth of some river, and a change in the place of this river mouth causes a transfer of a long strip of territory of width equal to this displacement. The eastern boundary of Washington Territory runs due north from the mouth of the Clear Water River, and the east boundary of Oregon extends south from the mouth of the Owyhee. Until these boundaries shall be marked and accepted the areas of Oregon and Washington will fluctuate with the sands at the junctions of these streams.

Following the establishment of a boundary by law or treaty comes the survey and mapping of it if it be a natural division, or the location and marking of it if it be an arbitrary line. Owing to the faults inherent in even the best surveys, the monuments which designate the artificial boundary are rarely in their proper place, as intended by the law. For instance, the southwest boundary of Nevada, separating that State from California, should be a straight line originating at the intersection of the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude with the one hundred and twentieth degree of longitude, and running thence to the point where the thirty-fifth parallel crosses the Colorado River. The intersection above mentioned as an origin being out on the surface of Lake Tahoe, it became a rather difficult task to locate this great circle proceeding therefrom. So difficult was it, indeed, that the astronomer

traced it half a mile from its rightful position, as has been shown by subsequent surveys. Where, then, is the boundary between California and Nevada? The law says it shall follow a certain course, while the surveyor, the agent of the law, has planted his monument elsewhere, leaving between the boundary as intended and as marked a doubtful strip of territory half a mile in width. Upon the decision of this question depends the citizenship of the people who live on this disputed border. The answer is simple. The line described by the monuments is the official interpretation of the great circle proposed by the law, and, until the States concerned shall take cognizance of the error of its position, it will remain the true boundary between them.

To avoid the confusion which would result from the rectification of the boundary and the transfer of territory from one State to another, it is customary to legalize and accept, by some action of treaty or legislative chamber, the line of demarcation as run. In 1825 the Choctaw Indians ceded to the United States that portion of their land "lying east of a line beginning on the Arkansas one hundred paces east of Fort Smith, and running thence due south to Red River." The United States surveyor, in attempting to lay out this meridian, traced and marked a line which deflected seriously to the westward, thus depriving the Indians of more territory, by over two hundred square miles, than they had agreed to relinquish. A half century later, in 1875, Congress declared the line as originally surveyed and marked to be the permanent boundary with Arkansas, and, having in view the compensation of the Indians for the land of which they had been unjustly dispossessed by the error of the surveyor, it ordered a calculation of the area of the same.

A case somewhat similar occurs in connection with the northern boundary of New York and Vermont, which, according to all treaty stipulations from 1782 to 1842, followed the forty-fifth parallel from the Connecticut River to the St. Lawrence. But, as was afterwards discovered, the boundary *de facto*, as indicated by the marks of the surveyor, did not agree with the boundary *de jure*, the forty-fifth parallel. The former was in some places more than a mile north of the latter, and the resulting gain of area to the United States was at least a hundred square miles. Rather than undergo the international disturbance which would follow the removal of a familiar boundary, the erroneous location was formally adopted by the Webster-Ashburton treaty in 1842, which ratified "the old line of boundary surveyed and

marked by Valentine and Collins, previously to the year 1774, *as the forty-fifth degree of north latitude*, and which has been known and understood to be the line of actual division."

It is a hopeful sign of better things that the boundaries between our newer States and Territories, however unsettled and uncivilized they may be, are drawn with more method, regularity and scientific skill than those which separate the original thirteen. The limits of Wyoming and New Mexico are far better known than those of Virginia and Tennessee, and in the same proportion their areas can be more accurately ascertained. Of late years all meridional boundaries have been referred to Washington, instead of to the meridian of Greenwich, formerly our standard. But, however flattering to our national pride this new origin may be, it has brought confusion into our popular geographies, which too often make the full degree from Washington and Greenwich coincide, thus leading the student into error; and, with the approaching change in the position of the observatory at Washington, this confusion will be worse confounded.

The irregular and broken perimeters of many of our older States are remarkable. In the eastern boundary of New York, from Long Island Sound to the headwaters of Lake Champlain, there are no less than twenty courses, varying in length from six chains to more than fifty miles, and all designated by their magnetic bearings, as the needle pointed at different times in the last century. This apparently purposeless traverse line, where one direct meridional course would seem so appropriate, may be attributed to the vicissitudes which attend the establishment of a border, prolonged throughout two or three hundred years, instead of being defined by one compact and traced by one survey. Two centuries of encroachment and repulse of rival colonies, litigation and compromise, cession and retrocession, maintenance of pride of State and deference to the convenience of the public, must have produced a series of fragmentary surveys which, when joined by connecting links equally fragmentary, necessarily resulted in a patch-work of a boundary like the one in question.

Engineers recognize a difference between the road which is made and the road which grows. One is the fruit of a tenacious design, which, by means of the survey, looks for the most direct and favorable route; the other is the result of each traveler's following in the footsteps of his predecessor, thus imitating the aimless wanderings of the aboriginal who first broke the trail. There are also boundaries which are made and boundaries which grow, and, unfortunately, a large pro-

portion of the State lines of the Atlantic coast are of the latter class, as their eventful history and zigzag shape attest.

One of the determining influences in the position of the boundary between New York and Massachusetts was the frequent meeting of prize-fighters on a small tract in the southwest corner of the latter Commonwealth. This locality was almost inaccessible from the east, and, in order to extend the more convenient jurisdiction of New York over it, it was ceded to that State in 1855.

This process of boundary growth is slow and tedious. The line between Rhode Island and Massachusetts is yet involved in uncertainty. Although the amount of territory at stake may be counted by acres, the loss or gain of a few acres is no trifle to a State like Rhode Island. The strife over the dividing line between Connecticut and New York began in the seventeenth century, when it separated the early English and Dutch settlers, and was only fully and finally settled in 1879. To the careless wording of the grants of Charles II. much of this trouble is due. In this monarch's charter of the English colony of Connecticut he described it as bounded "on the south by the sea." A few years later he granted the country occupied by the Dutch, together with Long Island, to the Duke of York. The English people on the eastern half of Long Island claimed membership of the colony of Connecticut by the terms of its charter and objected to their transfer to New York. Thereupon a dispute arose concerning the meaning of the words, "the sea"—whether they referred to the broad Atlantic or to Long Island Sound. The commissioners to whom this vexed question was given repeated the confusion of the two patents in the following words: "We do declare and order that the southern bounds of Connecticut is the sea, and that Long Island is to be under the government of his royal highness, the Duke of York." Thus, by the loose phraseology of his ungeographical majesty, Charles II., Connecticut lost the valuable island which lies before her door, and New York gained this sea front as a suburb to her great city.

Indeed, the methods by which New York has acquired her coast line throughout will hardly bear analysis. Questionable rulings, supported by the confidence which comes from secure possession, have perverted the obvious meaning of original grants until an all but inland State has gained a seaboard of more than a hundred miles in length. The possession of Staten Island by New York is termed by New Jersey an act of usurpation, and with much appearance of

justice. In parting with that territory which is now the State of New Jersey, the Duke of York granted the tract of land "lying and being to the westward of Long Island and Manhattan's Island, and bounded on the east, part by the main sea, and part by Hudson's River." While these directions seem to explicitly require that the boundary line should be drawn down New York Bay and through the Narrows, yet New York, from the time of the organization of her government, has held Staten Island, in spite of the apparently just claim of New Jersey, which claim ceased only in 1834, when a board of commissioners between the conflicting States awarded the island to New York.

Prior to that date not only had New York asserted her right to the islands in these boundary waters, but also to the waters themselves, as far as the western shore, but by the compromise then effected New Jersey reaped the doubtful advantage of a boundary line drawn down the middle of Hudson River and New York Bay, giving her the ownership of the land under the water and west of this line, but leaving the surface of the water under the jurisdiction of New York. In this manner a portion of the area of New Jersey remains subject to the laws of New York; but this equivocal proprietorship finds a compensation in the fact that in Staten Island Sound and Raritan Bay there are New York waters under the legislative control of New Jersey. This novel division of the jurisdiction of the two States is probably useful in order to efficiently police these waters, as an authority ending at so indeterminate a limit as the middle of a river might be easily evaded or disputed; but in computing the contents of one of these States it gives rise to the question, Is the area of a political division that territory which is included within its nominal boundaries, or that other extent which is covered by its legislative authority? In this case it is manifestly the former, since the State of New Jersey not only possesses the land at the bottom of that portion of the river and bay inclosed by her boundaries, but also regulates the fisheries in these waters.

Nowadays, in ceding a tract of land or in erecting a State or Territory with fluvial boundaries, it is customary to precisely describe these bounds as following the middle of the main channel of the river. This secures to each of the adjoining countries equal possessory rights in the stream which separates them. But in the old times, when land was so plenty that indifference on this subject was more excusable than now, and when lawyers and legal quibbles were so few that a contract

was interpreted according to its obvious meaning, the framers of constitutions and charters did not particularize their intentions as they should have done. Many of our older States have grown out of land grants and cessions which have been described as extending from one river or bay to another, without providing for any possession of these boundary waters. Whatever may have been the spirit of these papers, the States to reap advantage from the carelessness of their wording have too often held them strictly to the letter, claiming the boundary waters as entirely their own.

The grant which is the foundation of the present State of New Jersey extended by charter to the Delaware bay and river on the west. Although New Jersey, through various compacts and concessions and the established usage of centuries, now feels securely established in the possession of the eastern half of the Delaware River, she cannot yet show a clear title to a corresponding portion of the bay. When New York was under the king it extended in the northeast, by royal definition, to the Connecticut River; so, when Vermont emancipated herself from the jurisdiction of New York she found herself without any share in the stream which forms her eastern boundary. The board of arbitrators appointed a few years ago to decide upon the boundary between Maryland and Virginia have drawn it along the south shore of the Potomac, thus throwing that river entirely into Maryland. But what Virginia lost in the east she retained in the west, when, in 1784, she ceded to the United States her possessions northwest of the Ohio River. From this territory the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois have been in part constructed, and, as a consequence of the insufficient language of the cession, these States have no proprietary rights in the Ohio River beyond low-water mark. West Virginia even goes so far as to claim, in her constitution, "the bed, banks and shores of the Ohio River."

It is unfortunate that this unnatural system should have ever obtained in the selection of boundaries, as every principle of justice and symmetrical division demands that the line of demarcation should follow the *filum aquæ*. To draw it elsewhere is to introduce jealousy and ill-feeling where there should be naught but neighborly courtesy and good-will.

After the boundary is scientifically projected and clearly described, it yet remains to mark it with monuments which shall be permanent, and which we, warned by the litigation and loss that we have inherited from our ancestors in this regard, may leave as a valuable

heritage to the generations which are to follow us. Our forefathers in England did not take this trouble, but were accustomed, instead, to annually "beat the bounds" by perambulating the village limits and the parish outline in order to refresh their memories. Whenever, it is said, they came to a particularly important turning-point they emphasized it upon the mind of one of the rising generation by administering to him, then and there, a vigorous fustigation, the local circumstances of which he would not be likely to forget until his dying day.

Although in theory our methods are not so crude as this, yet in practice some of our surveys of the present day are scarcely more efficient and lasting. It is difficult for a person to travel through the great West without hearing two stories, as stereotyped as Western stories usually are, which illustrate the ephemeral nature of our landmarks. He learns of the surveyor who was in the habit of lighting his pipe before throwing up the mound which perpetuates the township or section corner, and throwing the charred end of the match into the pile of earth, in order to fulfill the requirement that "a portion of charcoal" be deposited therein. Again, he hears of the two travelers journeying across the plains. One of them, seeing a stake by the roadside, and anticipating a scarcity of firewood at their next camp, pulls it up and throws it into the wagon. As he is about to build a fire with it in the evening his comrade recognizes it as a land survey post, and, not to speak of the more recent statute against this action, he reminds him of the Levitical malediction, "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark." Whereupon the offender seeks to make what restitution he can, and drives the stake into the ground by his side, thus unthinkingly establishing one corner of a quarter section twenty miles away from the other three.

One of William Penn's purchases from the Indians was of a tract of land extending "two days' journey with an horse up into the country." Many of the troublesome Spanish grants with which the California land office is embarrassed have been surveyed in a similar manner. The length of a line has been measured by the travel of a horse; its direction has been estimated by a glance at the sun, and its terminal points designated by a neighboring tree which is now cut down, or a pond which is now dried up. What wonder, then, that the annals of California should teem with litigation, violence, and even murder, over disputed boundary lines?

Very great accuracy, however, has never been expected in our land surveys. Error is provided for by the clause, "as nearly as may be,"

which accompanies statements of land area. Besides, the division of townships is but an insignificant operation compared with the drawing of boundaries around States and nations, and we have no right to strain at this gnat while swallowing the camel which is exemplified, for example, in the eastern boundary of the Empire State of New York. This, according to the latest edition of the Revised Statutes, is marked, among other objects, by the following: "a rock at the ancient road or wading-place in Byram River"; "a red or black oak tree"; "a place on the westerly bank of the Hosick River, where a hemlock tree heretofore stood"; "a large, roundish rock"; "a white oak tree at the southwest corner of the land occupied in 1814 by Thomas Wilsey"; "a fence dividing the possessions of Thomas Wilsey, junior, and Emery Hunt"; and "a bunch of hornbeam saplings."

Is all of this in keeping with the dignity and pride of a great State like New York? In all soberness, would it not have been a wise precaution to have adopted the English custom and flogged some bright boy on the spot "where a hemlock tree heretofore stood?" Could not the surveyors have been a little more definite and stated whether the "roundish rock" was or was not as big as a piece of chalk? And if Thomas Wilsey should move his fence and some ruthless hand should cut down the hornbeams, what is to prevent Vermont from lapsing to her parent State?

The south boundary of Tennessee, separating that State from Georgia, begins at a certain rock which is "due south from near the centre of the old Indian town of Nickajack," and thence runs due east, "leaving old D. Ross two miles and eighteen yards in the State of Tennessee." Here it will be observed that, with a short-sightedness almost criminal, the surveyors have referred their line to "old D. Ross," when, it is safe to infer, young D. Ross would have been very much more durable as a landmark, and—this was in 1819—might have even lasted to the present day.

It is probable, however, that the people of Virginia would be thankful for even hornbeams and old men to perpetuate their southern boundary. This line, originally ordered to follow the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, has been surveyed at different periods along an erratic route several minutes north of its intended position, and marked by blazes on trees which have now disappeared. Thus, while North Carolina gains more than a thousand square miles of territory by the error of this survey, as tradition hands it down, she

is left in painful uncertainty as to the legitimate extent of her possessions. So much so, indeed, that her State Geologist, Professor Kerr, dwells in his report upon the desirability that "North Carolina should know more of her whereabouts on the planet, and how much there is of her." And the Census Bureau in Washington, in its latest efforts to obtain the areas of the States and Territories, has often found occasion to sympathize with Professor Kerr in his distress.

There is a moral to this discreditable history of our boundaries. In the early days of America it was perhaps not astonishing that an arrogant Roman pontiff should draw a boundary line from pole to pole, as was done by Alexander VI, in his grant of heathen lands to Castile and Arragon, or for an untraveled English king to charter a colony extending westward from the Atlantic coast to the "south seas," or Pacific Ocean, as was once the custom; but the time has arrived to substitute for this vagueness some of the precision, scientific skill and geographical knowledge for which the nineteenth century is celebrated. It is time to pass from the local surveyor of the George Washington type to the educated geographer, from the compass to the theodolite, from sextant to zenith telescope, from Gillespie to Clarke, and from the blazed tree to the imperishable obelisk of stone or iron. In other words, our national and state boundary determinations should be made by some such trained and permanent corps as the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which has always at its command men, methods and implements of the very best. The casual surveyor, working by contract, is released from responsibility as soon as his line is completed and accepted, and before there is time to test it; but the Coast Survey, with its reputation to maintain, could not afford to do imperfect work. The stamp of its approval would be a guarantee of wisdom in the selection of a boundary, accuracy in its survey, and uniformity and durability in its monuments.

It is a mistake to suppose that this coöperation of a national organization would be an invasion of the rights of the States. While no State with any pretensions to dignity can claim a moral right to cordon itself with fences, saplings, roundish rocks, old men, apple trees and barns, it certainly has an incontestable right to the use of this national survey, in which it owns a part. The farmer, when he summons a surveyor to measure his land for him, does not consider that his rights are invaded; and it is to be deplored by all who are interested in scientific progress that a State should ever allow its local pride to deprive it of services the equal of which its own citizens,

however able they may be, cannot hope to render. And what has here been said of the Coast and Geodetic Survey is equally applicable to the United States Geological Survey, which, although intended as a national institution, has hitherto been restricted to the unsettled outskirts of the nation.

FRANK D. Y. CARPENTER.

BOOK REVIEWS.

VOLUME XIII. of the Encyclopædia Britannica¹ is the second which has appeared during the year, and extends from "Infant" to "Kant." Examination shows its contents to consist of about 550 articles, among which are a number of exhaustive treatises upon leading subjects. Among them the following are worthy of special notice:

"Infinitesimal Calculus," by Benj. Williamson, Professor of Mathematics, Trinity College, Dublin. To this subject are devoted 68 pages.

The article on "Insanity," by J. Batty Luke and Alex. Gibson, comprises 19 pages. In this short space is given a complete *résumé* of the subject, both from the medical and the legal point of view.

"Inscriptions" occupies 20 pages. This article, the joint work of several writers, is well illustrated by figures of Greek, Latin and other inscriptions.

The subject "Insects" is treated by Robert McLachlan, F.R.S. Within the short space of 14 pages is condensed a most admirable treatise upon this great order of animal life.

"Insurance—Fire, Marine and Life," occupies 27 pages. Each of the sub-heads is discussed by a well-known actuary or other authority.

The article upon "Ireland" is naturally one of the leading articles in the volume, comprising 59 pages, with a map.

To "Iron," by C. R. Alder Wright, is given not fewer than 83 pages. This treatise comprises the chemistry of iron and its ores and its metallurgy, including the various processes of manufacture of cast and wrought iron and steel, amply illustrated by figures of furnaces and other smelting works.

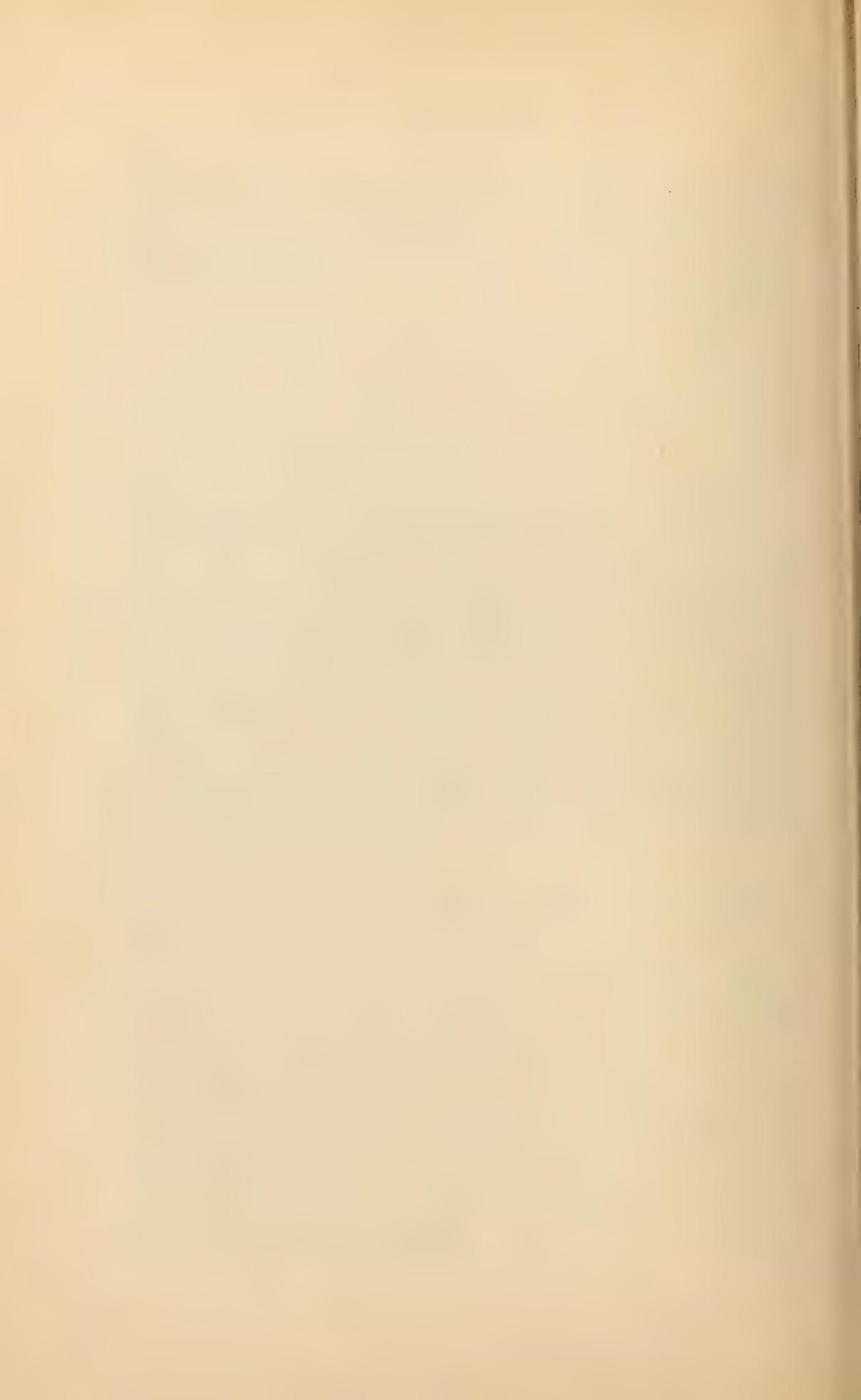
¹ Volume XIII. Encyclopædia Britannica. Edinburgh Subscription Edition. (Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.)

To "Israel," by Dr. Julius Wellhausen, is devoted 37 pages; to "Italy," the several sub-heads of which are treated by different writers, is given 83 pages, with three full-page maps; "Japan," by T. R. H. McClatchie and Sir Rutherford Alcock, occupies 24 pages; "Java," 10 pages; "Jesus Christ," 17 pages, and "Kant," with which the volume closes, 10 pages.

The volume contains numerous wood-cuts, distributed through the text, besides 13 handsomely engraved full-page plates, among which are admirable maps of Iowa and Kansas, the first of the new series of maps of the States to be embodied in the work. These new maps are among the finest specimens of cartographic work ever produced in this country, both in accuracy and fullness of compilation and in neatness of execution. Similar maps to accompany the descriptions of the States which have appeared in previous volumes either without maps or with less complete ones, will shortly be furnished to all buyers of the work who have the earlier volumes.

The cosmopolitan character of this celebrated encyclopædia, coupled with the fact that all articles distinctively American are treated by the best American writers, commend it to the people of this country. Of the value of its extended articles it is enough to say that a number of them have been republished, with permission, for use as text books in several of our leading colleges.

We understand that, in order to expedite the publication of the remaining volumes, the editorial staff has been strengthened, and it is expected that hereafter at least three volumes will be published each year.



THE

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

FEBRUARY, 1882.

ALASKA AS IT IS.

AFTER fifteen years of quiet existence under the United States Government, the people of a portion of Alaska have made an attempt to secure legislation in Congress for that distant region. In private life a purchaser who did not look at his purchase for so lengthy a period would be a strange spectacle indeed; but that is nearly the position in which the United States Government finds itself at the present day in regard to Alaska. No systematic and continued exploration of Alaska has thus far been made by the Government. Individual inquirers in various capacities have penetrated here and there into the valleys of the principal rivers and taken a peep at mountain ranges and harbors, but it is safe to assert that less is known of Alaska to the general public than of any other component part of this union of States and Territories.

Congress has thus far not even exerted itself sufficiently to determine the status of the territory acquired from Russia by the treaty of 1867. It is called a territory by courtesy, but in reality it is nothing but a collection district of the Treasury Department. To add to the confusion, this customs district is partially placed under control of a naval commander stationed at Sitka, and, owing to the latter circumstance, two departments claim to be burdened with the sole care of Alaska, and both are now clamoring for relief from this burden. The heads of departments are naturally unacquainted with the topography of this vast domain, and consequently unable to understand why rules applied to other smaller and more accessible districts cannot be applied successfully to Alaska. Much has been written and much has been said with a view to enlighten our legislators and the general public

with regard to the resources and wants of Alaska, but thus far nearly all publications of this kind have been made by men conversant only with one particular section of the Territory in question. A few of the writers on Alaska have extended their description and discussion to the whole without personal knowledge of anything outside of their own field of observation; but in no case has the result been satisfactory. Among the books on Alaska is one written by a prominent member of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, evidently hastily thrown together with the sole object of influencing impending legislation, and of making a rapid sale of the book. It contains most extraordinary misrepresentations and statements only too apt to give the reader an entirely erroneous idea of Alaska, the distortion of its real features in the volume mentioned extending even to the illustrations borrowed from a number of Government publications of regions widely different from Alaska. The reader must infer from them that Bering Sea is beset with icebergs; that the Innuit population, who form a majority of the people of the country, are the same as the Eskimos met by the Arctic explorers on the Atlantic side of the continent, and that the Indians are the same as the tribes of the plains, with their tomahawks, buffalo tepees, and indulging in an occasional scalp dance.

The population of Alaska at the present day may exceed the number of 30,000 by a few hundred; over 18,000 of these are of one race—the Innuit or Eskimo family. This race inhabits the coast line from Point Barrow, in the Arctic, to the mouth of Copper River, just east of Prince William Sound, and its various subdivisions are located as follows: On the coast of the Arctic, from Point Barrow to Bering's Strait, nearly 3,000 Eskimos have been enumerated; the coast from Bering's Strait southward to the mouth of the Yukon sustains 600 more, while the delta of this mighty river is peopled by nearly 4,000. The river systems of the Kuskokvim, the Togiak and the Nushagak contain in the order named 3,500, 1,800 and 2,000 Innuits, respectively. In the district of Kadiak, including both islands and mainland between Bristol Bay and Prince William Sound, we find 1,700 of the same race, and between 400 and 500 more from the Kenai Peninsula to the mouth of Copper River, the easternmost limit of the Innuit race.

At one point only in this long chain of kindred tribes is there a break, caused by the appearance of interior Indians on the coast; this is on the shores of Cook's Inlet, where the Kenai tribe, belonging to the Tinnch family, has been located ever since the Russians first penetrated to this region.

Though undoubtedly of the same family with the eastern Eskimos, the Alaska Innuits above enumerated, especially those south of Bering's Straits, have undergone a very great change, not only in outside appearance, but in their whole mode of life—their customs, pursuits, and means of subsistence. With his gradual advance to the southward and eastward, the Innuit adapted himself most thoroughly to his altered surroundings. The Arctic hunter, relying upon his deftly-handled kaiak for procuring his scanty subsistence among the icefields and along the snow-covered shore, became, in the course of his progress, equally skilled in hunting the animals of the forest, and learned to rely upon a few of the vegetable productions of the soil, however scanty, as a regular addition to his diet. The change became more complete when he reached the mountainous shores of the Alaska Peninsula, Kadiak Island, and Cook's Inlet, until, at the end of his migration, we find the Chugatch Innuit of Prince William Sound as skillful a manager of his kaiak as the best of his kindred in the far Northwest, and at the same time a bold and hardy mountaineer, surpassing in many instances, in the pursuit of the mountain sheep, the exploits of the famous chamois hunters of the Alps. This, surely, is convincing evidence of the great adaptability of his race.

To the southward of the coast line just described a population of a kindred race perhaps, but entirely different in language and habits and traditions, exists on the islands of the Aleutian chain, on the southernmost extremity of the Alaska Peninsula and the Shumagin group of islands. These people, the Aleuts, have been so long and intimately associated with their Russian conquerors that but few traces of their old tribal individuality can now be discerned. They are faithful members of the Russian orthodox church, and readily accept the innovations and changes caused by their remunerative intercourse with the Americans.

In the interior of continental Alaska, hemmed in in all directions but the east by the Innuit races, shut off from the sea, as it were, we find a scattered Indian population, of two or three thousand at the most, differing but slightly from the nations known to inhabit the region formerly occupied by the Hudson Bay Company.

From the Copper River southward and eastward, and all over the Alexander Archipelago and the narrow strip of coast, about thirty miles in width, from Mount St. Elias to Portland Canal, is peopled by one race, subdivided into many tribes, but known under the general name of Thlinkets, or Kolosh, according to the Russians. The Thlin-

kets are a strong and hardy race, and more warlike than the Innuits. In their wooden canoes, often provided with mast and sail, they could pass the natural barrier of an ice-bound, precipitous coast nearly one hundred miles in length, which prevented the Innuits from migrating further in their skin-covered kaiaks; and at the time when the Russians made their first appearance in Alaska the Thlinkets were gradually driving westward the more intelligent, but weaker, race. The Russians at once saw the necessity of putting a stop to such encroachments, and as long as the Russian-American Company ruled in those waters the Kolosh were compelled to keep within their own natural boundaries. Alexander Baranov, the man who extended Russian domain to our present boundary, with rare foresight perceived at a glance the impossibility of carrying on his company's business and the pursuit of the sea-otter among the warlike and numerous tribes of Thlinkets, who had many ways of disposing of their furs to the Hudson Bay Company and to rival trading vessels from England and America. With indomitable energy he organized fleets, composed of many hundreds of hunting canoes, making every Innuit tribe send its quota, and dispatched them eastward and southward along the coast, under convoy of a schooner or two manned by Russians. The Innuit fleets in this way advanced as far as Sitka and Prince of Wales Island, but hundreds of the unlucky hunters fell victims to the bloodthirsty Kolosh, who watched their progress along the coast, and fell upon their encampments at night with indiscriminate slaughter; other hundreds perished at sea in gales while passing along stretches of coast devoid of landing-places or harbors of refuge; and altogether this forced movement had the effect of preventing forever after the Innuit race from spreading in that direction. The few members of such expeditions who returned to their homes imbued their people with a terror of the Kolosh that survives to the present day. The many subsequent disasters and encounters between Innuit hunters in the Russian-American Company's employ with Indians all along the coast, from Sitka to California, also served to increase the fear with which the former looked upon all Indian races.

Since the transfer of Russia's American Possessions to the United States Government the restraint exercised by the former no longer exists, and already the gradual advance of the stronger race upon the domains of the weaker nation can be plainly perceived—a movement boding no good to the future of that particular region.

To-day, as nearly a century ago, the two races present to the

observer distinct features widely divergent from each other, and each lending a peculiar aspect to the country they occupy. The whole western expanse of continent and islands beyond the meridian of Mount St. Elias presents the spectacle of a homogeneous race, industrious, as far as such an adjective may be applied to a barbarous race, but sufficiently so to make itself self-supporting, and of a disposition both peaceful and harmonious, making it possible for less than two hundred white traders and fishermen to live among them singly, or two or three together, without danger of even the remotest necessity for display of authority of any kind; only where, in the far interior, the Tinneh tribes hold undisputed sway over the hunting grounds, a few isolated instances of violence have been reported. The vast region occupied by the Innuit race is of such a nature that it will never attract a general agricultural emigration; a small number of fishing settlements may possibly form themselves in the future on some of the islands and the continental coast, but no great increase of population can be looked for by persons conversant with the country; in fact, the only industry which at the present day is constantly increasing in dimensions is the fishing business. Prospectors for minerals have labored patiently for many years on Cook's Inlet, the Copper River region, and the mountains of the upper Yukon and its tributaries, but they have been obliged to eke out their living by traffic in furs. No timber of a commercial value exists in all this section, a large proportion of which has not even a sufficiency for fuel.

On the other hand, we find the small section of Alaska from Mount St. Elias to the British Columbia boundary occupied by a numerous, warlike Indian race, also sufficiently industrious to be self-supporting, but ever inclined to increase their store by robbery or impudent demands upon unprotected whites wherever the opportunity serves. The display of military or naval power has always been necessary in this region.

An offshoot of the Kuro Siva current that bathes the shores of hundreds of islands and deeply indented coast of southeastern Alaska produces a moist atmosphere and comparatively high temperature, and consequently a luxuriant growth of vegetation. The conformation of the country causes innumerable nooks and points of vantage sheltered from cold winds and storms, where vegetable gardens may be carried on with profit and success. This feature alone might attract a limited immigration, but thus far the population has been annually increased by miners and prospectors, whose search has been rewarded in many

instances in a discovery of both placer and quartz mines; thus far the placers have been the most remunerative, but in the vicinity of Takoo, where a town has sprung up within the last two years, some rich quartz ledges have been reported.

The yellow cedar, a really valuable tree, is found in groves scattered among the other timber along the islands and fiords. It attains to great size, frequently occurring in specimens one hundred feet high, and five or six feet in diameter, and the lumber made from it is of fine texture, aromatic, durable, and highly prized by the ship-builder and cabinet-maker.

Among the native tribes of this southeastern section of Alaska the Russian Church never gained a predominating influence, and possibly it is owing to this circumstance that the missions established among them by the Presbyterians within the last five or six years have met with gratifying success. These missions, with their schools, are even now exerting considerable influence among the Thlinkets. The way in which these preachers place religion upon a business basis, showing plainly to the people that they will gain so much of practical advantage by so much attention to their teachings, appeals more powerfully to the natural practical sense of the Kolosh than did the pomp and display of the oriental church, exacting endless observances and duties without any visible immediate advantage beyond a small present bestowed upon the convert after the ceremony of baptism. Here, evidently, practical religion will gain the day, and the small congregation of Russian Creoles at Sitka will remain as it is, or gradually dwindle away.

The only attention on the part of the United States Government, in the shape of armed protection and mail service, has been bestowed upon this southeastern section of about 18,000 square miles.

The merchants of Oregon, Washington Territory and British Columbia have established their agents wherever a few miners or fishermen congregated, and regular communication with the States and Territories of the Pacific Coast is maintained, while the bulk of Alaska, over 500,000 square miles, has been allowed to take care of itself in that respect, aside from an occasional visit of a revenue cutter distributing a few printed copies of extremely brief regulations of the Treasury Department. Mail service has not been extended to any part of western Alaska for over ten years, the scattered white inhabitants depending for their letters upon the kindness of the owners and captains of trading vessels, and they fully realize that, in their isolated

position, hundreds and even thousands of miles apart from each other, they have no claim to the extension of such facilities from the Government. As the fishing business increases and grows in the Kadiak and Shumagin districts, the facilities for communication with San Francisco multiply in proportion.

There is one element of population in this western region entitled to special mention—the so-called Creoles—a name applied here only to the people of mixed blood, the descendants of Russian or native Siberian fathers and Alaskan mothers—the latter mostly of the Innuit race, who inhabit, to the number of about 1,500, the districts of Kadiak and Oonalashka. They are semi-civilized, faithful members of the Russian Church, and must, under the provisions of our treaty with Russia, be considered as citizens. Cut off as they have been since their transfer to the United States from general intercourse with Americans, we find them to-day in nearly the same state politically as they were left by their former rulers. Perhaps ten or fifteen per cent. of the adult Creoles are sufficiently removed from illiteracy to be able to read books printed in the Russian or Aleut vernacular, and a much smaller proportion can write and keep simple accounts in the Russian language. All these faint traces of education may be ascribed solely to the influence of the Russian Church. Of the nature of a constitutional government and our republican institutions they are profoundly ignorant, and at any time would obey a mandate of the Emperor of Russia, transmitted through the priesthood, before paying any attention to the laws of the United States. In their churches, supported at the expense of the Imperial Government now, as they were previous to the purchase, the Russian priests pray for the Emperor of Russia at length before saying a few words in behalf of our President, and, while the sympathy aroused by the news of Alexander's assassination was universal and heartfelt, the subsequent announcement of the shooting and death of President Garfield excited but little comment or interest. The influence of the Russian Church among the Christian natives of the Innuit race and the Aleutians, numbering 7,000, is, if possible, still greater than among the Creoles. How the United States Government eventually will grapple with this problem of a State church in Alaska remains an open question for the future. That the people are better, happier and more tractable under this peculiar religious influence cannot be denied, and it would be unreasonable to expect that a mere change of government, practically unknown to the people in its effect should counteract at once the ideas rooted in the popular mind by a

century of constant teaching and intercourse with the Russians. At the same time, it is questionable whether a change from their present status would be at all desirable.

In speaking of the natural resources and wealth of Alaska it is impracticable to generalize. On this subject, as in every other thus far discussed, a line must be drawn between the regions east and west of Mount St. Elias. The precious minerals, the timber and the fish, and the limited agricultural facilities of southeastern Alaska, have already been briefly mentioned above; and, in view of the small area covered by that section, it is safe to presume that nearly the full extent of its resources is known at the present day. The narrow strip of mainland, less than thirty miles wide, is bounded by almost inaccessible mountains, and, wherever a gap is found not filled by the ever present glacier, it leads us into the British Possessions, within a day's travel of the coast. Surely, the exploration of such a confined strip of land cannot require much time. The islands intervening between this coast and the sea are very numerous, mountainous, covered with a dense growth of timber, and are mostly occupied by the native tribes as places of residence, from whence they roam through the Alexander Archipelago in their wooden canoes. Navigable channels intersect these islands everywhere. Navigation is only impeded by a lack of good anchorage and a difficulty of using sails; and, though every passage contains water enough to float the Great Eastern, steam is necessary for a free locomotion. The scenery throughout this region is both grand and novel in the extreme when viewed from the deck of the passing steamer, its aspect changing with every turn in the tortuous channels, but the impenetrable growth of timber would prevent any enjoyment of nature's beauties from the hill sides or mountain tops.

The fur trade of this region is by no means an unimportant item in its economy, though it is difficult to make any correct estimate of its extent, owing to the fact that the greater portion of the furs purchased here finds its way into the hands of the British Columbia merchants, who have nearly succeeded in driving American competition out of this branch of business. The marten from the main land, the silver-gray fox, the black bear and mink are the principal furs purchased in this vicinity. The island people also furnish a large supply of hair seal skins, and now and then an occasional sea-otter. The prices paid by the traders in this section are high enough to fill with dismay the uninitiated newcomer, being apparently more than the skins are worth in the markets of the civilized world; but, as every purchaser of furs

also sells merchandise of every description to his customers, he is enabled to make up for the seeming discrepancy in prices. Altogether, the traders of southeastern Alaska, including the one incorporated company of chiefly Oregon capitalists, are doing a prosperous business buying up skins and selling Indian and miners' supplies.

In western Alaska, as a matter of course, the fur trade is the universal industry of the country, surpassing everything else in value and extent of operations. A wise regulation of the Treasury Department has secured the right of killing the fur-bearing animals exclusively to the natives, insuring them, as long as the regulation remains in force, of an ample maintenance for themselves and their families. The condition of these native hunters, especially those living in the sea-otter districts, has been vastly improved since the transfer of the Territory; where they formerly received from eight to ten dollars for one of these valuable animals, they now, owing to fierce competition, pocket from eighty to one hundred dollars—ten-fold their former value—for each skin secured. The average annual income of the sea-otter hunter is two or three times that of a laboring man in the States and Territories. At the same time, the wants, real or imaginary, of these people have increased in an equal ratio with their income, and they do not experience the slightest difficulty in expending all their enlarged stipend. The consumption by this class of natives of staple provisions, such as flour, tea and sugar, is growing annually to an astonishing degree, while a large traffic is carried on in clothing and articles of luxury. All this comparative wealth and prosperity is owing to the presence of the sea-otter, the same animal that led directly to the discovery of this whole section of country, and without which animal this particular region would lapse into abject poverty and barbarism. The annual business done in sea-otter skins alone, from Prince William Sound in the east to the last of the Aleutian Islands in the west, cannot be less than a million of dollars, distributed among two incorporated companies, with large capital, and a great number of private traders.

To judge from the expressions of the newspapers of the country, the impression prevails with the American people that all Alaska is controlled by one great company. Nothing can be more erroneous. Wherever the resources of the country admit of competition, we find it existing to such a degree as to force up the purchase prices of furs to a figure leaving but a small margin for profit. The people, as a rule, have come to a full understanding of this state of affairs, and divide to

a certain extent their patronage between the rival traders, according to the latter's ability of promptly supplying their wants.

On two insignificant islets, removed out of sight of all this vast field of trade and traffic, we find the only portion of Alaska controlled by a company under a lease of the United States Government. The islands of St. Paul and St. George are the only breeding grounds of the fur-seal in the American portion of the North Pacific; and, luckily for the continuance of this great industry, the United States Government soon after the purchase recognized the fact that only careful protection could secure this source of wealth to the nation, and pave the way for a gradual but certain reimbursement of expenditure in buying Alaska. Ten years that have passed by since then have fully proved the wisdom of the measure, and one-half of the original purchase price of the whole country has already been returned to the United States Treasury from these two small islands. The income derived by the Government from the fur-seal islands as a Treasury reservation, and by the lessees, is fully four or five times what the Russians realized from the whole country during its most flourishing condition. At the time of the purchase the extent of the possibilities of trade in both the fur-seal and sea-otter was scarcely known; but these two branches of business alone—as they are now developed—would have warranted the purchase of the territory from Russia.

The traffic in land furs—foxes of all kinds, land-otter, marten, minks, bear and deer skins—supports a large population inhabiting continental Alaska; but its value, when compared with the seal and sea-otter trade, sinks into insignificance. If we divide the purchase price paid to natives for land furs in western Alaska equally among them, it would not exceed an annual average of from six to eight dollars per capita, a sure indication of the great extent to which the interior Indians must still depend upon their natural resources for food and raiment. Strange as it may seem, even in this limited field competition is fierce and almost ruinous.

The Treasury regulations above referred to, reserving the right to kill fur-bearing animals to natives alone, have been relaxed from time to time in the cases of white men who have taken native wives to themselves and settled down on various islands of the region frequented by sea-otters. Upon proving their marriage and intention of remaining as permanent settlers, permission was granted by the Secretary of the Treasury to quite a number of individuals to hunt sea-otters. The natives from the first disliked this arrangement, fearing

an extirpation of the animal through a too ardent pursuit with fire-arms. The number of men thus specially privileged is annually increasing, and, as their business is highly profitable, they are building and purchasing sloops and small schooners, hiring assistants, and carrying on the pursuit of the timid sea-otter into its haunts of refuge so constantly and energetically as to give good cause for alarm. Here, among the treeless and almost barren islands of the Shumagin group and the lower coast of the Alaska Peninsula, more than in almost any other section of territory, the extinction of sea-otters would imply a general and nearly total impoverishment and ruin of the people. As it is, new arrivals land upon these islands every year, choose consorts among the native females, probably on the day of arrival, the marriage ceremony being performed by the Russian priest for a consideration, and the next day the application for the privileges of a permanent settler is forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury. If the white man who thus acquires the rights of a native be successful, he will continue in the business from year to year, and bring up a family, and perhaps remain permanently in the country; but, on the other hand, an unlucky season or two will always cause him to abandon his privileges and his wife and children at the same time.

The destruction of sea-otters by this class of hunters is very great, owing to the employment of breech-loading arms of precision, and of sailing crafts, enabling them to continue their pursuit at seasons when the native hunter, in his skin-covered canoe, must remain at home. This is a subject requiring the careful consideration of the Government in the near future.

The fisheries of Alaska are yet in their infancy, but their extent is sufficiently great to warrant us in saying that the supply of food fishes is practically unlimited. The most important item of this industry is the salmon trade, consisting chiefly in putting up salted salmon in barrels. This business has more than doubled in western Alaska within a year; over ten thousand barrels have been shipped to San Francisco, and much of the supply has reached the Eastern market and commands good prices. Kadiak Island, Cook's Inlet and the Nushagak River are the localities from which salted salmon is principally shipped.

The canneries in southeastern Alaska have languished for some unexplained reason, and the one located at Sitka has even temporarily suspended operations; but a new and vigorous enterprise of the kind is about to be inaugurated on Kadiak Island, giving every promise of success.

The cod fishery of the Shumagin Islands is limited to the local demand of the Pacific Coast market, which it shares with the more abundant cod fishing grounds of the Okhotsk Sea. Nine or ten schooners hailing from San Francisco are engaged in this business. Many other codfish banks are known in various parts of these waters, and halibut and herring abound in numerous bays and passages, awaiting the future development of the fisheries. Looking to the future of Alaska, we must consider the fisheries the one source of wealth altogether removed from the danger of exhaustion.

What else there may be of natural wealth in this vast area, covering nearly one-sixth of the surface of the United States, must be developed by future exploration. No man is able at the present day to speak with certainty of the mineral and other products that may be hidden in the recesses of almost inaccessible mountains along the courses of rivers known to us only a short distance from the sea, and even under the vast plains or tundras of the north extending to the icy shores of the Arctic. The central region, from which spring three or four mighty rivers, is to-day, as it has been, a *terra incognita*. The information communicated to us through native sources concerning it is very vague and meagre, though it is safe to say that it must be very thinly peopled, and perhaps only visited occasionally by tribes living on the upper rivers. The Alps of the Mount St. Elias and Chugatch range, though easily accessible from the coast, yet remain entirely intact from observation in their recesses and valleys, and the country lying between them and the Yukon and Kuskokwim River systems is also totally unknown.

A gradual exploration, limited to the immediate vicinity of certain trading ports and harbors, under the auspices of the Signal Service and the Smithsonian Institution, is taking place, but no satisfactory result can be expected until the explorations are extended into the interior, connected with each other, and carried on upon a systematic basis under the direction of one head or department. An annual appropriation by Congress for such a purpose would certainly be money wisely expended, and sure to bring returns, both practical and scientific, within the immediate future.

The wants of Alaska in its present condition may be summarized as follows:

i. A gradual, but systematic, exploration of the interior, and an immediate survey of the coast and harbors of the region now constantly frequented by trading and fishing vessels, in order to prevent

the alarmingly frequent occurrence of wrecks upon unknown rocks and shoals; and the extension of educational facilities, or rather a fostering of educational projects, in those sections of Alaska occupied by civilized and semi-civilized people.

2. The establishment of a simple and economical form of civil government in southeastern Alaska, from Portland Canal to Mount St. Elias or Copper River, and perhaps the establishment of a new collection district in the west, as the deputies at Kadiak and Oonalashka can communicate with the Collector at Sitka only by way of San Francisco, at an immense loss of time.

The present policy of the Government with regard to Alaska seems to be to expend the money realized from western Alaska in the eastern section, maintaining there a Collector, with numerous deputies, and a man-of-war whose commander is invested with large discretionary powers in the expenditure of money for educational and other purposes, and who employs its crew as a police force throughout the mining and other settlements of the Alexander Archipelago. As it is evident from the above that this particular region is the only portion of Alaska where a possible influx of emigration might be expected in the immediate future, this policy would seem to be justifiable. The presence of gold, which during the past season has been established beyond dispute, always involves a rapid increase of population, be it temporary or permanent, and under the circumstances an urgent necessity exists of immediate attention on the part of the Government to the mining regions of southeastern Alaska. The anomalous condition of affairs thus far existing throughout Alaska—a total absence of legal facilities of any kind—can no longer be continued with safety here.

The working of mines implies the transfer of property, claims to land and water rights, and numerous business transactions made impossible by such a state of affairs. In the language of a recent appeal from that section to Congress: "There are no courts of record, by which title to property may be established, or conflicting claims adjudicated, or estates administered, or naturalization and other privileges acquired, or debts collected, or the commercial advantages of law secured." The people also complain that persons accused of crimes and misdemeanors are subject to the arbitrary will of a naval commander, imprisoned and kept for months without trial, or punished by imprisonment upon simple accusation.

It is difficult to imagine any unwillingness on the part of Congress

to grant to this small section of territory of less than eighteen thousand square miles, peopled by five or six thousand Indians, and perhaps a thousand whites, all that they ask in the shape of legislation, and to establish a simple, inexpensive form of territorial government. Objection to such a measure cannot certainly be made on the ground of expensiveness, because the introduction of law and order would soon enable the Government to dispense with the maintenance of a man-of-war; and, at all events, whatever tendency there is to colonize any portion of Alaska should be carefully fostered. A prudent expenditure in this direction, combined with a survey of the coast and explorations of the interior, would be all that is required at present of the Government, and the great western section might safely be left to its own development for another decade or more.

IVAN PETROFF.

DANIEL WEBSTER TO-DAY.

WHEN the first generation of American statesmen had constructed, in behalf of the people of the colonies lately at war with Great Britain, that remarkable document whose preamble contains the words "We, the people of the United States, * * * do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America," Sir James Mackintosh declared that they had prepared "a great permanent experimental answer to the sophisms and declarations of the detractors of liberty." The government was intended to be a federation of States; but the fathers of the Republic, building better than they knew, imported into their charter of national rights the terms which recognized the people of the several States as a political unit. "The basis of our political system," said Washington, "is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government." A new and broad field for the exercise of American statesmanship was thus outlined in our experimental government. The English system had slowly broadened down from precedent to precedent, expressing the power of the people through the House of Commons, while leaving the direction of the government in the hands of the strongest party, and reaching the results, assumed at the outset in this country, by a gradual process of growth. With us there has also been a distinct growth, the process of development going on as

the powers of the Constitution are tested by political experience, but the safeguards have been fewer and the dangers greater than in the English system. This fact has been recognized by statesmen in both countries, and has given a scope to statesmanship in America which is unknown in English legislation. The force of precedent in England is replaced by the development of principles in America. England makes concessions to liberty; the United States assigns to its statesmen the duty of sleepless vigilance over the disintegrating tendencies of free institutions. Again, England is a compact country, and has a dominant and sensitive public opinion which responds to every act of legislation; the United States is too large a country and contains too many differing nationalities for the concentration of public sentiment, so that the dominant public opinion of the whole country can hardly be collectively and directly reached, except in a presidential election. The experiment of free institutions has thus been worked out in our own country under conditions which inevitably bring strong men into the field of statesmanship and tax their abilities to the utmost.

The time has come, with the hundredth birthday of one who is generally conceded to have been not only our foremost legislator but the most truly American of our statesmen, when the dangers of a great political experiment can be looked at as one saw them who has been generally recognized as the great defender and interpreter of our written Constitution. It is nearly thirty years since Daniel Webster passed away. Over his open grave the most lyrical of American poets expressed the strong feelings of a large portion of his fellow citizens:

So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore!

* * * * *
Of all we loved and honored, naught
Save power remains—
A fallen angel's pride of thought
Still strong in chains.

All else is gone; from those great eyes
The soul has fled;
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!

Then, pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame;
Walk backward, with averted gaze,
And hide the shame!

Whittier could express himself in the winged words of verse, but the greatest living master of biting sarcasm, Wendell Phillips, could go even further. He could say of the Seventh-of-March speech, when Webster had been seven years in his grave: "The words he dared to speak, his friends dare not repeat; the life he dared to live, his friends dare not describe at the foot of his statue!" As if this were not enough, Phillips, calling back the departed spirit, said: "You were mourned in ceiled houses and the marts of trade; but the dwellers in slave huts and fugitives along the highways thanked God, when you died, that they had one enemy the less." Webster had dared in that famous address to make, as he wrote to a Boston friend six days before it was delivered, "an honest, truth-telling and a Union speech";¹ he had taken courage from his convictions, and appealed for an impartial judgment, not to the inflamed parties of the hour, whether North or South, but to those who could hereafter see the whole country as he saw it, and whose minds might be instructed by subsequent events. The time has hardly yet come to take a disinterested survey of Webster's services to the nation, but the fact that Whittier recently made amends for his passionate poem, and that here and there the swift condemnation of Webster has been exchanged for a mellower estimate of his great closing address to the national Senate, bear testimony to the nearer approach of the day when Webster will be judged by his own heart and conscience, not by the enraged sentiments of men who were narrower than he.

To-day men are ready to look at Webster's services as a whole. Chiefly they are concentrated in two speeches, the Reply to Hayne and that known as the Seventh-of-March. The date of the one is 1830; the date of the other is 1850. The earlier speech summed up the growth of the Constitution in the direction of centralized government; the later speech is the utterance of one who knew no North and no South, who rose to a plane above the sectional animosities of the hour, where "one country, one Constitution, one destiny," stood forth in letters of light before the American people. Webster now requires no apology at the hands of any man; but it is right that at the centennial of his birth the great service to his country which these two speeches represent should be held up anew before the generation which has felt the inspiration of his career, though it never knew him eye to eye. It is at this point that the interest of posterity in him culminates. The subject-matter of those speeches is dead. The

¹ Curtis's Life of Webster, vol. II, p. 627.

doctrine of nullification received its death blow in 1830, so far as it was claimed to be an essential element in the original organization of the American States under a central government. It did not die at once, because, like the traditional serpent, it had several lives. It still lived in body and tail till the Union army had triumphed in Virginia; but the head of the secession movement was effectually crushed on the floor of Congress when Webster replied to Hayne, and showed by irresistible proofs—proofs which Webster's whole previous career as citizen, lawyer and Congressman had both illustrated and developed—that the doctrine of state rights had no honest place in the Constitution of the United States. It has been the wonder of Americans that this speech could have been delivered on such short notice, and that its tracing of the historical development of the Constitution proceeded by such a masterly method. The key to the speech is the key to Webster. He once said of it, to Hiram Ketchum: "In one sense I had no preparation whatever, but in another sense I was *fully* prepared. I did not know what words I should use when I rose upon my feet, nor the order of argument in which I should proceed. These came to me under the excitement of debate. But I understood the subject as well as I was capable of understanding it. I had studied it; I had often urged similar arguments before other tribunals, and in this sense of the term I was thoroughly prepared." He committed the Constitution to memory from the printed cotton handkerchief of his boyhood. It was in his thoughts in his college orations. At an early date it was absorbed into the structural habit of his mind. It gave breadth to his juridical and political ideas. When he argued for the charter of his beloved Dartmouth, which the Legislature of New Hampshire had attempted to interfere with, he took the ground that the acceptance by the Government of any charitable gift under a charter was a contract, and that the repeal of this charter was a violation of that article in the Constitution which forbids the impairing of contracts by legislative assemblies. When the case of Gibbons and Ogdens came to him, involving the right of citizens of different and neighboring States to navigate the North River, he claimed before the Supreme Court of the United States, what had not been thought of before, that the commerce of the nation was a unit, and could not be interfered with by the State legislatures. These great arguments had an important influence, both in interpreting the Constitution and in consolidating the unity of the States. From his entrance upon public life, in the memorable contests with Calhoun and other Southern leaders,

not less than in his frequent arguments on Constitutional questions before the Supreme Bench, up to the year 1830, he had frequently gone over every inch of the ground occupied in the argumentative part of his *Reply to Hayne*.

Then another, and perhaps a nobler, quality entered into that speech. Webster's mind was naturally ethical. While he studied the Constitution of his country as a lawyer and statesman, he had in his veins, as Theodore Parker had in his, the blood of a Revolutionary leader. Nothing in American oratory, perhaps nothing in English oratory, is equal to Webster's great patriotic orations—the Plymouth oration of 1820, those on the Bunker Hill Monument, that on Adams and Jefferson, and that delivered at the Capitol on the Character of Washington, in honor of his centennial birthday. These are not conventional addresses for great occasions; they have none of the pomp and circumstance derived from what they commemorate. They rather magnify the incidents to which they owe their birth, and give them new importance. As Milton impressed upon subsequent generations of English-speaking people, through "Paradise Lost," the grim theology which then dominated his own imagination and the minds of his fellow Englishmen, so Webster saw in the origins of our national history the germs of his magnificent conceptions of what its foremost events and its great leaders were to be to the millions yet to occupy the American continent. Something of the pathos and beauty of the sacrifices of the pioneers of civilization, something of the struggle to give great ideas a local habitation and a name, something of that thrill which stirs the breast whenever great deeds are wrought in the name of liberty, something of the potency of ideas to make men bear and forbear for the sake of political unity, something of that passion for the integrity of one's country which to-day touches one whenever and wherever the name of Webster is spoken, went into those magnificent orations out of Webster's own imaginative and patriotic soul, and nerved him unconsciously and nerved the nation consciously for what in later days men braved and suffered and endured. The *Reply to Hayne* had this splendid inspiration behind it and wrought into every part of the great constitutional argument. Webster won in that Congressional contest, in which the North and the South were first drawn up in the battle array of vital debate, because he was acquainted with his subject and grasped the whole situation, what was old in it and what was new, but he won the victory vastly more because he threw into it the fervent purpose of an honest heart and a

conscientious mind. He had gone behind the great idea of American nationality, and had many a time before lifted that idea up to the daily observation of his fellow-citizens. The key to that speech is again the key to Webster, and henceforth that name carried with it the sentiment dear to every true American heart, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

There is little danger of overestimating the place which was accorded to Webster in our national affairs from 1830 to 1850. He had two rivals, Clay and Calhoun, themselves only second to himself, with whom he was constantly compared, and with whom intellectually he had little in common. Calhoun had Webster's logical force and concentrated thought, his sincerity and integrity of purpose, but was diametrically opposed to him in the great political idea which dominated his convictions—his devotion to the integrity of the Union. Clay, a student of men rather than of books, knew how to touch the springs of action, and had the tact and sympathy by which masses of men are controlled. Webster had the sharper intellect, and had thought beyond himself into the chief questions of constitutional government. But each had his part to play during the thirty years in which they constituted the triumvirate of the American Senate, and each had that respect for the other which restricted personalities from the field of debate. During the second period of our constitutional history, the period when its early formulations were constructively tested, the development of the Constitution was chiefly in the hands of these three men, and Webster gained nothing for the larger interpretation of the rights of the central government which was not jealously contested on the floor of Congress. Three years after the Reply to Hayne came the Reply to Calhoun, demolishing his theory that the Constitution was a compact between sovereign States, which concedes the right of secession. The chief champion of the doctrine which plunged the Southern States into a civil war in 1861 was as effectually vanquished as Colonel Hayne had been in 1830, and it is claimed that Webster then postponed the outbreak for the next thirty years. George T. Curtis significantly says: "Whoever would know the doctrine that enabled the government of the United States, thirty years later, to call forth the physical energies of a population strong enough to encounter and to prevent the dismemberment of this Union by the secession attempted in 1861, and finally suppressed in 1865, must find it in the position maintained by Mr. Webster in 1830 and 1833."¹

¹ Life of Webster, vol. I, p. 451.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter into any details concerning the speeches made by Webster between 1833 and 1850. The period was marked by two political facts in all that he said and did. He always acted for the whole country, whether the subject was the revenue, the financial movements of the day, or the relations of the country with Great Britain, and he never took but one position toward slavery, and that was to restrict it to the States in which it already existed. Again and again, in speeches in and out of Congress, and in private letters, he took the strongest ground against slavery. He allowed such rights to slavery as were granted to it under the Constitution, but no others, and, though not consenting to the admission of Texas as a slave State, insisted that the constitutional provisions consequent upon its fellowship in the Union should be respected. Through all the growing complexities of the seventeen years which preceded his Seventh-of-March speech, he held only to one course. His view of duty was as wide as the country, and his view of slavery was that it had a right to exist under the Constitution, and could only be dealt with as a local institution in the several States. What brought matters to a crisis was the growing demands of the South that the balance of power which was threatened by the admission of new and free States at the North should be maintained by the admission of a corresponding number of new slave States at the South. The rise of the anti-slavery movement in New England, under the leadership of Garrison, Parker, Phillips and others, provoked extreme measures at the South, and compelled the execution of the Fugitive Slave law, which had been one of the unused powers of the Constitution. From 1840 to 1850 the change of sentiment in the Northern States toward slavery was rapidly changing. Garrison sublimely led the forlorn hope against the Constitution as in "covenant with death" and in "agreement with hell," himself as bitter toward the Union which Webster had given his glorious prime to maintain in the one direction as the extreme Southern leaders were aggressive in the other direction. The time was near at hand when both sides were ready to come into collision with cries of "no quarter." Calhoun was so near his end that he could not deliver with his own lips the speech he had prepared for the contest. Clay, in the last stages of consumption, guided by his extensive knowledge of both parties, sought "a settlement of the pending questions in relation to slavery, in such a manner as to leave no just cause for complaint to either of the two principal sections of the Union," but his compromise measures, though substan-

tially meeting with Webster's approval, found in Congress both a Northern and a Southern opposition to any such plan of adjustment. The great contest between the North and the South had now become religious as well as political. The anti-slavery leaders had aroused the conscience of the North on the subject of the "higher law," while at the South slavery had begun to be justified on so-called Christian grounds. The religious feeling added the fanatical element to the political animosities. For six months the heat of the contest had been so great as to suspend all other business in Congress, and public opinion was daily becoming more exasperated on both sides. Thirty years before the doctrine of nullification had been put down in Congress, and three years later the doctrine of secession had been overcome in the discomfiture of its great advocate, but now the contest had advanced beyond theories into the field of practical discussion, and the very citadel of our government—the Union of the States in one inseparable nationality—was threatened as much by the "higher-law" fanaticism of the North as by the principles of secession instilled into the minds of the children of the early national leaders at the South. The "irrepressible conflict" had begun.

It is here that what men have alternately called the glory and the shame of Webster begins. He had been the chief defender of the Union, and now stood between parties who from different sides equally assailed that great charter of our liberties, the American Constitution. More than any living man he had enlarged its scope and interpreted its meaning. Fresh from great family sorrows, himself beyond the opportunity of reaching out to ambitions which it is still uncertain that he ever had, already having rescued his country from the perils of disunion, and having in every way tried to develop that devotion to the Constitution and to the Union of the States by which American liberty alone could be preserved, Webster stood, at this critical juncture, in a peculiar relation to the whole people. He is known to have said to a clerical friend, later on: "It seemed to me at the time that the country demanded a human victim, and I saw no reason why the victim should not be myself." His chief work had been the preservation of our political institutions from sectional collisions, disunion, and civil strife; the work before him, marked out as distinctly as if the finger of God had written a message in letters of fire, was the preservation of the Constitution of the United States as it had been received from its founders. This was now to be, as it had been in all previous years, the great purpose of his life. He could not act

a part; he could not go behind his record; he was too religious to disobey his conscience; his convictions of duty allowed him to take but one course. His matchless reasoning against the doctrines of nullification and secession in 1830 and 1833 covered and included the whole ground in debate in 1850. He must now sustain "the legitimate conclusions of his own great argument." Judge Taft, in his oration on Webster before the citizens of Cincinnati in 1852, not less than his political biographer, Mr. Curtis, understood the situation. "Love of country," says the former, "was a living, active principle of his whole life. It overruled his party predilections; it overruled his sectional prejudices; it inspired his mind with a high and glowing zeal which encountered the greatest obstacles with hope and courage, and enabled him to stand alone for his country against the voice of his own friends, and even against the voice of his own Massachusetts." This furnishes the key to Webster's position in the great speech which surprised the North and astonished the country. To wrest Whittier's later lines, addressed to Webster, from their intended meaning:

No stronger voice than thine had then
 Called out the utmost might of men
 To make the Union's charter free,
 And strengthen law by liberty.¹

"He dared not let go the Constitution of our Government, which he regarded as the best gift from God to our fathers, and entirely consistent with the highest law known on earth or among men;" words which Judge Taft couples with other memorable words from Fletcher Webster, who, alluding to his father's Seventh-of-March speech, said: "The belief that by that effort he had aided to preserve the Union and restore good feeling throughout the country cheered him to his latest hour." In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Furness, of Philadelphia, nearly a month before the decisive speech was made, Webster thus expressed himself concerning the heated partisans of the North: "I cannot coöperate in breaking up social and political systems on the warmth rather than the strength of a hope that in such convulsions the cause of emancipation may be promoted. And, even if the end would justify the means, I confess I do not see the relevancy of such a means to such an end. I confess that, in my judgment, confusion, conflict, embittered controversy, violence, bloodshed and civil war would only rivet the chains of slavery the more strongly."

¹ "The Lost Occasion."

The motive which animated this great man as he slowly recognized the duty before him has been clearly set forth. His Seventh-of-March speech was essentially the restatement, under changed circumstances, of the positions he had taken in 1830 and in 1833. The reading of the three speeches in their historical order shows better than anything else their logical and moral sequence, and what Webster knew he should suffer at the hands of those who had heretofore sustained him he calmly accepted while he appealed to the children and the children's children of those who, interpreting his duty from a sectional point of view, reviled him as one who had deliberately turned his back upon the "higher law" then beginning to animate the growing party at the North. The reaction against him among his own political kith and kin knew no bounds. Even so impartial a man as Professor Joseph Haven, addressing the students of Amherst College after Webster's death, felt compelled to admit "that he looked with too single an eye to that which might save the Union, and overlooked too much the eternal principles of right and justice, which are above all questions of the day and all temporary expedients." The rage of the Abolitionists was like that of lions maddened over their prey. Theodore Parker exclaimed, "Oh! Cardinal Wolsey! there was never such a fall." Wendell Phillips accused him of "bartering the hopes of four millions of bondmen for the chances of his private ambition." One of the most conspicuous men of Massachusetts, then in high office, declared that Webster "seemed inspired by the devil to the extent of his intellect." In Theodore Parker's opinion, not a hundred men in all New England acceded to the speech, and it was reported that Webster himself wept after it was over, saying, "I am a disgraced man, a ruined man." There can be no doubt that he felt most keenly the criticism, not to say vituperation and persecution, of his former friends in New England, and particularly in Massachusetts. In July, 1850, conversing with Hiram Ketchum on the treatment he had received, he said, with deep feeling: "I have reviewed that whole proceeding, and I solemnly assure you that all is right *here*," laying his hand on his breast. In September, 1850, he wrote a confidential letter to Franklin Haven, in which, referring to the same matter, he said: "I made up my mind to risk myself on a proposition for a general pacification. I resolved to push off my skiff from the shore alone, considering that, in that case, if she foundered, there would be but one life lost." In the same letter he represents the feeling at Wash-

ington to be that he was already a dead man. The motive of the speech is expressed in a letter written to John M. Botts, of Virginia, June 3, 1851, in which he says: "It must be obvious to every intelligent person that, if Congress possessed power over slavery as it exists in the Southern States, any attempt to exercise such power would break up the Union just as surely as would an attempt to introduce slavery into Massachusetts. These are subjects of mere State rights and State authority, intended originally to be left entirely with the States, and they must be so left still if we wish to preserve the Union."¹

From the day of the delivery of the Seventh-of-March speech the great statesman began distinctly to look toward sunset. The advance of disease reduced his physical strength, and the defection and abuse of those who had been his friends combined to depress his mind and heart. His subsequent speeches in different parts of the country, both North and South, were largely explanatory of the position taken on the 7th of March. The Mayor of Boston ventured even so far as to refuse him the opportunity to speak in its ancient cradle of liberty, Faneuil Hall; but, in other parts of the North, he had wonderful influence in directing the minds of the men who ten years later were to stand up for the Union with sword or bayonet in hand. He foresaw the coming conflict, "the broken and discordant fragments of a once glorious Union"; "States dissevered, discordant, belligerent"; "a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood;" and, for the rest of his life, did all he could to deepen that reverence for the Union by which American institutions could in their integrity be maintained. The feeling against him in Boston early in 1851 was vastly changed in 1852, when a public reception was given to him, in which the whole community shared without regard to political opinion, a reception which seemed to forecast the position he holds to-day in the annals of our national history. The great Webster, three months later, all of him that was mortal, was to lie where

The sea-fog comes, with evermore
The wave-wash of a lonely shore;

but on that day, surrounded by demonstrations of the sympathy and regard of the citizens of his dear old Massachusetts, the State that he had most jealously served and loved, more absolutely independent of all political considerations and influences than at any moment in his

¹ Curtis's Life, vol. II., p. 509.

life, with a forecast that he was near the end of his career, he was deeply moved in his prophetic soul. In the last words of his touching address of that day, a day honorable alike to Boston and to Webster, he gathered up, unconsciously to himself, the whole scope and meaning of his public services, when he said: "I am nothing but a painstaking, hard-working civilian, giving my life and my health and my strength to the maintenance of the Constitution, and upholding, according to the best of my ability, under the providence of God, the liberties of my country." This was the triumphant ending of his civil and public life.

It is not unimportant, thirty years after his death, to show how far the position taken by Webster in his last great speech has been justified by the judgment of his fellow-men, both before and during the late civil war. Neither his example nor his influence were lost upon his country, though he himself disappeared from the field of action. Webster carried great weight with two generations. Men in middle life at the time of his death had been profoundly influenced by his arguments against secession and by his vital affirmations for the integrity of the Union. These men stood foremost in the national councils at the beginning and all through the late war. The younger generation, though less conversant with the political contests which Webster had chiefly controlled, had often declaimed the patriotic outbursts in his speeches and orations, and had been instructed by him in the meaning of the Union as the vital American principle. The men who guided the country and the men who fought the battles through the war alike felt the inspiration of Webster's thought. His reasoned affirmations lived in their words and deeds. When the Republican party, which elected President Lincoln, was formed, two distinct elements in the political life of the North coalesced. The Garrison host, feeling a divine mission for the destruction of slavery, was determined to carry the war into Africa, and John Brown was its typical instrument. This element had the inspiration, but not the leadership, demanded by the emergency. It met in the ranks of the new party the men who had grown up under the guidance and inspiration of Webster, and the zeal for the destruction of American slavery was largely absorbed in the higher duty of preserving to future generations the integrity of a common country. It was not until President Lincoln felt sure that the Union could be maintained, and that the existence of slavery stood in the way of that result, that he issued the proclamation which destroyed American slavery by a stroke of his

pen. It may be conceded that the Garrison movement led straight to this end, but it must also be granted that, without that breadth and height of meaning which Webster throughout his whole career imported into his affirmations of American nationality, President Lincoln could never have been strong enough to remove the shackles from a single slave. He was strong just in proportion as he was certain of Union victories, and these victories, under God, depended upon the extent to which the men in arms believed in the Union itself. Thus, the moral power which put down the late rebellion dates back to Webster's Reply to Hayne, in 1830, which Robert C. Winthrop aptly calls "the speech of our constitutional age."

Probably Webster's attitude in 1850, and the policy which dictated his course, was never put into words which conveyed his whole thought to the public. There was more behind the Seventh-of-March speech than even Webster himself could fully express. The comprehensive mind of the greatest statesman of the country projected itself into the future. He had measured, as no one else could or did, the meaning of civil war. He had lived, in his imagination, through all the results of such a contest. He believed in the fact that a civil war would ensue. He stood upon the critical edge of the nation's destiny. He attempted to hold back the fratricidal hand at the same time that he plead both with and without hope for the unity of his country. There is a silent majesty in Webster's position, with honor, yet without honor, standing true to his great life-work, alone, and yet not alone, faithful among many faithless, which arrests the imagination and stamps itself indelibly upon American history. He was the first to interpret the historical forces of the Constitution in favor of unity, and to the last he held up that instrument before the American people as the great charter of their liberties. He did not live to comfort his great heart with the success of the Union arms, but all the political and social disasters of the war had been foreseen and counted at their cost in his prophetic mind. And the drift of the thought of the men who controlled and guided the war was with him. This was shown in the action of the celebrated Peace Congress, which, at the instance of Virginia, met in Washington before President Lincoln was inaugurated, before Fort Sumter was fired upon. The Crittenden Compromise had been lost in the Senate by only one vote, and some in the wisest and best men in the country, many of them members of Congress, met to use all legitimate efforts to restore peace to the country. After debating the approaching contest between the two

great conflicting elements in our civilization for three weeks, with the utmost freedom and with abundant dissension, the positions taken by the majority and adopted as a memorial to Congress involved larger and stronger concessions to the seven States already seceded than any that had been proposed by Webster eleven years before. When men like Chase, Seward, Adams and Wade deliberately faced the issue, on the threshold of civil war, they more than indorsed what the great statesman of the North had said in 1850. Another significant witness to the integrity and soundness of his position—more striking, if possible, than any utterances of the peace deliberations in the winter of 1861—is found in President Lincoln's reply to Horace Greeley's famous letter, entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," in the summer of 1862. The words which the President telegraphed back to the *Tribune* and to the country were: "My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union." Behind these nervous, heart-spoken words of the great war-President may be placed what Webster said at Buffalo, May 22, 1851, when he forecast such an issue: "I never would consent that there should be one foot of slave territory beyond what the old thirteen States had at the time of the formation of the Union. * * * With the blessing of God, I will not now nor hereafter, before the country or the world, consent to be numbered with those who introduced new slave power into the Union. I will do all in my power to prevent it."¹ Lincoln, like Webster, would do nothing to advance slave interests; but slavery did not stand to either statesman before the Union in point of importance. When Lincoln had resolved to issue the proclamation by which he will be best remembered in American history, it was not till the promise with his God that the proclamation should go forth after the first great Union victory had been, as he felt, divinely fulfilled at the battle of Antietam, that he gave the latest charter of American liberty to the world. Webster's influence and spirit descended to the men who succeeded to his labors, and are now historical and integral forces in our national life. It is not, perhaps, too much to say that the late war could never

¹ Greeley's *American Conflict*, vol. I., p. 404.

have given back to the American people a restored and united country but for the powers which the immortal spirit in his words and deeds sent forth, and still sends forth, into new generations of men.

To-day Webster still lives; nay, he is more alive than ever before. He lives in his historical work in the development of the Constitution of the United States, in his position as a distinctly American statesman, standing for the whole country, and in the moral inspiration of his political career. More and more it is felt that, to an extraordinary extent, Webster, in the expressive language of the late Rufus Choate, "by his acts, words, thoughts, or the events of his life, associated himself forever in the memory of all of us, with every historical incident—or, at least, with every historical epoch—with every policy, with every glory, with every great name and fundamental institution, and grand or beautiful image, which are peculiarly and properly American."¹ His public career extended through the first half of the century, and the forces which he set in motion have become identical with the highest social and political aims of the country. If to Washington the American colonies owed their deliverance from foes without, it is to Webster that we owe, under God, our deliverance from the gravest national perils at home. At his death, thirty years ago, says Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock, one of his ablest eulogists, "there crept a solemn hush over the continent as the greatest man upon it was felt to be closing his eyes on it forever." He "carried empire in his step, on his forehead, and in his eye." Carlyle recognized in him his hero statesman, and the coalheavers of the London docks saw in him the majesty of a king. He was, indeed, a king; a king among kings; the foremost citizen of a great and free country, whose liberties grew and strengthened under his hand because he made them strong. Again, to quote his great lawyer friend, "his statesmanship was one which recognized a Europe, an old world, but yet grasped the capital idea of the American position, and deduced from it the whole fashion and color of its policy." The whole volume of his manhood has been absorbed into the higher political life of his country, and whoever shall write in after times the history of the United States for the nineteenth century will write the life of Daniel Webster.

JULIUS H. WARD.

¹ Life and Writings of Rufus Choate, vol. I., p. 486.

A WORD ON HUNGARY.

THE half-independent State of Hungary is destined to make a very interesting element in the political problem of southeastern Europe. Its prospective importance is seen in the manifest anxiety of the Austrian government, at every change of ministry, not to disaffect the proud, intelligent and sensitive Magyar population, and in the disproportionate share which seems to be given to Magyar statesmen in the administration. In fact, after the great disaster of Sadowa, Hungary was able to exact almost her own terms of alliance with the Hapsburg monarchy, and has been, since 1867, to most intents and purposes, an independent kingdom.

It would take a bold head in the sphere of speculative or conjectural politics to discuss the combinations likely to come about in the disentangling of the Eastern Question. Whatever they may be, they will touch very closely that singularly insulated race which has given to Hungary its dominant language, its policy, and its name. And, without the most distant thought of attempting the political problem just hinted at, it is just possible that, out of a brief personal acquaintance, I may contribute a word to make the problem itself more intelligible, at least more interesting.

The visitor to Hungary approaches it most naturally by way of Vienna, and most pleasantly by way of the Danube. The steamboat he floats on takes him past the old Hungarian capital of Pressburg and the famous fortress of Komorn, and he is probably disappointed to find so little in them to strike his imagination or his eye. In fact, for about a hundred years (since 1784) the seat of power has been transferred to the superbly crowned and fortified hight of Buda, on the right bank of the river, a little below its great bend to the south. Here was the headquarters of Turkish rule in Hungary from the great victory of Mohacs (1526) till after the siege of Vienna in 1683. For nobility of aspect, it is the one place I know that compares favorably with Edinburgh; while, in its command of the wide sweep of that magnificent river, there is perhaps no royal city in the world that can claim to be its parallel. Since 1873, again, it has been incorporated with the wide, prosperous, modern town of Pest (Pesth), on the opposite bank, and is officially known as Budapest, the present capital of Hungary.

The passage from Vienna down to Budapest by boat occupies about

fourteen hours—about twice as long as the journey by rail, and rather more than half as long as the return passage up stream. All disappointment on the traveler's part at the waste and melancholy flats that make so large a part of the river shore, or at the desolate aspect of decayed towns and sombre fortresses, is sure to vanish in the surprise of this great and splendid city. On the right, great fortifications, continued by ranges of the royal palace, cover the crest of a massive and abrupt hill; on the left, broad quays and noble streets make the approach to the modern town; while three handsome bridges, and little steamers incessantly running to and fro, keep up communication between the two. All this, if he arrive at night, is heightened with the sparkling of innumerable lights that relieve it brilliantly against the darkness. Paris or Vienna will not afford him more sumptuous quarters than he will find close by in the Grand Hotel Hungaria; New York or Chicago will not show him busier streets or more ambitious preparations for the growth and splendor of one of the great cities of the future. By daylight in particular he will be struck with the massive and superb structures going up in several places at once—halls of legislation, museum, opera house; wide boulevards are opening, street cars running, and the whole air is that of a busy, thronged, opulent modern town. He misses, perhaps, great ecclesiastical buildings, such as give dignity and the air of antique grandeur to other continental capitals: the aspect of Budapest, it must be acknowledged, is a good deal more secular even than that of our new American cities. On the other hand, he is surprised to find a new field of history and art open to him in portrait gallery, library and museum, collections of natural history superb beyond what I (at least) have ever seen elsewhere, and antiquities of the country hardly inferior in interest to those he finds in Italy.

In short, he begins to recognize that he is in the ancient Roman province of Dacia, and that these antiquities tell of a splendor and prosperity in that province of which he had had not the slightest dream. Very likely his only association with that name was in recollecting, somewhat dimly, the "Dacian mother" of the young barbarians who made death bitter to the dying gladiator. But these are no relics of a barbarous country or people. The one object of Roman antiquity most startlingly modern and fresh that I can recall is a pair of bronze chariot wheels in this great museum, that once ran in the Dacian races. In short, as he begins to look up his authorities, our traveler finds that this was a very wealthy and important—perhaps

we may say a favorite—province, after its conquest by Trajan; well engineered with Roman roads; exceedingly rich in mineral wealth, as well as in those wide plains, deep and fertile, which will constantly remind him (if he is an American) of the rich prairies of Illinois and Missouri.

About twenty-four hours of railroading, comfortable and slow, will take our traveler from Budapest through the heart of Hungary and Transylvania to Bucharest, the capital of the Danubian Principalities. His half-way resting place will be at the important and interesting university town of Kolosvar (or Klausenburg), the old capital of Transylvania. This district, twice as large as the State of Massachusetts, and resting in irregular projection, with its mountain barrier, against the old frontier of Turkey, makes, so to speak, the eastern bastion or outpost of Hungary, and has been held for something like fourteen hundred years by the valiant race, few in numbers, which it would be hardly too much to call the pith and core of the Hungarian nationality. These are the "Szeklers," a name which, both in sound and meaning, is nearly like the English "settlers," signifying (so they hold) that they have kept that seat¹ since the great invasion under Attila. They are kindred in blood and allied in language with the Magyars of the later invasion of the tenth century that gave its permanent name to Hungary.

It is this race, intelligent, obstinate, indomitable, that makes the element before spoken of in the political problem of the future. In numbers it is something over eight millions, making rather more than half the entire population of Hungary. On a simple count, therefore, it is liable to be swamped at any time by a combination of the other races of the kingdom, particularly if certain schemes of annexation should be carried out, which would incorporate with it any considerable number of the Slavic populations adjacent. At present the Hungarians proper just outnumber all the others together within their national frontier, and easily stamp their own will upon the language, institutions and manners of the kingdom. Easily, because they are eminently a formidable, hard-headed, indomitable race. Even where they are greatly in the minority, as in Transylvania, they have compelled their neighbors, their hired laborers, their co-religionists, to accept their language, with the hard task of learning it.

History does not relate them to have been a gentle or a merciful race. Political economy may allege, perhaps, that they are not so

¹ The Magyar *szek* is "seat."

thrifty and enterprising as some others, or endowed with so keen an instinct for material prosperity as we Saxons, for example. But it is a race and a people with which politicians and statesmen must always count. The heroism of their fighting period, the endurance of their martyr period since 1849, the sagacity and resolution with which they have seized the opportunity of recovery, show that numbers are only one of the things to be reckoned. Indomitable pride, and valor headstrong and reckless, make an unknown coefficient to multiply those numbers by. Not only they stood up alone against Austria and Russia in 1849, but they think to this day that they should have beaten them both but for the treachery of their general. They have set their heart on political independence; and, though they accept cordially enough the quasi independence which recognizes Hungary as a constitutional kingdom under Franz Josef, who is personally trusted and liked, yet they watch very jealously the chances of annexation that may put them in a minority. They have an organized party of independence or "home rule" in their parliament; and—what we find it harder to understand or pardon—they frankly side with the Turkish rule, as against Slav, German or English, as the natural and proper defense of their own nationality against the constant menace of Panslavic empire.

This tough and obstinate nationality wraps itself about in the defense of an unique, difficult and carefully guarded language. The Magyar is said by philologists to be an Asiatic dialect, akin to Finnish and Turkish, and this is held to indicate the blood kindred of the race. This language is absolutely walled about by alien tongues, with which it shows as little disposition to blend or compromise as if it were a peculiar species of animal. Teutonic and Slavic alike, it holds them jealously aloof. It certainly offers a very curious and interesting problem—the survival, or rather the vigorous new growth, of tongues, like Hungarian and Bohemian, which makes a marked phenomenon of our day, quite as marked as the widening and interpreting, in so many other ways, of a common culture among all civilized tongues.

The language is the special type and badge of nationality, and so is held to as something sacred with obstinate tenacity. Now the Hungarians are intelligent enough to crave the larger science and wider culture of our time; and a peculiar language, which has come down almost unchanged from barbarous times, might seem to raise an impassable barrier to modern thought. One naturally asks whether it

can be a fit vehicle for the intellectual treasures of the new era. But when I put this question to my Szekler friends, they answered, promptly and eagerly, that their language was amply rich for all uses of philosophy and science, as well as poetry and romance, and that they felt no lack whatever. They, moreover, had been educated in England, and ought to know. Such specimens as come within the reach of the average English scholar do not seem to bear out their claim that the language is already singularly rich in poetry and romance. Rather, these specimens seem to show a comparative rude and childlike stage, rather poverty than wealth, of native thought. The tenacity with which the language is clung to might therefore seem to be of bad promise for mental growth, as well as a serious misfortune, in walling out that vast intellectual tide which must be taken in without check by any that would be citizens, in the broadest sense, of the great world of letters.

But, in our ignorance, we perhaps cannot judge. At any rate, we must look at this rather as a political than as a literary or intellectual matter. From this point of view, we can respect or even admire the instinct, which will not yield and will not be convinced, that defends the secret of this stubborn nationality. We incline to surmise that the justifying reasons of it will be more evident in the future than now. What we can see is that whatever is accepted or borrowed from foreign sources must first have put upon it that image and superscription. The thought will take a flavor and a coloring from the tongue. So it will not only come closer home when this is a mother tongue, but will be likeliest, by some fresh differentiation, to yield something back to the common store, with a quality of its own, when the younger genius is fully ripe.

Besides, the barrier of a language may well be kept up to ward off things which are best held at a safe distance. On the whole, as a stanch Hungarian, I should find a good many things in the German, the Russian, even the English mind and speech, of which I should prefer my countrymen to be safely ignorant, if that were possible.

Absence of the ambition and the display of wealth, a homely simplicity of family life, a serious unsophisticated temper, a plain and easy hospitality, a directness of good faith—qualities belonging to a state of society somewhat simpler than those of most highly cultivated communities—are what we find evidence of among the Transylvanian hills, and, perhaps, in the same degree, in the villages of the Hungarian plain. The danger that comes often in a sudden inflow of

foreign ideas could not be mitigated in any other way so well as by straining and sifting the strange material through the discriminating medium and exposing it to the elective affinities of native idiom.

This, to be sure, is rather extenuation than defense. It is on the political rather than on the literary side that the defense becomes confident and explicit. Nothing spoils a population sooner or more surely than to be made prematurely citizens of the world. Race flavor ought to be brought to a mellow and advanced maturity before it mingle and loses itself in the promiscuous stream. We are tempted to compare these curiously isolated and jealously defended nationalities and tongues which we find in southeastern Europe with the easy cosmopolitanism that prevails in the American States. On the whole, and possibly for good reasons, we prefer our own. But it has its dangers. And there is something to be said on the other side. The best things have been done for the world by the races and nations that have most thoroughly developed their individual life, guarding it by special qualities of their own mind and tongue—the Hebrews, for example, and the Greeks. One cannot traverse that wide and fertile plain of Hungary, or view the costly monuments which that people is making to glorify its one seat of splendor and power, without feeling that this nation has a future before it of greatness in some way to correspond with its stormy and heroic past—a future of material wealth and prosperity, perhaps; still more likely, of some form of intellectual and political greatness. It has, at all events, one of the first conditions of such a future in a boundless and indomitable confidence in itself—a confidence shown in many other ways besides the pride of its tradition and the glorification of its native speech.

The point of view in these pages has been the very simple and single one, of the Hungarian race and nationality as an element in the political situation, whose combinations are shifting from month to month before our eyes. With all the interest and all the respect we freely give, we cannot join in the eager demand of Kossuth, echoed in a general burst of Magyar sympathy, to save the Turkish despotism in Europe from its coming doom. Perhaps, if we could have our way, the form of political life to be taken in southeastern Europe would be some sort of confederacy, which should carefully guard those diverse precious gems of nationality while maintaining the general peace. That of the Magyars, at least, cannot well be absorbed; fourteen hundred years have not had, so far as we can see, the least effect in melting away, or softening much, its charac-

teristic features. That, apparently, may be counted on for one thing. But just as little can it well be put in authority over the others. It is naturally dominant, masterful; on occasion it has shown itself imperious, arbitrary and cruel. Not many years ago—as we read in a valuable monograph by Professor Rath—a representation was made in the Hungarian Parliament of the calamities endured by the Slavic Roumanians, or Wallachians, at the hands of their haughty or revengeful Magyar lords. Features of feudal cruelty and arrogance (no worse, perhaps, than among the English of the same date in Ireland) showed that the great qualities of an heroic race do not fit it to be a safe master over an inferior. We think that in America we have discovered the safest solution to the most dangerous of political problems. Something like that solution, we think, may be our contribution to the enormously intricate form that problem has taken in the heterogeneous Austro-Hungarian empire of our own day.

JOSEPH H. ALLEN.

DR. THOMAS AND THE METHODIST CHURCH.

THE trial of the Rev. Hiram W. Thomas, D.D., of Chicago, for heresy has served to show the weakness and dangers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as its possibilities and opportunities; and the conflict there begun, but by no means yet ended, will determine whether the opportunities or the weaknesses are to be taken advantage of by its managers, and so whether the church is to broaden into a career marked out by its founder, or to narrow into bigotry, intolerance and fossilization.

As Methodism, though born in a university and fathered by the best scholarship of England, soon came to deprecate learning, and gave the first great uneducated ministry to the world, defending for half a century its claims against the universities and theological schools, so also Methodism, though born in liberality and starting out as the most independent of all churches, has, within the last two decades, been drawing the reins of intolerance tighter, until it is now (if the verdict in the Thomas case is to be sustained) among the narrowest of all the Protestant churches. While the other great bodies have been growing

more liberal during the present generation, the Methodist Church has been taking vast strides in the opposite direction, until it now stands antipodal to all its great claims of one hundred years ago. With the decline in its severity of discipline, it has taken to severity of doctrine, and, instead of being a peculiar people in conduct, it is becoming a peculiar people in theology. The old Quaker-like costumes, the absence of flowers and jewelry, the compulsory attendance at class-meetings and the prohibition of popular amusements have given way to creeds, confessions and compulsory conformity to theological standards—all of which is due to the fact that Methodism is getting its first attack of theology, which, while it may prove fatal, will more likely soon disappear, like its late attack of educational and moral illiberality.

Up to 1860 no theological test of membership was required in the Methodist Episcopal Church. No questions were asked at the door of entrance. One could not be challenged for opinion. The great triumphs of Methodism were all accomplished without a theology. Every man believed what he pleased, and all were held together by unity of feeling rather than by unity of opinion. All that was asked of those desiring to become members was "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins," which was interpreted to mean merely a good life. In 1860, however, a radical change was effected. All applicants for full membership were required to profess a belief in the Scriptures as set forth in the Articles of Religion. And soon after, in 1880, a still greater change was effected. The ministers, who, till that time, could be tried for heresy only on the Articles of Religion, were now required to conform also to the Standards of Doctrine; so that at present every Methodist preacher must observe a creed larger than all the creeds of all the churches in Christendom put together, as I shall presently show. Accordingly, while the other churches are getting rid of their creeds, or loosening their obligations under them, the Methodist is adding more to its creed, and compelling a closer adherence to it.

This radical change in the direction of dogmatism and against intellectual liberty has been brought about, if not secretly, at least imperceptibly, and in great part illegally. Both the test of membership and the standards of ministerial orthodoxy under which Dr. Thomas was tried were adopted when the General Conference was not considering the question of doctrine at all, but only the form or rhetoric of the ritual in the first instance, and the method of trying ministers in the other. A whole creed—horns, hoofs and all—slipped in unper-

ceived through the adoption, during the last hours of the session, of an omnibus report of the Committee on Revisals. A Methodist is in danger on going to sleep of waking up to find his theology changed. And all this creed-inflation was done against the constitutional protection of the liberties of the church by the General and Restrictive Rules.¹ By giving the standards all the force which the Articles of Religion had when the first restrictive rule was adopted declaring them unchangeable,² it changed the Articles of Religion by adding to them—a method that had been declared illegal by the bishops as a body in 1876.

I am of the opinion, for these reasons, that the reactionary legislation of the church under which Dr. Thomas was tried is illegal, and is, as yet, no legitimate part of Methodism; that Dr. Thomas was tried under a void law, and, as I shall presently show, illegally tried under what valid law there was; that he cannot, by a fair trial, be excluded from the Methodist Episcopal Church for the views which he holds; and that (if I may be allowed to prophesy), since the object sought by the law is now accomplished (unless the General Conference shall reopen the case or try Bishop Foster), the next session of that body will repeal the law.

The only undisputed creed or standard of doctrine in the Methodist Episcopal Church is contained in the Articles of Religion. These are simply the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with certain modifications in the direction of rationalism. In liberalizing English theology, Wesley threw away fifteen of the thirty-nine articles, and cut down the rest, so that the Methodist Articles of Religion are simply twenty-four "mild assertions," modernized and civilized from their primitive condition in the Established Church, together with the addition of one by the American Methodists, which declares this to be a Nation (and by which, if strictly interpreted, any State's Sovereignty Democrat can be expelled from the ministry for heresy). These articles, improved no doubt in their new form, are the tests, and only tests, by which Dr. Thomas should have been tried.

The "standards," which in 1880 were brought, or attempted to be brought, into the Church in the way indicated, and by which also his views were tested, are a very uncertain, as well as illegal, body of divinity. Nobody knows what they are, there having been no decision by the highest court of Methodism specifying one of them, while the

¹ Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1880, ¶ 71, § 1 and 4, ¶ 35, 31, 72.

² ¶ 71, § 1.

ecclesiastical writers are widely apart in enumerating them. Most persons, however, understand by the term the writings of the early Methodist fathers, or some of them. The following have all been claimed as standards by ecclesiastical writers: Wesley's Sermons (four volumes), Wesley's Notes (a commentary), Wesley's Minutes (unabridged conference reports), Wesley's Doctrinal Tracts (theological miscellany), Watson's Institutes (a voluminous body of divinity, amounting almost to an encyclopædia), Fletcher's Checks (controversial works), Clark's Commentary, the Bible, the Hymn Book, the previous hymn books, the Catechism, the Church Ritual and several other works. Some have even claimed that the whole course of study prescribed for ministerial education is embraced in the standards, including an English grammar and United States history. Some maintain that parts of certain works are standards and parts not, and that they are standards sometimes and at other times not. There was never such an uncertainty as to a law under which anybody was tried. The *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, the official Methodist organ of Chicago, in an editorial printed just before the trial, and intended for the direction of that proceeding, lays down the standards much as given above, and then gives a most remarkable rule for interpreting and applying them. It claims that parts of the works mentioned are standards and parts are not; that some are higher standards than others which are also standards; some are standards when interpreted in one way, and not when interpreted differently. Only some of the hymns, for example, are standards, and only parts of those hymns; and only what is doctrine in the standards is standard, and only what is essential in the Christian system is doctrine. "Mr. Wesley's doctrinal system," it says, "is standard authority; Mr. Wesley's personal speculations are not doctrine, and hence have no authority for us."

With all this uncertainty as to what the standards are, the Thomas trial was entered into, and the jury were instructed to make their own choice of standards, and decide by whatever test they might see proper whether he was heretical or not.

As is well known, Dr. Thomas was tried for heresy on the doctrines of Inspiration, the Atonement and Future Punishment. His views on these subjects are perhaps most succinctly given in his address at the trial, as follows:

I hold to the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures: that in matters of doctrine and duty they are final; the authority of God. But I do not accept the "verbal" theory of inspi-

ration; nor claim that all parts of all the sixty-six books of the Bible are of equal authority, inspiration or value; nor that all parts of the Old Testament are critically infallible.

I hold to the doctrine of a vicarious atonement; but I hold it in that form that is called moral or paternal—or, in other words, I hold to the governmental view, with the penal idea left out. I deny the doctrine of a literal penal substitution. It is, I think, both unreasonable and unscriptural. It is an offense to our deepest moral intuitions, and a burden to Christian faith. I am aware that in saying this I am compelled to differ to some extent from what seems to be the teachings of Wesley and Watson; but I claim to be in substantial accord with Raymond, Miley and Pope [leading Methodist writers on the subject, whose works are in the official course of study], and to hold in substance what in its last analysis must be declared to be the true Arminian doctrine. The moral view is emphatic in its denial of the punishment of the innocent to save the guilty, and thus takes away the offense to the deepest sense of justice in the human heart—an offense that must ever inhere in any theory that puts the penalty of sin upon Christ. But, having once done this, the moral view finds a place and a necessity for all that is said of the sufferings of Christ. Christ, in this view, is more than a teacher; more than an example; and saves by being more than simply these. He is the “Lamb slain from the foundation of the world;” the “Lamb that taketh away the sin of the world;” He is a “mediator;” He is the “propitiation for our sins;” He is our “sacrifice;” our “atonement;” we have “redemption through His blood;” He was “wounded,” “bruised;” “bore our sins in His own body upon the tree;” “by His stripes we are healed;” “He died for us.” All, and more than all, these sacrificial and substitutional expressions have a place and a real meaning in the view of God coming forth in the person of Christ and suffering in the vicariousness of love to save man. But these terms have been so literalized and pressed into the service of a cold penal theory, in which Christ is represented as being punished—having the literal penalty put upon him—that the real meaning seems well-nigh lost. But take this literal penal idea away, and then no language of suffering, or sacrifice, or substitution, is too strong to bear in upon the heart and conscience of the world the great, the deep, the amazing facts of the incarnation and suffering and death of Jesus Christ.

I hold to the strength and integrity of the government of God; that all sin will be properly punished; but I do not believe in a material hell fire, nor in the terrible ideas of future torment that have come down to us from the past. Such teachings, to my mind, negate the very idea of a God. I must agree with good Dr. Raymond, “that it is competent to think of God as making hell, not as terrible, but as tolerable, as possible. If God punish sinners, it is because he must. He is vindictory, but not vindictive. He is a righteous being, and a righteous sovereign, but He is not a malicious murderer.” But I cannot agree with Dr. Williamson, who says: “Mr. Wesley, in his sermon on ‘Hell,’ states the doctrine of the Methodist churches on this subject. From this teaching, so far as known, there are no influential dissenters.” I should rather say, with Dr. Whedon, “We imagine the census would be small of American Methodist ministers who would accept Mr. Wesley’s physical views of hell.” I hold to the endlessness of the law by which sin must be punished, and hence to endless punishment for the endlessly obdurate, if such there be; but, assuming, as I do, the freedom of souls after death, I cannot affirm that any soul will, or will not, forever remain in sin, and hence I can neither affirm nor deny endless punishment for any soul. But, postulating endless punishment upon endless sinning, I am logically bound to suppose that, if the sinning come to an end, the suffering must also come to an end—unless, indeed, it be that suffering of loss that in the nature of things seems to be remediless. And I have a hope—a hope that has come to me through much suffering and prayer, and that seems to be strengthened by the nearest visions of God—that, somehow, all the divine love and striving to win and save souls will not end with this poor, short life; but that the work of discipline and salvation may go on in the immortal world. And it seems to me that, while there is upon some texts a surface look of finality, there is a deeper and a far-reaching vision of other texts, and of the Scriptures as a whole, on which this hope may rest.

The issue in the Thomas trial was, Are these views contrary to the Articles of Religion and established Standards of Doctrine of the Methodist Episcopal Church? The Articles of Religion, unfortunately—or fortunately—have very little on these subjects, and that not directly in point; while the standards, as usually interpreted, have so much in them that Dr. Thomas' views may be proven either heretical or orthodox, as may almost any other views.

On Inspiration, the Articles of Religion (on which alone he was tried on this subject) have only the following:

ARTICLE 5.—The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or to be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, of whose authority was never any doubt in the church. The names of the canonical books are: [Here follows a list of the books of the Bible.]

There is here no assertion that all things in the Bible are true, or that all or any of the canonical books are inspired. It is merely claimed that they *contain* all things necessary for salvation—so that other beliefs are not to be required. They may contain much more, including some errors. Though the only charge against Dr. Thomas' views on Inspiration was that they contradicted this article, he was found guilty by the Investigating Committee, by a vote of six to three—one of the most illiberal interpretations of a creed on record; yet he was acquitted at the next trial by a vote of eleven to four—one of the most rapid and extreme theological changes.

On the Atonement, the Articles of Religion have only the following:

ARTICLE 2.—The Son, who is the word of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin, so that two whole and perfect natures—that is to say, the Godhead and manhood—were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for the actual sins of men.

ARTICLE 20.—The offering of Christ, once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of masses, in the which it is commonly said that the priest doth offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, is a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit.

The only charge against Dr. Thomas, touching the Atonement, was that his doctrines were contrary to these two articles, and on this charge he was found guilty by both the Investigating Committee and the committee at the Conference trial, although the difference between him and his brethren is, at most, only one of metaphysical discrimination in their interpretation.

On Future Punishment, the Articles of Religion contain not a word. There is neither eternal punishment nor a specified hell of any kind in any defined or undisputed creed, confession or authoritative statement of Methodism; and, under the restrictive rules which protect the doctrines of the church, there cannot by any legal means be any doctrines on this subject added. All the "fire and brimstone" that have been preached for one hundred years by the sturdy Methodist preachers have been gratuitous. There was in Wesley's time an article in the Church of England on eternal punishment; but Wesley, in making up the Articles of Religion for the Methodists, rejected it (and afterwards the Church of England itself dropped it, since which time the House of Lords has officially declared eternal punishment not to be an obligatory doctrine of that church).

There being nothing in the Articles of Religion on eternal punishment, Dr. Thomas was charged with disseminating views on this subject, contrary to the established standards of doctrine, and, without determining, or pretending to determine, what those standards are, or any of them, the Conference Committee found him guilty and expelled him!

The standards, as I have said, are so numerous, as generally understood, and so contradictory, no matter how understood, that one can prove by them almost any proposition in theology. They are not reconcilable with themselves, with one another or with science. Some of them are so out of date that the ministers unanimously reject them. Wesley, for example, teaches, in works accounted standards, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, now rejected by all Methodists; also premillenarianism, rejected by most, and sinless perfection, rejected by many. Watson teaches in his Institutes, likewise accounted a "standard," that the fossils were originally created in the rocks six thousand years ago as they are found now, and not caused by animals being imbedded in the rocks; so that, while it is easy to prove Dr. Thomas guilty of heresy by the standards, it is just as easy to prove every other Methodist preacher guilty; and, while they contain much that no Methodist believes, they also contain in their many contradictions all that Dr. Thomas believes; so that, while it is so easy to prove him guilty of heresy, it is just as easy to prove him innocent.

Here is an inextricable dilemma for the church. What part of its standards is to be believed, and how implicitly is it to be believed? If everything in them is to be believed, then nobody now in the church can stand. If only a part is to be believed, then Dr. Thomas

can stand. The only difference is that Dr. Thomas rejects a little more than the rest, or rejects a little differently from the rest. They all reject parts of the standards, and, as no two reject alike, it is not a question between heresy and orthodoxy, but between different kinds of heresy. Every Methodist is a heretic by his own standard, inasmuch as that is accounted Methodist doctrine which no Methodist holds.

Of the conduct of the trial, which has been extolled by the official press as a model of fairness and conscientious discharge of painful duty, I have spoken freely in public, and, before proceeding further, shall repeat several points which I recently gave to the press.¹ Touching the official prosecutors (chosen for their preëminent orthodoxy), it was discovered, just before the trial in September, that two of them were as heretical as Dr. Thomas on at least one of the same points. A letter appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* of September 1, 1881, from a clergyman, stating that the senior prosecutor had recently declared to him that he believed in future probation. About the same time, another of those appointed to prosecute Dr. Thomas declared in a sermon, as reported in the same newspaper, that he held substantially the same views as Dr. Thomas on the Atonement and Future Punishment, and that he would rather defend than prosecute him. No denial by either of these men has appeared in public, or even in private, that I am aware of; and it is not too much to say that the public generally believes that they made the statements. At all events, the latter was immediately dropped from the prosecution, and took no part in the trial. Another of the prosecutors, in his address to the committee, declared that if Dr. Thomas was sustained, thereby annulling the distinction between Methodism and Universalism, he would quit the Methodist Church, thus declaring that, while demanding Dr. Thomas' expulsion because on one subject he did not accept historic teaching of Methodism, he himself was equally unsound on the another—Arminianism. For, to gain admittance into the Presbyterian Church, he should have to accept the doctrines of election, reprobation, foreordination and the other points of Calvinism against which Methodism has preached and fought harder than it ever has against Universalism. The fourth prosecutor declared that he once took a vow to be orthodox, whatever might come, and that that vow, though taken upon the spur of the moment, and without consideration of the issues involved, has kept him orthodox ever since. Such is the Methodism of those who championed its orthodoxy

¹ *Chicago Tribune*, November 27, 1881.

against Dr. Thomas, and the query arises whether the prosecution came into court with clean hands.

The injustice that, from a legal point of view, has been done to Dr. Thomas throughout the whole controversy is phenomenal. The Conference first condemned him, and then tried him. They commenced proceedings against him by voting, taking the step at the beginning which they should have taken last. They obtained two expressions of their opinion before the evidence was in, and from those that were known to be against him a majority of the committee was afterward made up to try him, in order to secure his condemnation. Let us look at the facts more closely. Three years ago, when the first official action was taken, the bishop asked the whole Conference to vote on whether Dr. Thomas was a loyal Methodist preacher or not. This was not only before any evidence was in, but before any charges were preferred. The Conference voted that he was not, and then took some evidence. They obtained a statement from him, and then, without charges or even formal complaint being preferred, censured him, and sent him to his appointment. Here were two votes taken against him before trial. Then, in 1880, they voted again on his case—still without charges or trial. They did not even allow a decent discussion of the motion; but after the speeches were all made against him, and when some of his friends wanted to reply, cut off debate by moving the previous question. A vote was then taken, and Dr. Thomas condemned a third time before trial, no formal charges being yet preferred. And when, at last, it was proposed to try him, one of the ministers called out, "What do we want a trial for? We are all ready to vote now." The trial did not commence till the whole Conference had so clearly expressed its mind that it was presumed that it was already committed on the issue.

When he was finally tried before the Investigating Committee, one of his most persistent accusers was made the adviser of the presiding officer, and sat with him on the bench. It was he who practically decided the questions of law, which, on nearly all points, were uniformly ruled against Dr. Thomas. For, having been a lawyer before entering the ministry, his opinion was naturally more relied on by the presiding officer than his own. The effect of all this was to make Dr. Thomas' most bitter enemy his judge. For this was the man who, on the Conference floor, in the press, and by private electioneering, most zealously worked up the case against him. Nor is this all. After having served as counsel for the judge—practically as

the judge—in the preliminary trial, he was next appointed one of the prosecutors before the Judicial Conference. That is, the judge in the court below is made the prosecutor in the court above; and the same rulings which he made below he is appointed to defend above. The judge gets off the bench to become a prosecutor, and to enforce his own decisions which are appealed from. And, what looks worst, is that the man who appointed him to this last position is the man who sat with him on the bench below, or his associate judge, for it is generally understood that the presiding elder of Dr. Thomas' district was the adviser of this appointment. While speaking of the judges, it is also worthy of notice that the officer presiding in the second trial, who was a near relative of the officer presiding in the first trial, after deciding almost everything as his brother-in-law did below, retired with the jury, and assisted in forming the verdict. While those outside do not know definitely what transpired in the jury room, those acquainted with the presiding officer hardly believe that his long arguments were in favor of Dr. Thomas. It is just as improper that the judge should leave the bench to argue the case before the jury as that the associate judge should, on the appeal, try the case for the prosecution.

The most sinister proceeding, however, and the most far-reaching in its consequences, was to make the jury the judges of the law, and then to impose secrecy on them so that the defense might not know their decisions. The object of this, or at least the effect, was to prevent the defense from taking exception to the rulings, and so to save the question on the appeal. The presiding officer decided that the judge and the jury were both the "court." He refused, as presiding officer, to decide what the standards were (which was the principal legal question at issue), but said that that should be referred to the jury. When the jury got into their room, and pledged themselves by a majority vote not to reveal what they did, they decided this question of standards. They then decided several of the most important questions of the trial, not only without permitting any argument by the defense, but without allowing any exception, as I have said, to be taken to such decision. The standard on which Dr. Thomas is condemned on the third specification is not made known to him. He is condemned on a law that is kept a secret from him, and from the world. Dr. Thomas not only does not know by what standard he was convicted, but he was not allowed to test by appeal (even if his appeal had been heard) the question whether it is a standard or not. Since

the standards were decided upon in secret, the defense was helpless either to object, argue or except to it. This method of keeping the law and the rulings of the "court" secret, as well as the vote of the jury, was the most unfair proceeding of the whole trial.

And now, as to the committee, or jury. It looks, on its face, as if that committee were selected designedly to convict. The names of twenty-three ministers were suggested by the bishop (picked out for him by the presiding elders). The great majority had in the year before cast their votes against Dr. Thomas—that is, on the question of asking him to withdraw from the church. Of these twenty-three, a large proportion were such extreme and bitter opponents of Dr. Thomas, that out of decency fifteen of them were, on his protest, allowed to be dropped. Thomas was then permitted to suggest some names for the committee, but only three of them were allowed to go on, and the committee, as finally made up, was composed of twelve persons suggested to the bishop by those representing the church, and three by Dr. Thomas, the presiding elders taking care (as the presiding officer publicly stated) not to put on those who believed Thomas to be innocent; their idea of a fair jury being one that should not presume the accused to be innocent till proved so. Those who felt that the result depended mainly on the complexion of the committee, now felt that the case was decided. The committee simply represented the presiding elders, and anybody acquainted with the ministers, as they were, could easily pick out a committee to convict or acquit as they might desire.

The committee being thus chosen, Dr. Thomas was next denied the right of challenge except in the case of four, although he was legally entitled to challenge all for cause—that is, to question them on their preconceived opinion, and exclude them if their minds were unalterably made up. The fact that he did not protest against them at a certain time was decided to be a waiver of his right to challenge. The opponents of Dr. Thomas were extremely nervous at the prospect of a challenge, and fought it desperately. At last, however, four were allowed to be challenged, and, of these four, two confessed that their minds were made up against him, and that they could not give an impartial verdict! This indicates what the other members of the committee chosen by the bishop (that is, the presiding elders,) would probably have answered if questioned. One-half of those challenged confessed that they could not be fair. How many of the others were knowingly in the same condition, but not honest enough to confess, is

an open question. It is worthy of remark, however, that those who confessed that they could not give an impartial verdict had, nevertheless, consented to remain on the committee, and did so remain until the confession of their incompetency was forced from them by the plain question of Dr. Thomas' counsel. And in challenging these four the defense was not allowed to ask whether they had made up their minds against Dr. Thomas, or expressed an opinion that he was guilty, but merely whether they were incapable of rendering a fair verdict. This last question is much easier to answer on account of man's natural conceit of his own capacity for fairness; and yet, with even this mild question, two out of four declared that they could not give an impartial verdict. This shows the character of the committee the church picked against Dr. Thomas.

Touching the evidence in the case, it is a matter of much significance that Dr. Thomas was tried, not on his own sermons, but mainly on chance utterances, said to have been dropped in conversation, and this notwithstanding all the complaint had been made about his *preaching*. His sermons give his views fully and accurately, and he obtained his reputation for heresy on them, and with them he did all the damage to his brother ministers' congregations of which they complained so much in public, and on which they took Conference action. They are numerous, well known, and are not, like the conversations, disputed. More of Dr. Thomas' sermons have been published in the last few years than perhaps of all other Methodist ministers in the United States put together, and published more widely. Three of the Chicago newspapers print them in full every Monday morning, and they are copied in many others, so that they are of easy access. And yet, after complaining, and protesting, and voting for years over them, when it came to a trial the prosecutors were not only unwilling to rest a case on them, but admitted—two of them at least—that they could not convict him on them. Dr. Parkhurst, in his argument to the Investigating Committee, explicitly stated that he did not rely at all for conviction on the extracts from the sermons, but, to use his own words, on "statements made when he was not padding and garnishing for the public ear; and these," he continued, "are the things on which we claim to have fairly stated this man's doctrine—utterances that he has made here and there when he was not preparing for a thousand people. These are the utterances that fairly represent the man." One of the official prosecutors publicly stated, during the trial, that he had never read more than one of Dr. Thomas' sermons.

The sermons were accordingly lightly passed by, and the testimony of three women taken as to what he should have said over three years ago ("that he did not believe that old Joshua's sun stood still, or that such a man as old Job ever lived," and other crudely and obviously incorrectly reported statements), together with the evidence of one of the prosecuting counsel who had, according to two sworn statements, confessed that he had been tracking Dr. Thomas for ten years, and who testified that when he heard him make a certain remark he wrote it down for future use against him, and also the testimony of the associate judge above mentioned (who has thus already been judge, prosecuting attorney and witness in this case). Such are the witnesses and such the evidence that have been relied on against Dr. Thomas, after years of commotion over his "heretical preaching." And much of this testimony, let me add, was on what should have been said before the "standards" were adopted under which he was being tried for it—so that he was tried, in fact, by an *ex-post facto* law.

As to the appeal to the Judicial Conference, there was every preparation to do a great wrong, which was prevented only by an opportunity to do a greater wrong. While I do not assert that the Judicial Conference, like the committee of the Rock River Conference, was packed against Dr. Thomas, there was enough done to insure a fatal unfairness, which, if it does not reflect on the bishops (or on the presiding elders), shows that they had it in their power to dispose of the matter at will. It was an easy task for the bishops to compose a Judicial Conference which would convict him. They knew that the Judicial Conference of this year would have to consider his appeal, and, as it had to be made up of seven men chosen from three conveniently near annual conferences, it was easy to select men of the conservative wing of each conference for the triers of appeals, and then to select the three conferences which should have the greatest number of such conservatives among their triers. It is evident, also, that Dr. Thomas was again to be practically denied the right of challenge. He was notified of the time and place of the Judicial Conference only twelve days before the appeal was to be heard. No information was given him even then of who were to try him, or even from what conferences they were taken, although this had long been determined. He had no means of learning these facts until just before the trial, when it was too late to learn anything about the men who were to sit in judgment upon him; so that he must have challenged at random

had he challenged at all, when he would as likely have challenged a friend as an opponent. This was equivalent to no challenge at all. He should have had at least a month in which to learn the character of his judges; with whom, as they were chosen from distant conferences, he was presumed to have no acquaintance. And inasmuch, also, as the challenge was to be peremptory, and not for cause—that is, he could not question them as to whether they had formed an unalterable opinion or not, but could only strike off from one to eight names, according to the number in excess of thirteen—to do this intelligently, he should have had considerable time.

Again, in designating the three annual conferences whose triers of appeals should constitute the Judicial Conference, the Discipline provides that the bishop “shall proceed with due regard to the wishes and rights of the appellant.”¹ This was not done. Dr. Thomas’ wishes were not consulted at all, and no word was spoken to him about the conferences, the men, the time or the place. He might not have desired his appeal to be heard in Indiana, notorious for its conservatism, and by conferences south of the Rock River lines.

But the Judicial Conference, instead of giving Dr. Thomas an unfair trial, like the Rock River Conference, determined to give him no trial at all. I am not certain that the Judicial Conference had the right to vote as a whole, and before challenge, on the question of refusing him an appeal, inasmuch as this practically took away his right of challenge by deciding the whole issue before his time to challenge should come. A man may have a majority of the jury in his favor, whereas if the whole panel summoned should vote it might be otherwise.

The pretext on which his appeal was denied is most flimsy and transparent, especially in view of the constitutional provision (one of the Restrictive Rules which not even the General Conference can abolish) that the ministers shall not be denied the privilege of an appeal.² The ground for refusing to hear his appeal is that since his expulsion he continued to preach to his congregation in the theatre, thereby putting himself out of the Methodist Church and into another. There is no precedent for refusing an appeal on such ground. The cases of those who seceded to form the Methodist Episcopal Church South and other “hostile” organizations, and of those who joined other conferences or ecclesiastical bodies, are not identical in principle with this. Without specifying the differences, I shall only say that it is an open question, at most, and the doubt in this case was given

¹ ¶ 242.

² ¶ 71, § 5.

against Dr. Thomas. His appeal was denied on a very small and very doubtful technicality.

In preaching in Hooley's Theatre to an unorganized congregation—for it could hardly be called a church—Dr. Thomas did not mean to leave the Methodist Church, and did not consider himself out of it. He stated in his first sermon there that he was “a Methodist, and member of the Rock River Conference, and as such hoped to live and die.” But, even if he were a member of another church or congregation, it would not disqualify him from being a Methodist. Double membership is not unknown to Methodism. Nearly all Methodists were once members of two churches, or more. They usually belonged to the Church of England and the Methodist Church at the same time, or else to one of the dissenting churches and the Methodist Church. A man not unfrequently now belongs to two denominations. He can be a Methodist and a Baptist as easily as a Mason and an Odd Fellow. The several churches are not necessarily hostile, or mutually exclusive, and joining another church is not good ground on which to deny one any church privilege. The Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church at Washington is composed mostly of persons who are also members of other churches—not only other Methodist churches, but other churches of other denominations.

But the “People’s Church,” to which Dr. Thomas ministered at Hooley’s Theatre, was not, and is not now, a church in the Methodist sense of that term, or what most of the great organizations would call a church. It had no creed, no membership, no sacraments. The people simply met to hear Dr. Thomas preach, and to worship as they would at a service by a Young Men’s Christian Association or by a street preacher. Certainly it was not a hostile church, as the prosecution claimed. It was a preaching service established “down town,” to gather in persons who did not, as a rule, attend any service. Dr. Thomas had been preaching to this congregation nearly a year before the trial, with the knowledge and advice of leaders in the church, including at least one bishop, and with the assurance that it would not interfere with his trial. Had he been acquitted, he might have been regularly appointed to that work as a member of the Conference, just as for years another member of the Conference has been appointed to another independent church in Chicago, and as is occasionally done in other cities. And yet, in view of all these facts, the Judicial Conference decided that that church was “a good enough Morgan till after election.”

Where so many direct explanations for a wrong are at hand, it is not usual to look for remote ones; and yet, while we have abundant near motives for the prosecution and conviction of Dr. Thomas, without supposing either conscience, orthodoxy or law, there was obviously a power behind both the prosecution, the "court" and the jury which would have secured his conviction had the nearer agents failed.

The power that usually controls in the Methodist Church in great matters is what might be called the Western Book Concern ring. This is the Jesuit Order of Methodism; and, though often defeated and dispersed, it always rallies again, and usually carries off the prizes of power and honor. To oppose it is pretty sure defeat, and the Conference "bosses" usually bow to it and coöperate with it. It is the best security of their power, and operates largely through them as its local agents. The Book Concern is the centre of a large patronage. The official editors, publishers, general secretaries and a few others here hold the wires that control the whole church. It is their duty, or at least their privilege, to visit the annual conferences, in order to represent the missionary cause, the Church Extension Society, the Sunday-school Union, the church periodicals and other general agencies. While on this mission they can incidentally work up their own candidatures for the bishoprics, the general secretaryships or the editorships. They are of the counsel of the bishops, and also of the presiding elders and other Conference managers. They form a kind of unofficial cabinet for those both above and below them, and serve powerfully to keep the church in unity of both purpose and opinion; and, while there is perhaps not much complaint of their abuse of power, the fear in which they are held by the under clergy, who depend on the favor of the "bosses" for their appointments, is fatal to the independence of the average minister. For, as it makes a great difference whether one is sent to an obscure circuit with three hundred dollars salary, or to a city station with as many thousands, one will not readily jeopardize his chances by offending the "bosses."

This power was, for reasons that I shall not stop to explain, exerted against Dr. Thomas. He and his friends were thought to be interfering with their plans. He was neither a sycophant nor a "machine" worker. He had become offensive to the managers of the Rock River Conference, who were doing the bidding of the Book Concern ring as represented in the Chicago book-room party. The official church papers denounced him, and prejudged his case from the beginning.

They sounded the key-note which was to be sounded all along the line—namely, that loyalty to the church required his suppression. It was a good opportunity for the “visiting (ecclesiastical) statesmen” to make capital among the country preachers while on their junketing tours to the conferences. In their missionary, Sunday-school and Book Concern speeches they took occasion to urge “loyalty to the church” and condemnation of “heresy.” Nearly every one of them who visited the Rock River Conference in the last four years took occasion to say in his speech to that body that, “when a man is no longer in harmony with the doctrines of the church, he should get out.” Those in particular who themselves had been accused of heresy (as several of them had been before a campaign cry was raised on it) took advantage of the opportunity, by condemning Thomas, to set themselves right. The *Northwestern Christian Advocate* leveled column after column against him, and when a reason was asked for its attacks, in view of the fact that its editors were not deemed out of sympathy with his views, the answer was, “We *have* to do it.” This opposition was so strong that, when a publisher who issued a volume of Dr. Thomas’ sermons wished to advertise it in the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, his advertisement was rejected. It was so one-sided in misrepresenting Dr. Thomas that it published entire the arguments of the counsel against him at the Judicial Conference and not one word of the arguments of the counsel for the defense. There seemed to be a concerted action by the official organs that the public should know as little about the case as possible, and that all on one side—so that, as the *Independent* observed, the Methodist public had to go to the secular press and to publications of other denominations to get the Methodist news.

And this echo of the press was repeated at the trial, and many an insinuation thrown out that men had better look to their own interests in voting on this case. The ill-concealed “bulldozing” in the name of the church managers was at times startling. One of the prosecuting counsel, after referring in his argument to the fact that one of the Investigating Committee had on all points voted for Dr. Thomas, added: “I do not envy the position of that man in this Conference.”

Of the intelligence of the committees which found Dr. Thomas guilty, or of their qualification to pass on the questions at issue, I shall say only this: None of them are well known or distinguished for theological attainments. In a sketch of all the members of the committee at the first trial, nine in number, only one is set down as a

college graduate (the one who on all points voted for Dr. Thomas), while one had until shortly before been a variety actor.

The effect of Dr. Thomas' expulsion is to make heresy a more honored term than orthodoxy, and a condemnation by the Rock River Conference is likely hereafter to be more creditable than an acquittal. Should the action of this Conference be sustained by the church at large, it will drive many good men out of its fold, and prevent many others from entering; or else, by a general suppression of honest opinion, it will compel the church to maintain its harmony by a broad hypocrisy, instead of a broad liberality. So many brilliant minds of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been driven out by the narrowness and arbitrary action of the "bosses" that the leading pulpits of all the denominations are largely filled by ex-Methodists. The Methodist Church has hitherto had great power of gathering in converts, with but little power of retaining them, and now it is making special efforts to get rid of them—so that, while its power of gaining is diminishing and its power of losing is increasing, it is in a fair way to general depletion. The Methodist Church had once a wide door of entrance. It has now many doors of exit, and that of heresy is being widened to be the largest.

To be consistent (if honesty is to prevail in this matter), there should now be heresy trials all along the line. It is an open secret that a good proportion of the bishops, general secretaries, and official editors are in sympathy with Dr. Thomas on at least one of the points on which he was tried. When charges were preferred against the irrepressible Peter Cartwright by the predecessors of the present Rock River Conference, for wearing suspenders (when it was yet a question of bodily, instead of theological, dress which exercised the church), he secured his acquittal by a knowledge of the fact that the bishop himself had on a pair. Cartwright was willing to take off his suspenders if the bishop would, after which they should both walk into the Conference, and let that body take the consequences. It would seem only fair that Dr. Thomas should be allowed the same expedient as the bishops, whether it be as to latitude or suspenders.

But it is not necessary to go outside of the Rock River Conference to get victims. You cannot throw a stone in that body without hitting a heretic; or, if you miss a heretic, you will hit something worse. The members of that Conference are of four classes—those who are open and avowed liberals; those who are secretly so; those who are too thoughtless to be anything at all, and those who are intelligently and

candidly orthodox. Dr. Thomas is the representative of a large class, and his heresy is not exceptional. But if he is heretical on one point, half the Conference are heretical on other points. A lone scapegoat, he bears in his expulsion the sins of many; and some of them (in harmony with their theory of the Atonement) congratulate themselves that they can expiate their own offenses by slaughtering another for the same offense.

Many earnest men have stood behind Dr. Thomas in this controversy, and his fight has been for them, rather than for himself. He had nothing to gain in any selfish sense. He was well provided with a large, rich and devoted congregation. Fashionable churches of other denominations competed for his services. Since his expulsion the Protestant Episcopal Church has offered, through several of its leaders, to take him in, with all his doubts, asking no questions. But his was a test case, looked to by many anxious preachers as settling, not the status of himself, but of the church; and the church, rather than he, was on trial; and the church, let me add, rather than he, is condemned. Much as he loved the church, he cared less for his relations to it than for its relations to the great questions now agitating thinkers. He wanted a liberal Methodism for himself and his brethren, which should tolerate honest doubt, rather than enforce dishonest faith, and in which men with still greater differences might, with a correspondingly greater charity, live together in harmony. He asked the church, not to indorse his views, but to tolerate one holding them; so that, while the Conference said, "Get more conformity, or get out," he replied, "Get more liberality, and we can live together without conformity."

AUSTIN BIERBOWER.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL LOANS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE financial system of the Government of the United States has continued the same from its organization to the present time, and, unlike that of perhaps any other nation, it may be readily understood by the careful student of political economy. In all its main features it is simple and well defined, and its very simplicity may

probably be assigned as the reason why it appears so difficult of comprehension by many people of intelligence and education. It is based upon the principles laid down by Alexander Hamilton, and the practical adoption of the fundamental maxim which he regarded as the true secret for rendering public credit immortal, viz., "that the creation of debt should always be accompanied with the means of extinguishment." A faithful adherence to this system by his successors has stood the test of nearly a century, with the nation at peace or at war, in prosperity or adversity; so that, with all the change that progress has entailed upon the people of the age, no valid grounds exist for any change here.

During the colonial period, and under the confederation, the financial operations of the Government were based on the law of necessity, and depended for success upon the patriotism of the people, the coöperation of the several States, and the assistance of foreign powers friendly to our cause.

It was the willingness of the people to receive the various kinds of paper money issued under authority of the Continental Congress, and used in payment for services and supplies, together with the issue of similar obligations by the different States, for the redemption of which they assumed the responsibility; aided by the munificent gift of money from Louis XVI. of France, followed by loans for a large amount from both France and Holland, that made victory possible, and laid the foundations for the republic of to-day, with its credit unimpaired, and with securities commanding a ready sale at a high premium in all the principal markets of the world.

Authorities vary as to the amount of paper money issued and the cost of the war for independence. On the 1st of September, 1779, Congress resolved that it would "on no account whatever emit more bills of credit than to make the whole amount of such bills two hundred millions of dollars." Mr. Jefferson estimates the value of this sum *at the time of its emission* at \$36,367,719.83 in specie, and says: "If we estimate at the same value the like sum of \$200,000,000 supposed to have been emitted by the States, and reckon the Federal debt, foreign and domestic, at about \$43,000,000, and the State debts at \$25,000,000, it will form an amount of \$140,000,000, the total sum which the war cost the United States. It continued eight years, from the battle of Lexington to the cessation of hostilities in America. The annual expense was, therefore, equal to about \$17,500,000 in specie."

The first substantial aid rendered the colonies by any foreign power was a free gift of money and military supplies from Louis XVI. of France, amounting in the aggregate to 10,000,000 livres, equivalent to \$1,815,000.

These supplies were not furnished openly, for the reason that France was not in a position to commence a war with Great Britain. The celebrated Caron de Beaumarchais was employed as a secret agent, between whom and Silas Deane, as the political and commercial agent of the United States, a contract was entered into whereby the former agreed to furnish a large amount of military supplies from the arsenals of France, and to receive American produce in payment therefor.

Under this arrangement supplies were furnished by the French Government to the amount of 2,000,000 livres. An additional 1,000,000 was contributed by the Government of Spain for the same purpose, and through the same agency. The balance of the French subsidy was paid through Benjamin Franklin. In 1777 a loan of 1,000,000 livres was obtained from the "Farmers General of France" under a contract for its repayment in American tobacco at a stipulated price. From 1778 to 1783, additional loans were obtained from the French King, amounting to 34,000,000 livres. From 1782 to 1789, loans to the amount of 9,000,000 gilders were negotiated in Holland, through the agency of John Adams, then the American Minister to the Hague.

The indebtedness of the United States at the organization of the present form of government (including interest to December 31, 1790) may be briefly stated, as follows:

Foreign debt.....	\$11,883,315.96
Domestic debt.....	40,256,802.45
Debt due foreign officers.....	198,208.10
Arrears outstanding (since discharged).....	450,395.52
Total.....	\$52,788,722.03

To this should be added the individual debts of the several States, the precise amount and character of which was then unknown, but estimated by Hamilton at that time to aggregate about \$25,000,000.

The payment of this vast indebtedness was virtually guaranteed by the provisions of Article VI. of the Constitution, which says: "All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under

this Constitution as under the confederation." On the 21st of September, 1789, the House of Representatives adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this House consider an adequate provision for the support of the public credit as a matter of high importance to the national honor and prosperity.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to prepare a plan for that purpose, and to report the same to this House at its next meeting.

In reply thereto Hamilton submitted his report on the 9th of January, 1790, in which he gave many reasons for assuming the debts of the old Government, and of the several States, and furnished a plan for supporting the public credit. His recommendations were adopted, and embodied in the act making provision for the payment of the debt of the United States, approved August 4, 1790.

This act authorized a loan of \$12,000,000, to be applied to the payment of the foreign debt, principal and interest; a loan equal to the full amount of the domestic debt, payable in certificates issued for its amount according to their specie value, and computing the interest to December 31, 1791, upon such as bore interest; and a further loan of \$21,500,000, payable in the principal and interest of the certificates or notes which, prior to January 1, 1790, were issued by the respective States as evidences of indebtedness incurred by them for the expenses of the late war. "In the case of the debt of the United States, interest upon two-thirds of the principal only, at 6 per cent., was immediately paid; interest upon the remaining third was deferred for ten years, and only 3 per cent. was allowed upon the arrears of interest, making one-third of the whole debt. In the case of the separate debts of the States, interest upon four-ninths only of the entire sum was immediately paid; interest upon two-ninths was deferred for ten years, and only 3 per cent. allowed on three-ninths." Under this authority 6 per cent. stock was issued to the amount of \$30,060,511, and deferred 6 per cent. stock, bearing interest from January 1, 1800, amounting to \$14,635,386. This stock was made subject to redemption by payments not exceeding, in one year, on account both of principal and interest, the proportion of eight dollars upon a hundred of the sum mentioned in the certificates; \$19,719,237 was issued in 3 per cent. stock, subject to redemption whenever provision should be made by law for that purpose.

The money needed for the payment of the principal and interest of the foreign debt was procured by new loans negotiated in Holland and Antwerp to the amount of \$9,400,000, and the issue of new stock

for the balance of \$2,024,900 due on the French debt, this stock bearing a rate of interest one-half of one per cent. in advance of the rate previously paid, and redeemable at the pleasure of the Government. Subsequent legislation provided for the establishment of a sinking fund, under the management of a board of commissioners, consisting of the President of the Senate, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, and Attorney General, for the time being, who, or any three of whom, were authorized, under the direction of the President of the United States, to make purchases of stock, and otherwise provide for the gradual liquidation of the entire debt, from funds set apart for this purpose. On assuming the position of Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton found himself entirely without funds to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government, except by borrowing, until such time as the revenues from duties on imports and tonnage began to come into the Treasury. Under these circumstances, he was forced to make arrangements with the Bank of New York and the Bank of North America for temporary loans, and it was from the moneys received from these banks that he paid the first installment of salary due President Washington, Senators, Representatives and officers of Congress, during the first session under the Constitution, which began at the city of New York, March 4, 1789.

The first "Bank of the United States" appears to have been proposed by Alexander Hamilton in December, 1790, and it was incorporated by an act of Congress, approved February 25, 1791, with a capital stock of \$10,000,000, divided into 25,000 shares at \$400 each. The Government subscription of \$2,000,000, under authority of the act, was paid by giving to the bank bills of exchange on Holland equivalent to gold, and borrowing from the bank a like sum for ten years at 6 per cent. interest. The bank went into operation very soon after its charter was obtained, and declared its first dividend in July, 1792. It was evidently well managed, and was of great benefit to the Government and the people at large, assisting the Government by loans in cases of emergency, and forcing the "wild-cat" banks of the country to keep their issues "somewhere within reasonable bounds." More than \$100,000,000 of Government money was received and disbursed by it without the loss of a single dollar. It made semi-annual dividends, averaging about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and its stock rose to a high price. The stock belonging to the United States was sold out at different times at a profit, 2,220 shares sold in 1802

bringing an advance of 45 per cent. The Government subscription, with ten years' interest, amounted to \$3,200,000, while there was received in dividends and for stock sold \$3,773,580, a profit of nearly 28.7 per cent. In 1796 the credit of the Government was very low, as shown by its utter failure to negotiate a loan for the purpose of paying a debt to the Bank of the United States for moneys borrowed and used, partly to pay the expenses of suppressing the whisky insurrection in Pennsylvania and to buy a treaty with the pirates of Algiers. On a loan authorized for \$5,000,000, only \$80,000 could be obtained, and this at a discount of 12½ per cent.; and, there being no other immediate resource, United States Bank stock to the amount of \$1,304,260 was sold at a premium of 25 per cent.

Under an act approved June 30, 1798, the President was authorized to accept such vessels as were suitable to be armed for the public service, not exceeding twelve in number, and to issue certificates, or other evidences of the public debt of the United States, in payment. The ships George Washington, Merrimack, Maryland and Patapsco, brig Richmond, and frigates Boston, Philadelphia, John Adams, Essex and New York, were purchased, and 6 per cent. stock, redeemable at the pleasure of Congress, was issued in payment to the amount of \$711,700.

The idea of creating a navy by the purchase of vessels built by private parties, and issuing stock in payment therefor, seems to have originated with Hamilton.

In the years 1797 and 1798 the United States, though nominally at peace with all the world, was actually at war with France—a war not formally declared, but carried on upon the ocean with very great virulence. John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry and Charles C. Pinckney were appointed envoys extraordinary to the French Republic, with power for terminating all differences and restoring harmony, good understanding and commercial and friendly intercourse between the two nations; but their efforts were in vain, and extensive preparations were made to resist a French invasion. It was evident that the ordinary revenues of the country would be inadequate for the increased expenditure, and a loan of \$5,000,000 was authorized by an act approved July 16, 1798, redeemable at pleasure after fifteen years. The rate of interest was not specified in the act, and the market rate at the time being 8 per cent. this rate was paid, and it was thought by a committee of Congress that the loan was negotiated "upon the best terms that could be procured, and with a

laudable eye to the public interest." A loan of \$3,500,000 was authorized by an act approved May 7, 1800, for the purpose of meeting a large deficit in the revenues of the preceding year, caused by increased expenditures rendered necessary on account of the difficulties with France, and stock bearing 8 per cent. interest, reimbursable after fifteen years, was issued to the amount of \$1,481,700, on which a premium was realized of nearly $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. These are the only two instances in which the Government has paid 8 per cent. interest on its bonds.

The province of Louisiana was ceded to the United States by a treaty with France, April 30, 1803, in payment for which 6 per cent. bonds, payable in fifteen years, were issued to the amount of \$11,250,000, and the balance which the Government agreed to pay for the province, amounting to \$3,750,000, was devoted to reimbursing American citizens for French depredations on their commerce. These claims were paid in money, and the stock redeemed by purchases made under the direction of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund within twelve years. Under an act approved February 11, 1807, a portion of the "old 6 per cent." and "deferred stocks" was refunded into new stock, bearing the same rate of interest, but redeemable at the pleasure of the United States. This was done for the purpose of placing it within the power of the Government to reimburse the amount refunded within a short time, as under the old laws these stocks could only be redeemed at the rate of 2 per cent. annually. Stock was issued amounting to \$6,294,051, nearly all of which was redeemed within four years. Under the same act old "3 per cent. stock" to the amount of \$2,861,309 was converted into 6 per cents, at sixty-five cents on the dollar, but this was not reimbursable without the assent of the holder until after the whole of certain other stocks named in the act was redeemed. The stock issued under this authority amounted to \$1,859,871. It would appear that the great majority of the holders of the "old stock" preferred it to the new. A loan equal to the amount of the principal of the public debt reimbursable during the current year was authorized by an act approved May 1, 1810, and \$2,750,000 was borrowed at 6 per cent. interest from the Bank of the United States, for the purpose of meeting any deficiency arising from increased expenditures on account of the military and naval establishments. This was merely a temporary loan, which was repaid the following year.

The ordinary expenses for the year 1812 were estimated by the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives at \$1,200,000 more than the estimated receipts for the same period, and the impending war with Great Britain made it absolutely necessary that some measures should be adopted to maintain the public credit, and provide the requisite funds for carrying on the Government. Additional taxes were imposed upon the people, but as these could not be made immediately available there was no other resource but new loans and the issue of Treasury notes. This was the first time since the formation of the new Government that the issue of such notes had been proposed, and they were objected to as engraving on our system of finance a new and untried measure.

Under various acts of Congress approved between March 4, 1812, and February 24, 1815, 6 per cent. bonds were issued to the amount of \$50,792,674. These bonds were negotiated at rates varying from 20 per cent. discount to par, the net cash realized amounting to \$44,530,123. A further sum of \$4,025,000 was obtained by temporary loans at par, of which sum \$225,000 was for the purpose of repairing the public buildings in Washington, damaged by the enemy on the night of August 24, 1814. These "war loans" were all made redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after a specified date, and the faith of the United States was solemnly pledged to provide sufficient revenues for this purpose. The "Treasury note system" was a new feature, and its success was regarded as somewhat doubtful.

Its subsequent popularity, however, was owing to a variety of causes. The notes were made receivable everywhere for dues and customs, and in payment for public lands. They were to bear interest from the day of issue, at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, and their payment was guaranteed by the United States, principal and interest, at maturity. They thus furnished a circulating medium to the country, superior to the paper of the suspended and doubtful State banks. These issues were therefore considered more desirable than the issue of additional stock, which could be realized in cash only by the payment of a ruinous discount. The whole amount of Treasury notes issued during the war period was \$36,680,794. The Commissioners of the Sinking Fund were authorized to provide for their redemption by purchase, in the same manner as for other evidences of the public debt, and by authority of law \$10,575,738 was redeemed by the issue of certificates of funded stock, bearing interest at from 6 to 7 per cent. per annum, redeemable at any time after 1824.

During the years 1812-13 the sum of \$2,984,747 of the old 6 per cent. and deferred stocks was refunded into new 6 per cent. stock redeemable in twelve years; and by an act approved March 31, 1814, Congress having authorized a settlement of the "Yazoo claims" by an issue of non-interest-bearing stock, payable out of the first receipts from the sale of public lands in the Mississippi territory, \$4,282,037 was issued for this purpose. On the 24th of February, 1815, Secretary Dallas reported to Congress that the public debt had been increased, in consequence of the war with Great Britain, \$68,783,122, a large portion of which was due and unpaid, while another considerable portion was fast becoming due. These unpaid or accruing demands were in part for temporary loans, and the balance for Treasury notes either due or maturing daily. To provide for their payment a new loan for the full amount needed was authorized by act of March 3, 1815, and 6 per cent. stock redeemable in fifteen years, was issued in the sum of \$12,288,148. This stock was sold at from 95 per cent. to par, and was nearly all redeemed in 1830 by purchases made by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund.

The Government became a stockholder in the second Bank of the United States to the amount of 70,000 shares, under the act of incorporation, approved April 10, 1816. The capital stock was limited to \$35,000,000, divided into 350,000 shares of \$100 each. The Government subscription was paid by the issue of 5 per cent. stock to the amount of \$7,000,000, redeemable at the pleasure of the Government. This was a profitable investment for the United States, as, in addition to \$1,500,000 which the bank paid as a bonus for its charter, the net receipts over and above disbursements amounted to \$4,993,167. The available funds in the Treasury on the 1st of January, 1820, were less than \$250,000, and the estimated deficiency for the year amounted to nearly \$4,000,000. This state of affairs was owing partly to the disastrous effects of the commercial crisis of 1819, heavy payments for the redemption of the public debt, continued through a series of years, and large outstanding claims, amounting to over \$30,000,000, resulting from the late war with Great Britain. To meet the emergency, a loan was authorized by act of May 15, 1820, and \$999,999.13 was borrowed at 5 per cent., redeemable in twelve years, and \$2,000,000 at 6 per cent., reimbursable at pleasure, this latter stock realizing a premium of 2 per cent. By act of March 3, 1821, 5 per cent. stock amounting to \$4,735,276 was issued at a premium of over 5½ per

cent., and the proceeds used in payment of the principal and interest of the public debt falling due within the year.

An effort was made in 1822 to refund a portion of the 6 per cent. war loans of 1812-14 into 5 per cents., but only \$56,705 could be obtained. Two years later the Government was more successful, and, under the act of May 26, 1824, 6 per cent. stock of 1813 to the amount of \$4,454,728 was exchanged for new stock bearing 4½ per cent. interest, redeemable in 1833-34. During the same year \$5,000,000 was borrowed at 4½ per cent. to provide for the payment of the awards made by the Commissioners under the treaty with Spain of February 22, 1819, and a like amount, at the same rate of interest, to be applied in paying off that part of the 6 per cent. stock of 1812 redeemable the following year. The act of March 3, 1825, authorized a loan of \$12,000,000, at 4½ per cent. interest, the money borrowed to be applied in paying off prior loans, but only \$1,539,336 was exchanged for an equal amount of 6 per cent. stock of 1813.

In the year 1836 the United States was, for the first time in the history of the country, practically out of debt. Secretary Woodbury, in his report of December 8, 1835, estimated the amount of public debt still outstanding at about \$328,582, and this remained unpaid solely because payment had not been demanded, ample funds to meet it having been deposited in the United States Bank and loan offices. The debt outstanding consisted mainly of unclaimed interest and dividends, of claims for services and supplies during the Revolution, and of old Treasury notes, and it is supposed that payment of these had not been asked for solely because the evidences of the debt had been lost or destroyed. The estimates showed the probability of a surplus of at least \$14,000,000 in the Treasury at the close of the year 1836, and this estimate proved to be far below the truth. In this favorable condition of the public finances, Congress adopted the extraordinary resolution of depositing the surplus over \$5,000,000 with the several States, and under the act of June 23, 1836, surplus revenue amounting to \$28,101,644.91 was so deposited.

In 1837, however, the state of the country had changed. The "flush" times of 1835 and 1836 had been succeeded by extraordinary depression, which ultimately produced a panic. In May most of the banks suspended specie payments. The sales of public lands, and the duties on the importations of foreign goods, which had helped to swell the balance in the Treasury to over \$42,000,000, had fallen off enormously. Even on the goods that were imported it was diffi-

cult to collect the duties, for the law compelled them to be paid in specie, and specie was hard to obtain. It had become impossible not only to pay the fourth installment of the surplus at the end of 1836 to the several States, but even to meet the current expenses of the Government from its ordinary revenues. In this emergency the Secretary of the Treasury suggested that contingent authority be given the President to cause the issue of Treasury notes. This measure was generally supported on the ground of absolute necessity, as there was a large deficit already existing, and this was likely to increase from the condition of the country at that time. The measure was opposed, however, by some who thought that greater economy in expenditures would relieve the Treasury, while others denounced it as an attempt "to start a Treasury bank."

However, an act was approved October 12, 1837, authorizing an issue of \$10,000,000 in Treasury notes in denominations not less than fifty dollars, redeemable in one year from date, with interest at rates fixed by the Secretary, not exceeding 6 per cent. These notes, as usual, were receivable in payment of all duties and taxes levied by the United States, and in payment for public lands. Prior to 1846, the issue of notes of this character amounted to \$47,002,900, bearing interest at rates varying from one-tenth of one per cent. to 6 per cent. To provide in part for their redemption, authority was granted for the negotiation of several loans, and \$21,021,094 was borrowed for this purpose, bonds being issued for a like sum, bearing interest at from 5 to 6 per cent., redeemable at specified dates. These bonds were sold at from $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. discount to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. premium, and redeemed at from par to $19\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. advance.

War with Mexico was declared May 13, 1846, and in order to provide against a deficiency a further issue of \$10,000,000 in Treasury notes was authorized by act of July 22, 1846, under the same limitations and restrictions as were contained in the act of October, 1837, except that the authority given was to expire at the end of one year from the passage of the act. The sum of \$7,687,800 was issued in Treasury notes, and six per cent. bonds having ten years to run were issued under the same act to the amount of \$4,999,149. These were sold at a small advance, and redeemed at various rates from par to eighteen and two-thirds per cent. premium.

The expenses incurred on account of the war with Mexico were much greater than the original estimates, and the failure to provide

additional revenues sufficient to meet the increased demands made a new loan necessary, as well as an additional issue of notes, which had now become a popular method of obtaining funds. Under the authority granted by act of January 28, 1847, Treasury notes to the amount of \$26,122,100 were issued at par, redeemable one and two years from date, with interest at from $5\frac{2}{5}$ to 6 per cent. More money still being needed, a 6 per cent. loan, having twenty years to run, was placed upon the market, under the authority of the same act, and bonds to the amount of \$28,230,350 were sold at various rates, ranging from par to 2 per cent. premium. Of this stock the sum of \$18,815,100 was redeemed at an advance of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., the premium paid (exclusive of commissions) amounting to \$3,466,107. Under the act of March 31, 1848, 6 per cent. bonds, running twenty years, were issued to the amount of \$16,000,000, and sold at a premium ranging from 3 to 4.05 per cent. This loan was made for the same purpose as the preceding one, and \$7,091,658 was redeemed by purchase at an advance ranging from 8 to 22.46 per cent., the premium paid amounting to \$1,251,258.

The widespread depression of trade and commerce which occurred in 1857 was severely felt by the Government, as well as by the people, and so great was the decrease in the revenues from customs that it became absolutely necessary to provide the Treasury with additional means for meeting the demands upon it. Treasury notes were considered as preferable to a new loan, and by the act of December 23, 1857, a new issue was authorized for such an amount as the exigencies of the public service might require, but not to exceed at any one time \$20,000,000. These notes were receivable in payment for all debts due the United States, including customs, and were issued at various rates of interest, ranging from 3 to 6 per cent., to the amount of \$52,778,900, redeemable one year from date, the interest to cease at the expiration of sixty days' notice after maturity. In May, 1858, the Secretary of the Treasury informed Congress that, owing to the appropriations having been increased by legislation nearly \$10,000,000 over the estimates, while the customs revenue had fallen off to a like amount, it would be necessary to provide some means to meet the deficit. In these circumstances, a new loan was authorized by act of June 14, 1858, and 5 per cent. bonds amounting to \$20,000,000, redeemable in fifteen years, were sold at an average premium of over $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Under the act of December 17, 1873, \$13,957,000 in bonds of the loan of 1881, and

\$260,000 in bonds of the loan of 1907, were issued in exchange for a like amount of bonds of this loan.

The act of June 22, 1860, authorized the President to borrow \$21,000,000 on the credit of the United States, the money to be used only in the redemption of Treasury notes, and to replace any amount of such notes in the Treasury which should have been paid in for public dues. Only \$7,022,000 was borrowed at 5 per cent. interest, the certificates selling at from par to 1.45 per cent. premium. The failure to realize the whole loan was caused by the political troubles which culminated in the civil war. In September, bids were invited for \$10,000,000, and the whole amount offered was speedily taken. It soon became evident, however, that war was inevitable, and a commercial crisis ensued, during which a portion of the bidders forfeited their deposits, and the balance of the loan was withdrawn from the market. Authority was granted by the act of December 17, 1860, for a new issue of Treasury notes, redeemable in one year from date, but not to exceed \$10,000,000 at any one time, with interest at such rates as might be offered by the lowest responsible bidders after advertisement. An unsuccessful attempt was made to pledge the receipts from the sale of public lands specifically for their redemption. The whole amount of notes issued under this act was \$10,010,900, of which \$4,840,000 bore interest at 12 per cent. Additional offers followed, ranging from 15 to 36 per cent., but the Treasury declined to accept them.

Up to this period of our national existence the obtaining of the money necessary for carrying on the Government and the preservation inviolate of the public credit had been comparatively an easy task. The people of the several States had contributed in proportion to their financial resources; and a strict adherence to the fundamental maxim laid down by Hamilton had been maintained by a judicious system of taxation to an extent amply sufficient to provide for the redemption of all our national securities as they became due. But the time had come when we were no longer a united people, and the means required for defraying the ordinary expenses of the Government were almost immediately curtailed and jeopardized by the attitude of the States which attempted to secede. The confusion which followed the inauguration of the administration of President Lincoln demonstrated the necessity of providing unusual resources without delay. A system of internal revenue taxation was introduced, and the tariff adjusted with a view to increased revenues from

customs. As the Government had not only to exist and pay its way, but also to provide for an army and navy constantly increasing in numbers and equipment, new and extraordinary methods were resorted to for the purpose of securing the money which must be had in order to preserve the integrity of the nation. Among these were the issue of its own circulating medium in the form of United States notes¹ and circulating notes,² for the redemption of which the faith of the nation was solemnly pledged. New loans were authorized to an amount never before known in our history, and the success of our armies was assured by the determination manifested by the people themselves to sustain the Government at all hazards. A brief review of the loan transactions during the period covered by the war is all that can be attempted within the limited space afforded this article. The first war loan may be considered as having been negotiated under the authority of an act approved February 8, 1861. The credit of the Government at this time was very low, and a loan of \$18,415,000, having twenty years to run, with 6 per cent. interest, could only be negotiated at a discount of \$2,019,776.10, or at an average rate of \$89.03 per one hundred dollars. From this time to June 30, 1865, Government securities of various descriptions were issued under authority of law to the amount of \$3,888,686,575, including the several issues of bonds, Treasury notes, seven-thirties, legal tenders and fractional currency. The whole amount issued under the same authority to June 30, 1880, was \$7,137,646,836, divided as follows:

Six per cent. bonds.....	\$1,130,279,000
Five per cent. bonds.....	196,118,300
Temporary loan certificates.....	969,992,250
Seven-thirty notes.....	716,099,247
Treasury notes and certificates of indebtedness.....	1,074,713,132
Old demand notes, legal tenders, coin certificates and fractional currency.....	<u>3,050,444,907</u>
Total.....	\$7,137,646,836

This increase may be readily accounted for by the continued issue of legal tenders, compound interest notes, fractional currency and coin certificates, together with a large amount of bonds issued in order to raise the money necessary to pay for military supplies, and other forms of indebtedness growing out of the war. The rebellion was

¹Commonly called "Greenbacks," or "Legal tender notes."

²Commonly called "National Bank notes."

practically at an end in May, 1865, yet the large amount of money required for immediate use in the payment and disbandment of our enormous armies necessitated the still further negotiation of loans under the several acts of Congress then in force, and it was not until after the 31st of August, 1865, that our national debt began to decrease. At that time the total indebtedness, exclusive of the "old funded and unfunded debt" of the Revolution, and of cash in the Treasury, amounted to \$2,844,649,626.56. The course of our financial legislation since that date has been constantly toward a reduction of the interest, as well as the principal of the public debt.¹

By an act approved March 3, 1865, a loan of \$600,000,000 was authorized upon similar terms as had been granted for previous loans, with the exception that nothing authorized by this act should be made a legal tender, or be issued in smaller denominations than fifty dollars. The rate of interest was limited to 6 per cent. in coin, or 7.3 per cent. in currency, the bonds issued to be redeemable in not less than five, nor more than forty, years. Authority was also given for the conversion of Treasury notes or other interest-bearing obligations into bonds of this loan. An amendment to this act was passed April 12, 1866, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury, at his discretion, to receive any Treasury notes or other obligations issued under any act of Congress, whether bearing interest or not, in exchange for any description of bonds authorized by the original act; and also to dispose of any such bonds, either in the United States or elsewhere, to such an amount, in such manner, and at such rates as he might deem advisable, for lawful money, Treasury notes, certificates of indebtedness, certificates of deposit, or other representatives of value, which had been or might be issued under any act of Congress; the proceeds to be used only for retiring Treasury notes or other national obligations, provided the public debt was not increased thereby. As this was the first important measure presented to Congress since the close of the war tending to place our securities upon a firm basis, the action of Congress in relation to it was looked forward to with a great deal of interest. The discussion took a wide range, in which the whole financial administration of the Government during the war was reviewed at length. After a long and exciting debate the bill finally passed, and was approved by the President. Under

¹ A glance at the diagram, which we borrow by permission from Robert P. Porter's forthcoming volume on "Public Debts," will show the fluctuation of the national debt for one hundred years.

the authority of these two acts, 6 per cent. bonds to the amount of \$958,483,550 have been issued to date. These bonds were disposed of at an aggregate premium of \$21,522,074, and under the acts of July 14, 1870, and January 20, 1871, the same bonds to the amount of \$725,582,400 have been refunded into other bonds bearing a lower rate of interest.

The success of these several loans was remarkable, every exertion being used to provide for their general distribution among the people. The debates in Congress regarding the measures to be adopted indicated the desire of all concerned to provide the means necessary for the maintenance of the public credit inviolate. The opposition to any measure presented by the Government may be said to have been without significance, with the exception of the different arguments used for and against the authorization of legal tender notes. The main feature, noticeable above all others, is the perfect unanimity with which prominent members of both parties united in their efforts to sustain the administration in its struggles to secure a firm support of the Government.

In 1867 the first issue of 6 per cent. bonds, known as five-twenties, authorized by the act of February 25, 1862, became redeemable, and the question of refunding them and other issues at a lower rate of interest had been discussed by the Secretary of the Treasury in his annual reports, but the agitation of the question as to the kinds of money in which the various obligations of the Government should be paid, had so excited the apprehension of investors as to prevent the execution of any refunding scheme.

The act to strengthen the public credit was passed March 18, 1869, and its effect was such as secured to the public the strongest assurances that the interest and principal of the public debt outstanding at that time would be paid in coin, according to the terms of the bonds issued, without any abatement.

On the 12th of January, 1870, a bill authorizing the refunding and consolidation of the national debt was introduced in the Senate, and extensively debated in both Houses for several months, during which the financial system pursued by the Government during the war was freely reviewed. The adoption of the proposed measure resulted in an entire revolution of the refunding system, under which the public debt of the United States at that time was provided for, by the transmission of a large amount of indebtedness to a succeeding generation. The effect of this attempt at refunding the major

portion of the public debt was far more successful than any similar effort on the part of any Government, so far as known.

A brief resumé of the result of this effort to provide for the prompt payment of outstanding obligations on the part of the General Government is worthy of notice at the present time. Under the Refunding acts of July 14, 1870, and January 20, 1871, \$1,395,347,800 were refunded into bonds bearing a lower rate of interest, redeemable at specific dates, subject to the pleasure of the Government, thus placing it within its power to provide for the redemption of an equivalent amount at such times as the national revenues would prove sufficient therefor. The success of this movement is well known, and it is safe to say presents a result hitherto unknown to the financial world. The mere fact that the annual interest charge on the public debt of the General Government has been reduced more than 50 per cent. within fifteen years is enough to convince a thoughtful mind of the wisdom of the policy pursued by those having charge of our national finances. The following is a statement showing the refunding operations since March 1, 1871, and the reduction of the annual interest charge:

<i>Title of loan.</i>	<i>Authorizing act.</i>	<i>Interest, per cent.</i>	<i>Amount refunded.</i>	<i>Annual interest charge.</i>
Loan of 1858.....	June 14, 1858.....	5	\$14,217,000	
Ten-forties of 1864.....	March 3, 1864.....	5	193,890,250	
Five-twentieths of 1862.....	February 25, 1862	6	401,145,600	
Five-twentieths of March, 1864.....	March 3, 1864.....	6	1,327,100	
Five-twentieths of June, 1864.....	June 30, 1864	6	59,185,450	
Five-twentieths of 1865.....	March 3, 1865.....	6	160,144,500	
Consols of 1865.....	March 3, 1865.....	6	211,337,050	
Consols of 1867.....	March 3, 1865.....	6	310,423,800	
Consols of 1868.....	March 3, 1865.....	6	37,677,050	
Total.....	.....		\$1,395,347,800	\$81,639,795 50

In lieu of the above bonds there have been issued other bonds bearing interest as follows:

<i>Title of loan.</i>	<i>Authorizing act.</i>	<i>Interest, per cent.</i>	<i>Amount issued.</i>	<i>Annual interest charge.</i>
Funded loan of 1881.....	July 14, 1870.....	5	\$500,000,000	\$25,000,000 00
Funded loan of 1891.....	July 14, 1870	4½	185,000,000	8,325,000 00
Funded loan of 1907*.....	July 14, 1870.....	4	710,347,800	28,413,912 00
Total.....	.....		\$1,395,347,800	\$61,738,912 00

* Including refunding certificates.

Making an annual saving hereafter in the interest charge, on account of refunding operations, of \$19,900,883.50.

The interest-bearing debt has been reduced during the same period, as follows:

Interest-bearing debt, March 1, 1871.....	\$1,977,581,700 00
Interest-bearing debt, July 1, 1880.....	<u>1,723,993,100 00</u>
Reduction in interest-bearing debt.....	\$253,588,600 00
Annual interest charge, March 1, 1871.....	114,858,869 00
Annual interest charge, July 1, 1880.....	<u>79,633,981 00</u>
Reduction in annual interest charge.....	\$35,224,888 00

With a reduction of the total principal of the debt, as follows:

Debt, less cash in the Treasury March 1, 1871 (principal). .	\$2,283,145,432 13
Debt, less cash in the Treasury July 1, 1880 (principal) ..	<u>1,919,326,747 75</u>
Total reduction.....	\$363,818,684 38
Reduction of principal of the debt since March 1, 1871..	\$286,758,875 81

The act authorizing refunding certificates convertible into 4 per cent. bonds, approved February 26, 1879, was merely intended for the benefit of parties of limited means, and was simply a continuation of the refunding scheme authorized by previous legislation.

In this article my purpose has been to present, as briefly as possible, a fair and equitable statement of the management of our national finances so far as they relate to the public debt. The period covered precludes any attempt toward reviewing the operation by which the immediate predecessor of the present Secretary reduced the interest on some six hundred millions of 5 and 6 per cent. bonds to 3½ per cent. It is safe to say, however, that under the administration of the present Secretary there will be no deviation from the original law laid down by Hamilton, as set forth at the beginning of this review. Educated as he has been in a school where justice and equity are the first principles, it is impossible for a thinking mind to harbor even for an instant the thought that he would attempt any other policy than that which has been pursued by predecessors whose names have been rendered illustrious by the success of their efforts.

RAFAEL A. BAYLEY.

[The author of this article, R. A. Bayley, Esq., of the Treasury Department, has just completed a history of our national loans for the Government, which will be published in the Census volume on "Public Debts."—EDITORS.]

UTAH AND MORMONISM.

ON the map of the Continent of North America, forty years ago, between what was then laid down as the great chain of the Rocky Mountains on the east, and the Sierra Nevada range near the Pacific Ocean, and reaching from the headwaters of the Columbia on the north to the Rio Grande on the south, was a vast region marked "Great American Desert." Early in the seventeenth century two Spanish priests wandered from Santa Fé, in New Mexico, to the northwest, and, after months of toil over rugged mountains and across streams, the passage of which filled them with terror, they reached the shores of the *Timpanogos*, now called Utah Lake. Their description of this locality, and their long journey to it, has left no doubt that they were the first persons from the civilized world to enter the limits of the present Territory of Utah. The beautiful lake at whose margin the northern limit of their travels terminated is only forty miles from that other marvelous inland sea now known as the "Great Salt Lake," but the existence of which was not known to the civilized world until nearly a century later. Undoubtedly, it was first discovered by the Spaniards, for the "Old Spanish Trail," by which the people of New Mexico reached California, crossed the Colorado River, thence passed the Wasatch Range in a northwesterly direction to the Utah Lake, from which it turned southerly to the Rio Virgin, a branch of the Colorado, thence westerly to San Diego on the Pacific.

Over this winding route many persons passed yearly, bound to California or on return to the northeastern states of Mexico, and early in the present century the existence of a great inland sea, with no visible outlet, became known to the world of exploration and geography. Topographical examinations have recently shown that, at a former period in the history of this region, a vast basin, encircled by mountains, was here covered by water, and formed a lake or sea larger in extent than any interior body of water now known. Surrounded by mountains whose summits were clothed with perennial ice, and whose waters were perpetually rushing to a sea that was only relieved of them by evaporation, with a climate of a generous temperature, it would have been, in that earlier portion of its existence, a marvelous sight to human eyes. There was probably none to see this wonder, but when now the traveler traces the water lines of this interior ocean for hundreds of miles along the rugged mountain sides

which it once washed with its waves, and gazes out upon the grand plains which they once covered, with mountains rising here and there above the water line, showing they were formerly islands in this sea made of melting snows, the grandeur of the scene as it once was forces itself upon the imagination.

Now that vast sea, with its rolling green waters, its beautiful islands and rock-bound shores, has shrunk to a lake of irregular outline, less than a hundred miles in length by about half that width, with a broad margin of level land on every side, and on the west a plain on which the traveler may journey for days without reaching an elevation of fifty feet above the present level of the lake. Three large streams, each sending a bold volume of mountain water, are pouring their floods into this wasting lake, draining many thousands of square miles, and yet the process of subsidence, which has already transformed a sea of fresh water into a lake so salt that the human body refuses to sink in it, is undoubtedly going slowly on to the time when the lake shall cease to be. While this feature of this region is of itself a wonder, others are quite in keeping with it. The valleys are full of natural curiosities. At Soda Springs, now eighty miles from the lake shore, on the banks of the Bear River, in a district some miles in extent, the whole surface is honeycombed with springs spouting soda, sulphur, iron and other mineral waters. One rises with a rush like the steam from an engine, sending its froth and waters several feet into the air; another bubbles like a boiling caldron; another, with the color of claret, is in taste like rain-water flavored with rusty nails; another is blue as indigo and bitter with salt and sulphur, while others are pure and sweet as ever were filtered from Alpine height. Soda, sulphur, iron, borax, salt, have each their springs pouring out these diverse and commingled elements within a few feet often of each other, and then, gathering in a common rivulet, flow swiftly away to the river. At a little distance from this group are a couple of knolls, rising perhaps fifty feet from the base by a gradual ascent. On the top of each is a little lake covering an acre or two of surface. The sides of these hillocks are as white as snow with a deposit of lime and soda, and glisten in the sun for miles away. The water is clear as crystal, icy cold and delightful to the taste, though seemingly only standing pools, and each is of unknown depth. Everywhere between the mountains and the lake, or on the banks of rivers or lesser streams, the soil is composed of the silt from the adjacent heights, and is the very cream of fertility.

Long before a Mormon ever set foot in Utah to blast and pollute it with his creed of hate and lechery, its valleys and streams were the delight of the mountaineer and the traveler. Cache Valley, in northern Utah, is one of the most beautiful, picturesque and fertile vales in the world. Forty miles long by twenty wide, cut almost in two by a large river (the Bear), with hundreds of little streams flowing down the sides of the mountains that lift their timbered flanks and snow-crowned summits far above it, while its waving meadows of native grass, growing to a height that often for miles would hide a person on foot from the view, nature never presented a more inviting spot for the use of man. The same may be said in a less degree only of the valleys of the Weber and the Ogden, and of the many lesser streams which reach the valleys of Salt Lake, Utah Lake, San Pete, Sevier, Beaver and St. George. An impression seems to have obtained that, because the old geographies labeled this region the "Great American Desert," by some agency of man it has been transformed into a fertile and inhabitable country, and redeemed from a sage-brush wilderness into a fair garden surrounding the Mormon Zion. The impression is a very gross delusion.

While the Mormon chieftain was struggling to build up his kingdom as a sovereignty within the limits of Illinois, at Nauvoo, the writer of this article was a youth, wandering among the recesses of the Rocky Mountains, and had seen with his own eyes the regions he describes. For hours he has stood upon the mountain height, feasting his eyes upon the ravishing beauties of its fertile valleys, the grandeur of its lonely lake, and the thousand sights to provoke his admiration and wonder. On the spot where now stands the foundation of the Mormon temple he lighted his hunter's fire, and broiled his frugal meal of venison, while the coyote howled his midnight serenade in chorus with the rushing waters of the City Creek cañon. The stories of the Mormon priesthood that they entered into a wilderness and made it habitable; that they settled in a desert, and, turning the waters upon it, converted it into a garden, are wasted upon one who knows the vastness of the fiction. Equally false is the assertion that they made the highway into the region so occupied. The route through it was as well known to transmountain travelers and was as distinct as the road between Baltimore and Wheeling was before the days of the locomotive. The truth is that Brigham Young and his associates, having concluded to settle in California, in the hope of escaping from the United States, started in 1847 to cross the plains to

the Pacific. Illly equipped for such a journey, this body of some ten thousand people arrived in the Salt Lake Valley so late in the season that the greater portion were unable to pass the Sierra Nevadas before the winter snows would have overtaken them, though a few of the advance guard did succeed in completing the entire trip that year. They had also learned that the United States had made the conquest of California, and that in going there to escape from a flag they had intended to abjure they would be foiled. Under these circumstances they made a merit of necessity, and halted at Salt Lake. The country was too desirable and inviting to escape the notice of their leaders, and, as they had set their faces westward to secure for themselves isolation and freedom from all control, they soon found that this was the spot upon which to plant their standard. All the Mormon fictions of heavenly guidance through the Western wilderness into a desert land by the Prophet of the Lord, and the rearing of their temples and homes amid sage-brush deserts, redeemed to fertility by their heaven-guided hands, have only this extent of truth. The pioneers who settled the valleys of the Ohio had to contend in their day with a thousand difficulties and dangers to which the settlers of Utah were strangers. No new and isolated region was ever brought to the use of civilized man on this continent with less of danger, or trial or hardship than has been Utah.

Within three years from their first arrival in the Territory, a government, all the necessary expenses of which were paid from the Treasury of the United States, was erected for them, and so free were they from troubles with the natives, who were always few in number about them, that but for their own savage treatment of innocent dissenters from their pretended religion, hardly a soldier need ever have been marched into the limits of the Territory. With the climate of Italy, a soil capable of producing every article of the field or the orchard known to the temperate zone, with its valleys, less than six thousand feet above sea level, clothed in grass equaling the meadows of Cashmere or the Willamette, a more inviting land never beckoned the hand of labor or the occupancy of man. After thirty years of thriftless, careless, Mormon husbandry, the traveler now emerges from the gloomy gorges of the Wasatch into the smiling valley beyond, and finds it like passing into an Eden. The willow fencing and the dirt-roofed hovels of the average Mormon farm are so obscured by the picture of green trees, the purling waters and the smiling fields and groaning orchards and vines, that the slovenly improvements and

stupid owners are overlooked in the hasty survey. When the enthusiastic traveler is told the stereotyped falsehood, as he invariably is by the Mormon, that these are the results of saintly toil and labor in subduing the desert lands, he gazes with wonder and admiration, and involuntarily he indites in his note-book a eulogy on the industry, the enterprise and the prosperity of this strange and outlawed sect of people. Added to the attractions of climate, situation and soil, later years have proven that in the deepest gorges of her mountains lie quantities of the precious metals, while iron, copper, sulphur, lead, salt, borax and antimony are found in almost inexhaustible deposits. Over forty millions of dollars have been taken from her mines in the last ten years, and her coal fields are of almost unlimited extent. To summarize her resources would exhaust the limits of this article alone. Suffice it to say that the soil produces grain and vegetables of every kind growing anywhere in the Middle States of the Union; that all the fruits of the temperate latitudes, from the apricot to the grape, are cultivated with ease; that cattle, horses, sheep, swine, goats and poultry never found a more congenial spot; that every metal from gold and silver to iron, lead, copper and zinc, is successfully mined; that every mineral found on the continent, from salt and soda to sulphur, borax, alum, bismuth and antimony, is taken from her ample deposits, and that in the extent, variety and quantity of these resources of the soil and the mountains she is not surpassed by any equal extent of country on the globe.

The census returns show that Utah is the most populous of all the national Territories; that of this population of 144,000 over 70,000 are children under the age of eighteen years; that 32,000 are non-Mormon, while the remainder belong to that sect. The mining industry employs a capital of at least twenty millions of dollars, yielding annually a return of over ten millions of dollars in bullion, placing Utah not lower than third in the list of the bullion-producing States and Territories, and at the head of the Territories in this particular. More money has been taken from her mines in any one year of the last decade than all her other industries have produced in the entire period. Take from Utah her mines and furnaces engaged in the reduction of her ores, and the kindred and allied business connected with them, and no poorer community could be found in the limits of the nation. For twenty years her people lived on "carrots and religion"—so-called—clothed in rags, making progress only in population, which grew up in indolence and ignorance. It was only

when the hand of Gentile enterprise smote her mountains and a stream of wealth responded that her prosperous era began; and when it is remembered that non-Mormons were compelled to go into the mountains with arms in their hands to protect themselves against the threats of violent expulsion made by Brigham Young, who forbade his own people from engaging in the business, the obligations of the country to these hardy men will be fully understood. So intemperate was the Mormon opposition to mineral development that, when about the year 1863 a discovery of silver ore was made and reported to the Mormon Prophet, the leaders of the church were called in council, and there resolved to suppress the discovery. To this end religious superstition was brought to aid the purposes of the church, and, having resolved on their course, the party drove at night to the execrated spot where God Almighty had planted the offending silver ore, and there Brigham solemnly, under the light of the stars, cursed the ground with all the imposing ceremonies of Mormon anathema, and "sealed up the mine."¹

Despite the opposition of the Revelator to mining, some of his followers advocated the propriety of allowing the people to engage in it. After being admonished and counseled not to do so, the parties offending, continuing their advocacy, were cited before the church authorities for refusing to "obey counsel," George Q. Cannon, the late Mormon delegate to Congress, being the prosecutor, and were cut off from the church and "delivered over," in the language of priestly hate, "to the buffetings of Satan." But against all this fanatical opposition, mineral development, in the hands of determined men, went on, and to-day it supports many lines of business alone, employs thousands of people, hundreds of teams and teamsters, has brought over twenty million dollars of capital to Utah for investment, has established five banks, built hotels and dwellings, churches, hospitals and theatres, constructed railroads and telegraphs, and introduced schools where even the academic branches are taught with ability and success; and the disturbance or destruction of mining in Utah would not only bring an industrial and social night to that locality, but would be felt in the strongest centres of finance in the world.

Here drops the curtain on the picture of the natural resources and material condition of Utah, while a review of her political and social history and attitude will be presented.

¹ A nephew of Brigham Young, then but a boy, drove one of the teams which conveyed the anathematizers to the accursed ground, and well remembers the performance, and related the facts recently to the writer of this article.

It will not be necessary to say that this picture will reveal things that are peculiar. That much is known by any newspaper reader in the land; but in what are the majority of the people peculiar beyond the domestic custom of plural marriage practiced by men, the popular knowledge is vague and indefinite. The reader must, therefore, bear a short recital which will lay bare the system which has mingled with the streams of Mormon life, government and religion, the political ideas of Judea, three thousand years ago, and the social customs of Babylon and Assyria, while Nebuchadnezzar and Darius reigned and flourished on the earth. Roll back the car of time twenty-five centuries, mingle with the mass of ideas then operating on the minds of men the superstitions that prevailed in mediæval Christian Europe, compound the whole into one creed and system, add the fanaticism that glowed in the followers of Mohammed when they burst into the nations, append to all this the love of lucre which sent Cortez and Pizzaro of Spain into the countries of the New World to subdue and blast all opposition, and we have a compound embracing most of the elements of Mormonism. Some minor touches would be required to complete the whole. Loyola and Machiavel have long been cited as exemplars, the last of deception, and the first for the adage "that the end justifies the means," but neither were equal to the Latter Day Saints in the same field. For artful cunning, for steady-going, persistent duplicity, these modern masters of the Mormon creed are without a model and beyond a rival.

Four times in fifty years has the forbearance of their neighbors been so overcome by their conduct that they were compelled to fly to a new abode. On the 6th of April, 1830, the Mormon Church was organized in Seneca County, New York, and within a few months Joseph Smith, its Revelator and founder, had become so obnoxious to the people of the community where he had lived from boyhood that he had to quit the region and seek a new field. Prosecutions for petty offenses, followed by penalties which he was neither able nor willing to abide, made him a fugitive from justice, and he set up the craft of revelation for the second time in Ohio. The second experiment, while more successful in making converts than the first, was not long in leading to the same results. Neither the eloquence of Sidney Rigdon nor the prophetic powers of Smith could protect their followers from the antipathy which their practices aroused. While every other phase of denominational opinion and sectarian belief has been tolerated in this land of free thought, the Mormon alone has so shocked his

neighbors, either by his religion or his irreligion, that he has been forced to fly again and again to new fields. In view of the more recent developments, it may be reasonable to affirm that the practices of the Mormon Church even at this early day were secretly what at the present time they openly avow. Even in 1831 Joseph Smith cautioned his people against the sin of the "affectionate spirit"—a name for what is now known as "celestial marriage." Afterward in Missouri it was called "spiritual marriage," and only in Utah was the mask thrown off, and the "affectionate spirit" of Ohio, the "spiritual wife" system of Missouri and Illinois, became the "plural marriage" of Utah. The *Deseret News*, the official organ, has within a year published affidavits from living members of the church, showing that the Prophet Joseph, long before the pretended revelation on Polygamy in 1843, was married to others besides his then first wife, and two of Brigham Young's wives at his death—Emily Partridge Young and Eliza Snow Young—had cohabited with Joseph before his death as wives. Whether this view be correct or not, when the form of church organization, which still remains, was first presented, its combination of civil with spiritual power at once arrested attention. It had not only a Prophet Seer and Revelator, but a "President," a most significant name, in view of its subsequent history and pretensions, and the head of the Mormon Church is to day more generally known by his political than his spiritual title.

The Mormons occupied the Kirtland (Ohio) station for about seven years, and during that time were in a continual broil with their neighbors, and finally Smith and Rigdon, after having been tarred and feathered by the outraged community, fled by night from the spot, and joined their flock in Jackson County, Missouri. Many were the crimes laid at their door, and Smith never dared to return. He found that his people had already succeeded in arousing the same feeling of antagonism in Missouri from which they had fled in Ohio. The Mormons declared they were persecuted for their religion; the Missourians insisted that they were guilty of the grossest crimes, and, rising *en masse*, drove the Saints from Jackson County to the north side of the Missouri River, where they again gathered in Davis and Caldwell Counties. Here again but short respite was obtained, for in less than a year Smith and others were arrested for treason, and their followers were expelled from the State and took refuge at Quincy, Illinois. The forcible expulsion of several thousands of people from a State by an executive proclamation was a most extraordinary act; but the follow-

ing extract from the letter of General John B. Clark, Commander of the State Militia, sent to protect the people against the Mormons, states the grievances which were laid at the door of the Saints. He said:

There is no crime from treason to petit larceny but these people (the Mormons), or a majority of them, have not been guilty of—all, too, under the counsel of Joseph Smith, Jr., the Prophet. They have committed treason, murder, burglary, robbery, larceny and perjury. They have societies formed under the most binding covenants in form, and the most horrible oaths, to circumvent the laws and put them at defiance, and to plunder and murder, and divide the spoils for the use of the church.

This horrible indictment of the Mormon people forty years ago, coming down to us through the history of those times, is but an echo of the massacres of Mountain Meadows and Morris Fort twenty years later among the hills of Utah. For the fourth time in ten years this people essayed to establish themselves anew. Rising from their misfortunes, with a devotion to their prophet that reminds one of the fanaticism of the crusaders in the olden days, the work of recuperation began at Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois, in 1840. The State Legislature, in the fullness of its sympathy for the fugitive prophet and his people, gave them a city charter so artfully framed that it was found that the State Government was practically superseded within the Mormon corporation. Under the judicial clause its courts were supreme. Under its police power Smith organized an army called the "Nauvoo Legion," and took the title of "Lieutenant General"; and in a short time the old war between the Saints and the Gentiles was renewed. Smith and some of his followers were arrested for treason and lodged in jail. An armed mob assaulted the jail, killed the Prophet and his brother, and wounded John Taylor, the present head of the church. The "Mormon war" in Illinois ended in 1846, as it had in Missouri eight years before, in the exile of the main body of the sect. Its numbers while at Nauvoo were largely increased by converts from across the sea, and it is well known that a large proportion of the American element quit the organization after the death of Joseph Smith. After prolonged and violent controversy in the church, Brigham Young was chosen to lead it, and Sidney Rigdon and others of Joseph's most trusted lieutenants, such as Strang and Lyman Wight, abandoned the church. Brigham, who was a man of strong practical sense, saw that they could not prosper in the midst of any American civilization, and cunningly concluded to go to a land where he would meet no opposition. Starting for Lower California, with intent to leave the United States forever, he was confronted with the news of its conquest while on the plains,

and finally planted the standard of the church on the shores of Salt Lake.

The foregoing sketch of the earlier career of the sect is essential in order to fix the reader's attention on one vital point, viz.: That the same complaints have been made against the sect, wherever located, which are now presented by the non-Mormons of Utah. Everywhere the Mormons have been charged with the same defiance of government, the same outrages upon non-Mormons and apostates, the same offenses against society. There seemed to be at all times an "irrepressible conflict" between them and the surrounding community. Separated by a thousand miles of unoccupied territory from any organized community, walled in by mountains, and isolated as scarcely any other people have been, engaged in religious propagation and agriculture—certainly as peaceable and innocent pursuits as could employ any people—their conduct in less than ten years from their settlement in Utah was such as forced the Government to dispatch an army against them. The antagonism between the Mormon system and that of the Government of the United States was too fundamental to be reconciled.

A brief summary of these points of difference, as developed by the Utah history of the church, will show that the foregoing is not a hasty assumption. Orson Pratt, the ablest man intellectually in the Mormon Church, thus states the political theory of that body. He says: "It is not consistent that the people of God (Mormons) should organize or be subject to man-made governments. If it were so, they could never be perfected. There can be but one perfect government—that organized by God, a government by apostles, prophets, priests, teachers and evangelists; the order of the original church of all churches acknowledged by God."¹ The Anabaptists of Germany, under the lead of John of Leyden, furnish an example more like the modern Mormon than any other found in history. Their pretense of being the Lord's exclusive people, and independent of any government except that claimed to have been given them of God, led to their suppression by Germany, and the migration and disappearance of the sect. That these pretenses were not mere idle claims, but have always been practiced upon by the Mormons, the recital of their difficulties anterior to their residence in Utah has made sufficiently plain. On the 4th of July, 1838, at Far West, Missouri, Sidney Rigdon said: "We this day proclaim ourselves free, with a purpose and determination

¹ Orson Pratt's works, "Discourse on Government."

never to be broken. No, never! No, never!! No, never!!!” Their first care on arriving in Utah was to erect a “free and independent State,” called the “State of Deseret.” It included in its nominal limits, not only all of Utah as it now is, but one-half of California, all of Nevada, part of Colorado, and a large portion of four other Territories now organized. Brigham Young was elected Governor, and its departments, legislative and judicial, were fully organized and put into operation. Its legislative acts were styled “ordinances,” and when Congress, disregarding the State organization, instituted a Territorial Government for Utah, the legislative body chosen by the Mormons adopted the ordinances of the “State of Deseret.” Many of these are yet on the statute book of Utah. They show conclusively the domination of the ecclesiastical idea, and how utterly insignificant in comparison was the power of the civil authority. They incorporated the Mormon Church into a body politic and corporate, and by the third section of the act gave it supreme authority over its members in everything temporal and spiritual, and assigned as a reason for so doing that it was because the powers confirmed were in “support of morality and virtue, and were founded on the revelations of the Lord.” Under this power to make laws and punish and forgive offenses, to hear and determine between brethren, the civil law was superseded. The decrees of the courts of this church, certified under seal, have been examined by the writer, and he found them exercising a jurisdiction without limit except that of appeal to the President of the church. That the assassinations of apostates, the massacres of the Morrisites at Morris Fort and of the Arkansas emigrants at Mountain Meadows, were all in pursuance of church decrees, more or less formal, no one acquainted with the system doubts. This act of incorporation was passed February 8, 1851, and is found in the latest compilation of Utah statutes. It is proper also to observe that, for many years after the erection of the Territorial Government by Congress, the “State of Deseret” organization was maintained by the Mormons, and collision was only prevented because Brigham was Governor of both, and found it unnecessary for his purpose to antagonize either. His church organization made both a shadow, while *that* was the substance of all authority. One of the earliest of their legislative acts was to organize a Surveyor-General’s Department,¹ and title to land was declared to be in the persons who held a certificate from that office.² Having instituted their own

¹ Act of March 2, 1850.

² Act of January 19, 1866.

system of government and taken possession of the land, and assumed to distribute that in a system of their own, the next step was to vest certain leading men with the control of the timbers and waters of the country. By a series of acts granting lands, waters and timber to individuals, the twelve apostles became the practical proprietors of the better and more desirable portions of the country. By an ordinance dated October 4, 1851, there was granted to Brigham Young the "sole control of City Creek and Cañon for the sum of five hundred dollars." By an ordinance dated January 9, 1850, the "waters of North Mill Creek and the waters of the Cañon next north" were granted to Heber C. Kimball. On the same day was granted to George A. Smith the "sole control of the cañons and timber of the east side of the 'West Mountains.'" On the 18th of January, 1851, the North Cottonwood Cañon was granted exclusively to Williard Richards. On the 15th of January, 1851, the waters of the "main channel" of Mill Creek were donated to Brigham Young. On the 9th of December, 1850, there was granted to Ezra T. Benson the exclusive control of the waters of Twin Springs and Rock Springs, in Tooele Valley; and on the 14th of January, 1851, to the same person was granted the control of all the cañons of the "West Mountain" and the timber therein. By the ordinance of September 14, 1850, a "general conference of the Church of Latter Day Saints" was authorized to elect thirteen men to become a corporation, to be called the Emigration Company; and to this company, elected exclusively by the church, was secured and appropriated the two islands in Salt Lake known as Antelope and Stansberry Islands, to be under the exclusive control of President Brigham Young. These examples are given to show that the right of the United States to the lands of Utah met no recognition by these people. They appropriated them, not only in a way to make the people slaves, but indicated their claim of sovereignty as superior to any. Young, Smith, Benson and Kimball were apostles. Richards was Brigham Young's counselor. By an act of December 28, 1855, there was granted to the "University of the State of Deseret" a tract of land amounting to about five hundred acres, inside the city limits of Salt Lake City, without any reservation to the occupants whatever; and everywhere was the authority of the United States over the country and its soil and people utterly ignored.

Not satisfied with making the grants referred to, the Legislative Assembly entered upon a system of municipal incorporations, by

which the fertile lands of the Territory were withdrawn from the operation of the preëmptive laws of Congress; and thus while *they* occupied these without title, non-Mormons were unable to make settlement on them, and they were thus engrossed to Mormon use. From a report made by the Commissioner of the General Land Office to the United States Senate,¹ it appears that these municipal corporations covered over 400,000 acres of the public lands, and over 600 square miles of territory. These lands² are not subject to either the Homestead or Preëmption laws, and thus the non-Mormon settler was prevented from attempting, except in rare instances, to secure any lands in Utah. The spirit which prompted this course is well illustrated by an instance which was the subject of an investigation in the Land Department, and the proofs are found in the document just referred to. George Q. Cannon, the late Mormon delegate in Congress, was called to exercise his duties as an apostle to the Tooelle "Stake" at the city of Grantville. In a discourse on Sunday, the 20th day of July, 1875, Mr. Cannon said:³ "God has given us (meaning the Mormon people) this land, and, if any outsider shall come in to take land which we claim, a piece *six feet by two* is all they are entitled to, and that will last them to all eternity."

By measures and threats like these have the Mormons unlawfully controlled the agricultural lands of the Territory and excluded therefrom the dissenting settler. The attempt of the United States to establish a Surveyor-General's office in Utah in 1855, and to survey the lands in view of disposing of them according to law, was met by such opposition that Mr. Burr, the Surveyor-General, was compelled to fly for life. The monuments of surveys made by his order were destroyed, and the records were supposed to have met a like fate, but were afterwards restored by Brigham Young to the Government. The report of his experience by Mr. Burr was instrumental in causing troops to be sent in 1857 to assert the authority of the Government. When this army, consisting of regular troops, was on the way to Utah, Brigham Young, as Governor, issued a proclamation, dated September 15, 1857, declaring martial law and ordering the people of the Territory to hold themselves in readiness to march to repel the invaders, and on the 29th of September following addressed the commander of United States forces an order forbidding him to enter the Territory, and directing him to retire from it by the same route he

¹ Senate doc. 181, 46th Congress.

² Sec. 2, 258, Rev. Stat. U. S.

³ According to the affidavits of Samuel Howard and others, page 14.

had come. Further evidence of the Mormon claim that they were independent is perhaps unnecessary. The treasonable character of the local organization is manifest. It is this organization that controls, not only the people who belong to it, but the 30,000 non-Mormons who now reside in Utah.

Every member of the territorial Legislature is a Mormon. Every county officer is a Mormon. Every territorial officer is a Mormon, except such as are appointive. The schools provided by law and supported by taxation are Mormon. The teachers are Mormon, and the sectarian catechism affirming the revelations of Joseph Smith is regularly taught therein. The municipal corporations are under the control of Mormons. In the hands of this bigoted class all the material interests of the Territory are left, subject only to such checks as a Federal Governor and a Federal judiciary can impose. From beyond the sea they import some thousands of ignorant converts annually, and, while the non-Mormons are increasing, they are overwhelmed by the muddy tide of fanaticism shipped in upon them. The suffrage has been bestowed upon all classes by a statute so general that the ballot box is filled with a mass of votes which repels the free citizen from the exercise of that right. If a Gentile is chosen to the Legislature (two or three such instances have occurred), he is not admitted to the seat, although the act of Congress (June 23, 1874) requires the Territory to pay all the expenses of the enforcement of the laws of the Territory, and of the care of persons convicted of offenses against the laws of the Territory. Provision is made for jurors' fees in criminal cases only, and none is made for the care of criminals.¹ While Congress pays the legislative expenses, amounting to \$20,000 per session, the Legislature defiantly refuses to comply with the laws which its members are sworn to support. And the same body, though failing to protect the marriage bond by any law whatever requiring any solemnities for entering it, provided a divorce act which practically allowed marriages to be annulled at will.² Neither seduction, adultery nor incest find penalty or recognition in its legal code. The purity of home is destroyed by the beastly practice of plural marriage, and the brows of innocent children are branded with the stain of bastardy to gratify the lust which cares naught for its victims. Twenty-eight of the thirty-six members of the present Legislature of Utah are reported as having from two to seven wives each. While the Government of the United States is

¹ See Report of Attorney-General United States, 1880-81.

² Act of March 6, 1862.

paying these men their mileage and *per diem* as law-makers in Utah, those guilty of the same offense outside of Utah are leading the lives of felons in convict cells. For eight years a Mormon delegate has sat in the capitol at Washington having four living wives in his harem in Utah, and at the same time, under the shadow of that capitol, lingers in a felon's prison a man who had been guilty of marrying a woman while another wife was still living.

For thirty years have the Mormons been trusted to correct these evils and to put themselves in harmony with the balance of civilized mankind. This they have refused to do. Planting themselves in the heart of the continent, they have persistently defied the laws of the land, the laws of modern society, and the teachings of a common humanity. They degrade women to the office of a breeding animal, and, after depriving her of all property rights in her husband's estate,¹ all control of her children,² they, with ostentation, bestow upon her the ballot in a way that makes it a nullity if contested, and compels her to use it to perpetuate her own degradation if she avails herself of it.

No power has been given to the Mormon Hierarchy that has not been abused. The right of representation in the legislative councils has been violated in the apportionment of members so as to disfranchise the non-Mormon class.³ The system of revenue and taxation was for twenty-five years a system of confiscation and extortion.⁴ The courts were so organized and controlled that they were but the organs of the church oppressions and ministers of its vengeance.⁵ The legal profession was abolished by a statute that prohibited a lawyer from recovering on any contract for service, and allowed every person to appear as an attorney in any court.⁶ The attorney was compelled to present "all the facts in the case," whether for or against his client, and a refusal to disclose the confidential communications of the latter subjected the attorney to fine and imprisonment.⁷ No law book except the statutes of Utah and of the United States, "when applicable," was permitted to be read in any court by an attorney, and the citation of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, or even a quotation from the Bible, in the trial of any cause, subjected a lawyer to fine and imprisonment.⁸

¹ Act of February 16, 1872.

⁵ Acts of January 21, 1853, and of January, 1855, sec. 29.

² Secs. 1 and 2, act of February 3, 1852.

⁶ Act of February 18, 1852.

³ See act of January 17, 1862.

⁷ Act of February 18, 1852.

⁴ Act of January 7, 1854, sec. 14.

⁸ Act of January 14, 1854.

The practitioners of medicine were equally assailed by legislation. The use of the most important remedies known to modern medical science, including all anæsthetics, was prohibited except under conditions which made their use impossible, "and, if death followed" the administration of these remedies, the person administering them was declared guilty of manslaughter or murder.¹ The Legislative Assembly is but an organized conspiracy against the national law, and an obstacle in the way of the advancement of its own people. For sixteen years it refused to lay its enactments before Congress, and they were only obtained by a joint resolution demanding them. Once in armed rebellion against the authority of the nation, the Mormons have always secretly struggled for, as they have openly prophesied, its entire overthrow. Standing thus in the pathway of the material growth and development of the Territory, a disgrace to the balance of the country, with no redeeming virtue to plead for further indulgence, this travesty of a local government demands radical and speedy reform. Let the parent Government take the management into its own hands, discharge the incompetent and treasonable agents who have for thirty years made Utah a reproach and a hissing among men, and purge out of its civil code every vestige of that ecclesiastical taint from which it has suffered for a generation. Justice to the priest-ridden people of Utah; humanity to her rising generation, destined to be slaves of a cunning and remorseless theocracy, or free citizens of a redeemed commonwealth; protection to the brave and patriotic non-Mormons who have watched and waited for the dawn of freedom, while her light seemed but a spark in the wilderness, call upon the nation to act without delay. Shall that call be again heard in vain?

JOHN R. McBRIDE.

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

In his dainty brochure on the American Newspaper, before the Social Science Association, Charles Dudley Warner cautions us against accepting without reservation the assertion recently made with some authority—and which, for that matter, has been constantly

¹ Sec. 106, act March 6, 1852.

and confidently made for years—that the American newspaper is the best in the world. The warning was timely. The American newspaper is doubtless the best in the world for Americans; but better newspapers in many respects are made every day in England, for instance; and in some respects, moreover, it must be frankly admitted that the American newspaper is about the worst in the world.

Having admitted so much, I will not be so likely to be misunderstood if I go on to say that the development of the newspaper press in the United States has been more remarkable and suggestive than its development in any other country; that it presents phases of growth and character not duplicated anywhere in the world; that the business of newspaper publication has thus become, to a degree not elsewhere attained, a component element in the material condition of the people; and, finally, that this development and the conditions and circumstances surrounding and governing it present, on the whole, the chief phenomenon revealed by the tenth census of the United States. To put the whole matter in a single sentence: newspapers and periodicals have multiplied in number, in circulation, in cheapness, in adaptability, in influence and in material resources during the last decade of the history of this country in a ratio never attained here before, never witnessed, nor likely to be witnessed, in any other country, and not paralleled here by any other industry or pursuit.

With a view to establishing this proposition, and as a basis for an argument that this growth of the American press is healthy and normal, I have condensed several tables from a number prepared under my direction for the tenth census, and soon to be published. Necessarily, in presenting and discussing such figures within the limits of a magazine article, attention can only be given to a few points of interest. Table I. shows the number of periodicals published, their aggregate circulation per issue, and their annual aggregate circulation for the last four decades. To carry the statistics back of 1850 would be to include a period when the American press may be said to have not yet emerged from its swaddling clothes:

TABLE I.

	<i>All classes.</i>		<i>Dailies.</i>		<i>Weeklies.</i>		<i>All others.</i>	
	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Circulation.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Circulation.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Circulation.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Circulation.</i>
1850	2,526	5,142,177	254	758,454	1,902	2,944,629	370	1,439,094
1860	4,051	13,663,499	387	1,478,435	3,173	7,581,930	491	4,603,044
1870	5,871	20,842,475	574	2,601,547	4,295	10,594,643	1,002	7,646,285
1880	11,403	31,177,924	980	3,637,424	8,718	19,459,107	1,705	8,081,393

Table II. distributes the total number of periodicals among the States and Territories according to their character and their frequency of publication. The minute classification of the census has been avoided for the saving of space. It will be observed that column six giving the number of publications devoted to news, politics and family reading (8,816), contains the actual number of *Newspapers* published in the census year. The remainder of the publications (2,587) are more properly described as periodicals, although a very large proportion of them discharge the functions of a newspaper:

TABLE II

Alabama	129	7	111	3	8	117	6	2	2	2	129	10	1	Number published in other languages	1
Arizona	17	6	11	—	—	17	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	in English	—
Arkansas	120	6	107	5	2	105	6	3	1	5	119	1	—	General literature	—
California	364	59	254	19	32	273	13	5	4	69	331	33	—	All other classes	—
Colorado	90	20	65	1	4	83	2	—	—	5	87	3	—	No agricultural	—
Connecticut	140	17	100	9	14	112	3	4	1	20	136	4	—	Number religious	—
Dakota	66	9	57	—	—	66	—	—	—	—	64	2	—	Number devoted to various politics and family reading	—
Delaware	26	5	20	—	1	24	1	—	—	1	25	1	—	Number monthly	—
District of Columbia	44	5	23	1	15	21	—	—	3	20	41	3	—	Number weekly	—
Florida	45	3	40	2	—	43	—	—	1	1	45	—	—	All others than monthly	—
Georgia	200	16	163	10	11	176	11	4	2	7	199	1	—	Number published daily	—
Idaho	8	—	7	1	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Number periodicals	—
Illinois	1,032	75	771	66	120	695	47	13	7	270	936	96	—	Number published weekly	—
Indiana	478	40	404	10	24	421	11	8	3	35	446	32	—	Number monthly	—
Indian Territory	3	—	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	1	2	—	Number daily	—
Iowa	579	30	511	8	30	531	14	5	3	26	538	41	—	Number weekly	—
Kansas	349	21	311	2	15	323	5	5	1	15	336	13	—	Number monthly	—
Kentucky	213	11	169	9	24	168	19	6	3	17	261	12	—	Number daily	—
Louisiana	112	13	94	3	2	97	7	—	—	8	96	16	—	Number periodicals	—
Maine	124	12	92	3	17	93	9	4	7	11	124	—	—	Number published monthly	—
Maryland	144	15	112	5	12	107	10	3	3	21	135	9	—	Number weekly	—
Massachusetts	432	39	283	29	81	278	35	3	15	101	427	5	—	Number daily	—
Michigan	469	33	401	16	19	414	12	4	1	38	445	24	—	Number monthly	—
Minnesota	224	10	206	2	6	209	2	3	—	10	203	21	—	Number published quarterly	—
Mississippi	123	5	110	6	2	116	4	—	—	—	123	—	—	Number published quarterly	—
Missouri	531	43	418	20	50	417	28	8	4	74	495	36	—	Number published quarterly	—
Montana	18	4	14	—	—	17	—	1	—	—	18	—	—	Number published quarterly	—
Nebraska	180	15	165	2	7	178	2	3	2	4	176	13	—	Number published quarterly	—
Nevada	37	14	22	—	1	35	—	—	—	2	37	—	—	Number published quarterly	—
New Hampshire	89	10	67	4	8	74	3	1	5	6	89	—	—	Number published quarterly	—
New Jersey	217	27	165	12	13	190	3	1	3	14	198	19	—	Number published quarterly	—
New Mexico	18	3	15	—	—	10	1	—	—	1	14	4	—	Number published quarterly	—
New York	1,412	110	891	122	283	845	97	20	37	404	1,284	128	—	Number published quarterly	—
North Carolina	140	13	112	8	7	117	12	3	2	6	140	—	—	Number published quarterly	—
Ohio	776	50	586	44	90	580	58	11	2	130	688	88	—	Number published quarterly	—
Oregon	74	7	59	2	6	60	5	2	2	5	72	2	—	Number published quarterly	—
Pennsylvania	985	100	679	44	102	622	78	13	10	256	899	86	—	Number published quarterly	—
Rhode Island	44	8	31	2	3	39	—	—	—	5	43	1	—	Number published quarterly	—
South Carolina	82	4	70	5	3	68	10	—	—	4	81	1	—	Number published quarterly	—
Tennessee	192	12	152	11	17	146	15	—	8	23	101	1	—	Number published quarterly	—
Texas	279	31	220	7	12	254	13	2	2	8	260	19	—	Number published quarterly	—
Utah	24	5	10	5	4	16	6	1	2	1	24	—	—	Number published quarterly	—
Vermont	82	5	72	2	3	74	3	2	1	2	82	—	—	Number published quarterly	—
Virginia	195	20	125	17	33	136	11	6	2	40	190	5	—	Number published quarterly	—
Washington Ter.	29	4	24	—	1	28	1	—	—	—	29	—	—	Number published quarterly	—
West Virginia	100	2	97	5	5	101	3	—	1	4	107	2	—	Number published quarterly	—
Wisconsin	349	21	283	10	20	300	39	4	2	26	287	53	—	Number published quarterly	—
Wyoming	10	3	7	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	Number published quarterly	—
United States	11,403	980	8,718	538	1,107	8,810	574	102	140	1,705	10,025	778	—	Number published quarterly	—

I venture to include another table by States, which shows the aggregate circulation per issue of the periodicals published in each State and the aggregate number of copies issued in each case. The census table from which this is condensed shows that the average circulation per issue of the daily papers published in the United States was 3,971; of the weekly papers, 2,177; and of the monthly periodicals, 7,917. It also shows the average subscription price of dailies to have been \$7.31, and of weeklies, \$1.75:

TABLE III.—AGGREGATE CIRCULATION PER ISSUE.

<i>States and Territories.</i>	<i>Dailies.</i>	<i>Weeklies, etc., connected with dailies.</i>	<i>Weeklies not connected with dailies and all others than monthlies.</i>	<i>Monthlies.</i>	<i>Total for all classes.</i>
Alabama.....	9,660	10,520	59,083	7,550	86,813
Arizona.....	3,800	6,700	3,850	-----	14,350
Arkansas.....	5,430	8,200	78,491	500	92,621
California.....	178,864	157,012	241,935	94,000	671,811
Colorado.....	28,025	27,470	36,934	8,900	101,329
Connecticut.....	45,140	62,130	105,730	20,240	233,240
Dakota.....	4,500	3,400	29,943	-----	37,843
Delaware.....	18,300	5,000	12,625	1,000	36,925
District of Columbia.....	34,000	3,000	93,232	71,791	202,023
Florida.....	2,675	1,850	23,082	-----	27,607
Georgia.....	29,940	41,430	201,061	19,200	291,631
Idaho.....	-----	-----	5,000	-----	5,000
Illinois.....	270,183	463,087	1,265,510	447,180	2,445,960
Indiana.....	73,387	90,640	384,007	43,250	591,284
Indian Territory.....	-----	-----	4,360	-----	4,360
Iowa.....	38,570	93,439	371,299	52,100	555,408
Kansas.....	23,051	43,428	195,585	28,000	290,064
Kentucky.....	32,415	72,340	267,977	29,338	402,070
Louisiana.....	38,795	28,320	66,795	950	134,830
Maine.....	18,940	32,230	128,202	-----	1,036,200
Maryland.....	132,413	101,000	133,421	20,160	387,594
Massachusetts.....	280,399	147,379	948,727	562,313	1,938,818
Michigan.....	64,389	150,758	354,317	33,285	602,749
Minnesota.....	28,993	29,764	137,767	25,150	221,674
Mississippi.....	4,200	3,850	73,754	6,100	87,994
Missouri.....	137,500	265,828	471,672	156,300	1,031,360
Montana.....	1,312	4,140	15,775	-----	21,227
Nebraska.....	17,113	27,815	101,490	13,740	160,158
Nevada.....	16,805	4,050	7,040	500	28,395
New Hampshire.....	13,870	51,012	92,586	39,800	197,268
New Jersey.....	50,876	25,708	162,656	16,800	256,040
New Mexico.....	2,200	1,930	4,725	-----	8,855
New York.....	999,048	987,060	4,540,396	2,871,391	9,398,495
North Carolina.....	7,534	9,540	79,586	8,186	104,846
Ohio.....	215,934	377,357	679,702	612,354	1,885,347
Oregon.....	11,070	17,024	42,894	10,090	81,078
Pennsylvania.....	598,627	330,028	2,991,348	1,597,340	5,517,343
Rhode Island.....	41,182	13,982	40,122	3,040	98,326
South Carolina.....	7,750	8,100	53,942	1,110	70,902
Tennessee.....	30,995	41,240	158,034	68,350	298,619
Texas.....	31,351	56,734	257,713	10,140	355,938
Utah.....	7,950	16,700	6,950	5,075	36,675
Vermont.....	4,300	7,500	67,542	51,500	130,842
Virginia.....	33,422	27,472	130,432	66,902	258,228
Washington.....	1,100	3,544	12,497	-----	17,141
West Virginia.....	5,300	8,300	70,877	4,806	89,283
Wisconsin.....	34,100	75,875	299,655	36,762	446,392
Wyoming.....	1,986	1,800	1,900	-----	5,686
Total United States.....	3,637,424	3,946,886	15,512,221	8,081,393	31,177,924

TABLE III. *cont.*—AGGREGATE NUMBER OF COPIES PRINTED IN CENSUS YEAR.

<i>States and Territories.</i>	<i>Dailies.</i>	<i>Weeklies, etc., connected with dailies.</i>	<i>Weeklies not connected with dailies and all others than monthlies.</i>	<i>Monthlies.</i>	<i>Total for all classes.</i>
Alabama	2,994,600	507,040	3,250,384	78,700	6,830,724
Arizona	836,500	226,000	183,600	.....	1,246,100
Arkansas	1,576,800	355,600	3,290,851	1,500	5,224,751
California	50,802,410	9,414,200	12,430,239	1,010,580	79,663,429
Colorado	7,468,075	1,270,240	1,742,170	116,170	10,597,341
Connecticut	13,972,600	3,245,600	4,773,460	238,069	22,229,729
Dakota	1,218,000	148,200	1,322,014	.....	2,688,214
Delaware	5,631,990	259,600	655,308	9,000	6,555,898
District of Columbia	10,515,000	156,000	4,533,830	899,096	16,153,432
Florida	826,250	96,200	1,253,860	.....	2,176,310
Georgia	8,890,800	2,886,360	8,257,119	232,600	20,266,879
Idaho .....	.....	.....	237,800	.....	237,800
Illinois	84,682,368	25,006,255	58,404,492	5,280,710	173,433,825
Indiana	23,336,700	3,684,860	18,289,491	686,400	45,997,451
Indian Territory .....	.....	.....	215,200	.....	215,200
Iowa	11,824,935	5,012,328	18,810,765	853,030	36,501,058
Kansas	7,171,502	2,298,061	8,984,612	331,100	18,785,935
Kentucky	9,757,010	3,368,320	11,388,517	424,116	25,447,003
Louisiana	13,369,000	1,475,800	3,829,522	10,600	18,684,922
Maine	5,127,003	1,720,480	6,319,005	12,437,100	25,801,680
Maryland	39,787,200	5,921,700	6,560,270	284,950	52,554,126
Massachusetts	86,032,851	10,183,337	46,637,494	6,213,356	149,067,038
Michigan	20,411,532	8,350,020	17,538,270	375,800	46,703,622
Minnesota	9,488,150	1,724,708	6,506,926	292,300	18,012,084
Mississippi	1,306,500	195,400	3,721,818	69,700	5,293,418
Missouri	42,084,267	14,723,096	10,035,760	1,917,878	78,301,010
Montana	261,600	215,280	00,000	.....	1,137,080
Nebraska	5,257,938	1,585,270	4,738,983	227,680	11,554,877
Nevada	4,997,025	212,600	260,420	2,500	5,508,545
New Hampshire	4,126,950	2,652,624	3,885,106	495,930	11,100,010
New Jersey	15,347,387	1,310,834	7,815,325	206,500	24,690,466
New Mexico	677,000	99,200	178,700	.....	954,900
New York	310,497,058	52,872,924	18,315,070	33,725,262	589,249,173
North Carolina	2,130,878	488,240	3,883,822	96,700	6,599,640
Ohio	68,820,889	20,304,230	34,290,893	7,308,282	130,333,294
Oregon	3,412,500	894,000	2,100,434	225,320	6,638,254
Pennsylvania	184,595,996	17,386,336	73,288,565	19,032,847	294,303,744
Rhode Island	12,501,110	1,133,438	2,091,244	35,550	15,821,398
South Carolina	2,433,600	554,000	2,792,727	12,720	5,793,047
Tennessee	8,728,850	1,949,680	6,968,986	1,150,250	18,806,766
Texas	9,047,874	2,853,398	7,105,350	152,700	19,159,322
Utah	4,428,100	1,127,200	200,200	37,300	5,888,800
Vermont	1,317,000	411,000	3,309,884	630,000	5,727,884
Virginia	9,807,460	1,855,300	5,703,530	758,375	18,184,665
Washington	323,000	177,888	575,184	.....	1,076,072
West Virginia	1,647,200	787,800	3,501,202	57,700	5,993,902
Wisconsin	10,174,850	4,071,700	14,146,237	417,750	28,810,537
Wyoming	648,000	93,600	94,000	.....	836,260
Total United States	1,135,532,440	215,766,603	630,014,775	66,345,851	2,077,059,675

Enough of these statistics (which at best are dry reading) will have been given to serve the purpose of this article by presenting in a fourth table the figures of the value of the gross product of the periodical press of the country and the amount paid annually in wages. The table from which this statement is condensed shows that 46.21 per cent. of the \$87,441,132.22 earnings of the press was derived from subscriptions or sales of papers, and 53.79 per cent. from advertising. It also shows the employment of 54,654 persons in manufacture, and 16,489 persons in the editorial capacity:

TABLE IV.

States and Territories.	Amount paid annually in wages.	Gross value of annual products in dollars.		
		Dailies.	Weeklies and all others.	Total.
Alabama	\$110,023 00	\$194,400 00	\$211,511 00	\$405,911 00
Arizona	45,828 00	71,200 00	24,200 00	95,700 00
Arkansas	119,049 00	145,200 00	351,473 00	496,603 00
California	1,300,139 86	2,587,157 64	1,339,580 00	3,926,737 64
Colorado	338,345 00	78,120 00	225,300 00	1,015,110 00
Connecticut	378,566 00	640,480 00	290,002 00	939,482 00
Dakota	112,145 00	109,500 00	125,551 00	235,051 00
Delaware	55,278 66	114,987 69	41,100 00	156,087 69
District of Columbia	205,924 00	324,143 00	245,513 00	569,656 00
Florida	43,253 00	32,500 00	84,200 00	116,700 00
Georgia	331,327 00	486,771 00	459,858 00	948,629 00
Idaho	18,000 00	.....	3,000 00	38,000 00
Illinois	2,736,717 42	3,451,156 92	3,815,094 00	7,266,250 92
Indiana	745,850 00	870,314 20	1,155,799 00	2,026,113 20
Indian Territory	3,000 00	.....	6,000 00	6,300 00
Iowa	647,407 12	755,673 28	1,337,184 00	2,092,857 28
Kansas	335,437 86	327,692 96	649,107 00	976,799 96
Kentucky	272,130 00	135,000 00	634,745 00	769,205 00
Louisiana	411,616 00	820,595 00	310,060 00	1,130,655 00
Maine	317,006 00	222,472 00	1,014,043 00	1,236,461 00
Maryland	486,958 00	1,122,159 63	445,733 00	1,567,892 63
Massachusetts	2,074,749 00	3,033,266 00	3,359,540 00	6,392,806 00
Michigan	729,673 00	979,271 00	1,079,108 00	2,058,439 00
Minnesota	390,161 00	424,960 00	522,943 00	947,903 00
Mississippi	109,026 00	77,200 00	30,643 00	380,893 00
Missouri	1,284,831 00	2,234,565 00	1,368,356 00	3,602,921 00
Montana	66,700 00	68,000 00	109,750 00	177,750 00
Nebraska	250,732 00	339,698 00	372,846 00	712,544 00
Nevada	162,338 00	283,500 00	55,300 00	338,800 00
New Hampshire	119,203 00	195,708 67	200,350 00	396,058 67
New Jersey	454,533 00	577,825 00	597,190 00	1,175,015 00
New Mexico	31,292 00	52,372 00	18,000 00	70,972 00
New York	6,460,071 00	10,412,990 52	13,869,670 00	24,282,660 52
North Carolina	119,809 00	89,900 00	254,232 00	344,132 00
Ohio	1,761,038 00	3,182,295 00	2,080,509 00	5,262,804 00
Oregon	128,430 33	169,173 00	198,015 00	367,188 00
Pennsylvania	2,913,162 00	4,841,156 00	4,500,101 00	9,341,417 00
Rhode Island	206,525 63	338,425 00	117,301 00	455,726 00
South Carolina	110,087 00	141,109 00	168,138 00	309,238 00
Tennessee	265,450 50	415,889 52	368,191 19	784,080 71
Texas	772,059 00	311,322 00	506,909 00	818,231 00
Utah	88,580 00	146,708 00	30,350 00	177,058 00
Vermont	92,959 00	63,400 00	199,319 00	262,717 00
Virginia	261,362 00	324,540 00	374,286 00	698,826 00
Washington	34,975 00	29,700 00	57,700 00	87,400 00
West Virginia	111,071 00	101,556 00	233,855 00	335,411 00
Wisconsin	531,903 00	677,900 00	918,657 00	1,596,557 00
Wyoming	25,900 00	34,500 00	12,800 00	47,300 00
United States	\$28,571,330 38	\$42,750,034 03	\$44,691,098 19	\$87,441,132 22

The first table shows that the increase in the number of periodicals of all kinds published in the United States has been 94 1/4 per cent. between 1870 and 1880, and the increase in their aggregate circulation per issue 49.16 per cent. Between 1860 and 1870 the number of periodicals increased 45 per cent., and between 1850 and 1860, 60 per cent., while the circulation of periodicals increased in the former decade 52 1/2 per cent., and in the latter 165 1/2 per cent. It thus appears that the number of papers has been increasing between 1870 and 1880, not only faster than ever before, but faster than their circulation has increased, while in the previous twenty

years the circulation of newspapers increased in a faster ratio than their number. The fact demonstrates the existence of a popular feeling that the newspaper is growing to be every year more and more a necessity, recognized and welcomed in every American community.

This extraordinary growth has not been peculiar to Western and undeveloped States; it is not due to the rehabilitation of the Southern press after the ravages of the war—a rehabilitation which has been far from rapid. It has been a steady and nearly uniform growth, as observable in old and thickly settled States like New York and Massachusetts as anywhere else.

A second important fact established by the census of the press is that the circulation of newspapers in the United States is increasing very much faster than the ratio of increase in the population itself. While the increase in circulation was 49.16 per cent., the increase in population during the decade was 30 per cent. This simply means that every year so many families that did not read any newspaper at all in the year previous are added to the number of regular newspaper patrons. The Americans have long been the greatest newspaper readers in the world; but they are still far behind the limits of their possibilities in that direction.

We learn from another census table, not summarized above, that the aggregate circulation per issue of all the periodicals published in the United States—31,177,924—is equivalent to one copy regularly sent to every 1.61 inhabitants returned by the tenth census. It may be assumed that every paper published and circulated is read by an average of at least two persons, the majority of the papers issued penetrating into families numbering three to four persons. In other words, newspapers enough are now printed to supply every person of a reading age with a journal to read as often at least as once a week. Of course, we have many adults who never read a newspaper; but it is not for the lack of them, as it is elsewhere; and, as the years pass, the diffusion of the American newspaper is growing more penetrating and minute. The newspaper diffusion of the United States is one of its most striking characteristics, and it is the one aspect of our press with which that of no other country can offer comparison. To establish this, the Census Office has prepared a table which shows the average area in square miles to each publication in the United States. This average is 260.46 square miles. In his paper in the last number of the "International," Mr. Henry Gannett, the accomplished

Geographer of the Census, showed that the total area of settlement is 1,569,570 square miles, or only a trifle more than half the area of the country, excluding Alaska, and that the average number of inhabitants to the square mile is thirty-two. Taking his figures, the average settled area for each publication is 137.64 square miles, the average number of inhabitants to each separate publication being 4,399. These figures excite astonishment even when compared with those for a thickly settled country like England. In the State of Connecticut the average is one publication to every thirty-five square miles; in Delaware, one to seventy-five; in Illinois, one to fifty-four; in Indiana, one to seventy-six; in New Jersey and New York, one to thirty-four; in Pennsylvania, one to forty-five; in Rhode Island, one to twenty-five, and in Massachusetts, one to every nineteen square miles. The press of the United States is not concentrated, like that of all other countries with a well developed press, but is localized, and its tendency has been and continues to be constantly toward minuter localization. Every hamlet has its mouthpiece through the printing press. Every city is independent of every other city for its daily news supply. Here is the first condition met of a healthy and progressive national journalism; and it is the condition which will always keep the American press what it now is—the freest, the most self-reliant, the most loyal to home and vicinity interest, in the world.

In accordance with this tendency to localization, the most notable increase in newspapers discerned by the census was in the direction of the weekly vicinity press—an increase which was in such rapid progress at the time the census was taken that it was difficult, and indeed impossible, to trace all the new establishments that properly belonged in the enumeration. Horace Greeley's keen journalistic eye detected this peculiarity of American journalism thirty years ago; and, in the interesting testimony he gave before the Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into the propriety of the abolition of the stamp tax on newspapers, he astonished the British commoners by asserting that in America, "as a rule, every county in a free State will have a newspaper, and if it has a population of 20,000 it will have two or more." If Mr. Greeley somewhat anticipated the fact, the tenth census bears him out at last. By that census there are 2,604 counties in the United States, and newspapers were published in 2,072 of them. Not a State east of Missouri and north of the Mason and Dixon line but supported a newspaper in every county within its borders. The journalism of the two sections affords a clew to the

difference in the character of the population of the North and South. There was not a single Southern State in which every county was supplied with its local newspaper.

In a majority of the counties of the Northern States in which one newspaper was published, there were two or more. Another census table helps in the study of the localization of the press. It shows that there were in the census year 2,380 towns and villages in the country in which one newspaper was published; 1,018 towns and villages in which two newspapers were published; 395 towns and villages with three newspapers only; 197 with four newspapers; and 324 in which five or more newspapers and periodicals were published—showing a total number of 4,314 cities, towns and villages in which the 11,403 publications of all kinds were printed. These are statistics not duplicated nor approached anywhere in the world, and they bring out in the most striking light what may be called the distinguishing peculiarity of the American press. Literally, as Carlyle says, “a preaching friar has erected his pulpit in every village.” The bulk of these journals are allied to one or the other of the existing political parties, and to that extent they are *sui generis*; but each has one particular interest closer than its politics. Each one is champion and representative of its particular locality, and is concerned, first of all, in whatever relates to the honor and material advancement of that locality. It is its propagandist, its missionary, its light set on a hill. The closer home to the daily routine of the people the newspaper comes, the greater is the power it exerts—or can exert if it will. It is the local newspaper, in this sense, that distinguishes American journalism above that of all other countries, and is, on the whole, the most admirable product of the printing press in this country.

The development of daily journalism in the United States is part and parcel of this tendency to localization, and is even more striking than that of the weekly press. The number of weekly newspapers published in a town in the United States—particularly if that town happens to be the county seat—rarely exceeds three without the appearance of a daily newspaper there. The close competition of the weekly press frequently supplies a town with two daily journals before it has amassed sufficient business and population to afford nutriment for one. In the testimony to which allusion has been made, Mr. Greeley said, in 1851, that “when an American town has as many inhabitants as 15,000, or thereabouts, then it has a daily paper. Sometimes this is the case when it has as few as 10,000.” Our

journalism has so changed since 1851 that there are now comparatively few towns in the Northern States of the latter population which do not sustain one or two dailies, while the average character and quality of these provincial dailies has immensely improved since Greeley's time. Geographical or commercial reasons generally afford the explanation where towns of this size are found without a daily newspaper. These towns are located in the Eastern or Middle States, and are either given over to manufacturing populations or are places of suburban residence—immediately contiguous to metropolitan cities, with whose daily publications they are served as early as the city of publication, and which are of better quality than home enterprise can supply.

These 980 daily newspapers were published in 388 towns—call it an average of two and a half to a town. The anomaly is frequently presented of towns with less than 4,000 population where two and sometimes three dailies are regularly published. The smallest town in the United States which supported a daily—and doubtless the smallest in the world—was Weldon, N. C., with a population of 932. The smallest town with two dailies was Tombstone, Ariz., with a population of 973. The smallest town with three dailies was Eureka, Cal., with a population of 2,639. Galena, Kans., with a population of 1,463, had two dailies. Similar examples might be multiplied indefinitely. The publishers of these struggling diurnals are the *avant couriers* of our advancing civilization—the practical printers, hard-fisted and shrewd-headed, who are willing to labor and to wait, for the sake of holding the field in whose development they believe—the true journalistic instinct for the United States, for there is hardly a great and prosperous newspaper establishment in the country to-day which was not in the beginning the chimerical venture of men who mortgaged their future to buy a press and some types.

Here, again, we find the characteristic of American journalism which distinguishes it from that of other countries, and warrants the belief that in another quarter century it will have left its present statistics as far in the rear as the latter are in advance of those of 1850. It is plucky, persistent, indigenous everywhere, and it is the soul of enterprise and energy. Contrast the facts above stated with the statistics of British journalism. There were, by May's Directory for 1881, but 166 daily papers published in Great Britain for the news supply of its population of 35,246,562. There were but 472 cities and towns in all England in which one or more newspapers were published. Town after town in Great Britain, with populations varying

from 20,000 to 50,000 souls, jogs on from year to year without a daily newspaper in its midst. Their citizens are content to read the metropolitan dailies and to get their local news once or twice a week from the staid and mammoth sheets which issue from the local British press. It is accordingly true that the average circulation of the English daily newspapers is much in excess of that of the American daily press, the average for the former, as shown by advance sheets of Mr. H. P. Hubbard's forthcoming "Newspaper Directory of the World," being 19,710, while the census returns show the American average to be but 3,971. It is true also that individual journals in London attain vastly greater circulations than have ever been reached by any daily in America. The London *Telegraph* sells every day more than double the largest average copies sold by any American daily newspaper. The aggregate daily newspaper circulation of Great Britain and the United States is, however, almost identical in volume, which is extraordinary, in view of the vast area over which the American population is scattered. The fact justifies the conclusion that the American press—first by its marvelous and unparalleled cheapness, and second by its remarkable localization—reaches more closely the masses of the people, and, furthermore, that it popularizes daily newspaper reading, as that of England never can.

The English press is the most stable in the world; that of the United States is the least stable. Every Government tax has been lifted from English journalism; and its press, alone of the European press, is as free to speak its mind, unawed by censorship or Government vigilance, as is our own. Yet new newspaper ventures are rare in England, and as few papers die as are born. The English press follows steadily in the wake of the popular reading capacity; the American press as persistently anticipates and stimulates that reading capacity. Like a good many other things American, it is chronically premature. One of the most suggestive fields of census inquiry related to the number of newspapers established and suspended in the census year, and the length of the life of the journals which had previously existed. No less than 1,120 new journals of one kind and another were started during that year, or 10 per cent. of the whole number reported. No less than 905 of the journals previously existing or brought to life in that year suspended publication during the same time—the net increase of the single year being 215, or 2 per cent. of the total number. This is at the rate of 20 per cent. for the decade, while the actual rate of increase has been, as we have

seen, 94½ per cent. In other words, the increase of the census year is remarkable in that it is smaller than the average yearly increase of the decade. This long record of new journals established and unsuccessful journals suspended is the sufficient evidence that American journalism is still in its formative or experimental period. But it is not in any sense the evidence either of unnatural or of unhealthy growth.

American journalism is not all nor chiefly crude, unstable and experimental. Notwithstanding the mutations described, the press of the United States may be said to be, in the main, as firmly and as permanently established as that of any other nation. One census table shows 350 daily or weekly journals which have been published regularly for fifty years or longer—and this notwithstanding the fact that of the 5,871 publications reported in 1870, no less than 1,936 are shown by the same table to have since ceased to exist. As bearing upon the stability of our press, it may be said that the census inquiry definitely determines the fact that the tendency is not to an increase in the number of daily newspapers published as the size of a city increases, but always to the increase in the circulation and patronage of the papers already in existence. To illustrate: In Kansas City five daily papers were published for a population of 55,813—the same number that was published in Louisville for a population of 123,645. The daily press of New York city circulated 765,000 copies per issue during the census year, divided between twenty-nine publications. Years ago, when the aggregate daily circulation of the New York press was less than half what it now is, it frequently occurred that it was divided between more newspapers than now enjoy it. Precisely the same experience has been had in Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and the other large cities of the country. In every case where an American city is overstocked with daily papers—more than it has readers or business to adequately support—the fact is evident upon an inspection of the issues that come from their presses. The journals of every locality are a more or less accurate type of the intelligence, the thriftiness, the enterprise and the general character and condition of the people of that locality; but it is never from the mere number of them that these things can be determined. A great and prosperous newspaper is a growth—the accretion of years of watchful care and of hard labor. Hence the now common and altogether correct belief that to found a great newspaper in a field already well occupied requires in these days the

expenditure of large capital and the patient waiting of many years. The well-established newspaper lives upon the evidence it is able to give in each issue of the fact that it is healthy, and that it deserves to be. The rivals which are constantly springing up—they are like mushrooms in their unexpected and multitudinous appearance—must give and maintain equal evidence of healthfulness to become permanent. When that is given without taking from the similar condition of the earlier established newspapers, the evidence is conclusive that the field is large enough for both or all. Two great laws operate here, as everywhere else—the law of supply and demand, and the law of the survival of the fittest.

The statistics of the circulation of American newspapers give a better evidence of their generally healthy condition than the averages which have been stated. An average for an entire country is necessarily misleading; and, in order to avoid that difficulty, the Census Office has prepared a table grouping the American press into eight groups, according to the volume of circulation. The largest number of weekly papers was found in group eight, with a circulation of 500 and less than 1,000, namely, 3,342. As the expenses of a country newspaper average in the United States, a circulation between these figures may be regarded as a paying one—not a gold mine, of course, but affording a fair return for the character of the brains and the amount of capital usually invested. The largest number of dailies was found in group seven, with a circulation of 1,000 and less than 3,000, namely, 282. Only 124 dailies were found with a circulation of less than 500. Mississippi had the largest number—17—of these journals of meagre circulation; California was second, and Texas was third—so that they may be set down as harrowing evidences of crude civilization. Two hundred and sixty of the daily newspapers showed a circulation of 3,000 and over, and the largest group of these—105—was of newspapers with a circulation under 5,000. A circulation which can be regularly maintained between the figures given is rightly regarded as healthy and profitable wherever the failure to go higher is not due to over-competition. Indeed, the greater number of the daily journals whose circulation is placed at 1,000 and under 2,000 are profitable pieces of property on their more limited scale; and it is the press of this class, including the great bulk of our daily journals, which represents the bone and sinew of the American journalism of to-day. As a rule, they are journals whose resources enable them to be measurably independent in their attitude toward public questions,

and whose ambition leads their proprietors to consistently devote their surplus revenues to the employment of better brains, the use of more perfect machinery, and the development of better facilities for the profit and enlightenment of their constituencies. The American press of this grade is incomparably superior to that of any other country of the same grade. These daily newspapers owe their success primarily to the fact that by the extension of the magnetic telegraph and the cheap rates charged for the transmission of press dispatches, they are enabled every day to present their readers with as complete, if not as minute, an account of the events of the previous day throughout the civilized world as the wealthiest newspaper corporation of the largest commercial centre. Their advantage from the telegraph has been immeasurably augmented by the organization known as the Associated Press and kindred organizations, which gather and transmit the news of both continents as it is received at common centres. Telegraphy is cheaper in the United States than anywhere else, and consequently it is used by our press more liberally than by that of any other country. The number of words transmitted by the Western Union Company alone to the 355 daily newspapers it regularly served during the census year was 611,199,930, while the total number of words transmitted by the government telegraph of Great Britain to all the newspapers of that country during the same period was but 313,500,000. It was the discovery of telegraphy and its application to journalism which enabled the provincial press of the United States to make the unique progress which has marked its history for the last fifteen years, and to supply the most distant cities of the continent with daily papers which serve the same end as the metropolitan daily. Thus it happens that to-day there are newspapers published in Chicago, in St. Louis, in Cincinnati—not to speak of a dozen other cities—which, in lavishness of expenditure for news, and in intelligent presentation of it, are not surpassed in the world.

Before leaving the subject of circulation it is worth while to note that the relations of circulation to population in the United States offer a perplexing field of inquiry. The aggregate daily circulation of the great State of Texas was 31,351, while that of little Rhode Island was 41,182. Delaware's aggregate daily circulation was larger than that of Nebraska. On the other hand, in New York State was printed 27½ per cent. of the entire daily circulation of the country, while but 12 per cent. of the daily journals were published in that State. Such

figures show that here, as everywhere else, daily papers are read somewhat in proportion to the ease, the promptness and the cheapness with which they can be obtained. The average number of inhabitants to the aggregate circulation is smallest in the States of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, the figures being fifty-four, seventy-eight and ninety-two respectively; but no argument for the exceptional intelligence of the people of these States can be founded upon these figures. They arise from the fact that the great cities of New York, Philadelphia and Boston, located in these States, afford in their order exceptional facilities for the publication and wide diffusion of newspapers and periodicals. A census table shows the number of inhabitants to each daily paper published in twenty-six principal cities of the United States. The average number of inhabitants to each daily paper printed in these twenty-six cities, taken together, was 4.06; and, accepting this average for any city of 50,000, the aggregate circulation of all its daily papers would be but 12,310. The fact that seventeen of these cities show a larger ratio of circulation to population is simply evidence that these seventeen have superior facilities over the other nine for outside circulation, and the ratio is increased accordingly. Washington, which is an isolated city, average one copy printed daily for every 4.27 inhabitants, which is an extraordinary average for a city thus situated, and with so large a colored population. The following table shows the eleven cities which stood first in the ratio of circulation to population:

Cities.	Number of daily papers.	Circulation of daily papers.	Population.	No. of inhabi- tants to each copy issued.
Pittsburgh	11	111,001	156,381	1.41
New York.....	29	765,743	1,206,590	1.57
San Francisco.....	22	143,232	233,956	1.63
Boston	11	221,315	302,535	1.64
Springfield	3	18,464	33,340	1.81
St. Paul.....	6	19,893	41,498	2.09
Indianapolis	4	35,587	75,074	2.11
Cincinnati	11	117,549	255,708	2.18
Chicago	18	220,577	503,304	2.28
Philadelphia	24	363,286	846,084	2.33
Baltimore	9	128,043	332,190	2.58

At the bottom of the twenty-six cities are:

Charleston	2	6,300	49,999	7.94
Brooklyn.....	4	48,537	566,689	11.67

Nevertheless, it is certain that there is no city in the Union whose people are greater newspaper readers than those of Brooklyn. The above simply shows that the majority of the papers read there were published in New York city.

Let us glance briefly at another class of statistics relating to the material condition of the American press for a final demonstration of its healthy condition. No attempt was made by the census to get at the amount of capital invested in the newspaper business on account of the peculiar character of the industry. Any such attempt would have resulted in wild and preposterous results. The newspaper business is peculiar, over all others, as one which creates its capital as it goes along; and the capital thus created is largely of a hypothetical character, in that it depends upon conditions prevailing in no other business, and which may be dissipated by causes not operative elsewhere. Thus, we have seen that over 53 per cent. of the gross product of newspaper publication in the United States is derived from a source of revenue the intrinsic value of which depends upon other conditions altogether than the amount of capital invested, the labor employed or the materials used. This is the advertisement. Certain newspapers will receive for the same advertisement double, treble, quadruple, the price received by other newspapers which have been to precisely the same expense in preparing that advertisement for publication. We have a number of newspaper establishments whose annual income is many thousands of dollars in excess of all the capital which has been actually invested in the shape of plant and repair of plant since the establishments were founded—often without any capital at all. The plant, it is plain, is the smallest part of the value of a successful newspaper, the real value being dependent upon what is somewhat indefinitely described as the "good will." "Good will" may be considered as an element of capital, and always is the chief element when sales of newspaper property are effected; but it cannot be estimated in dollars and cents for a census. The value of a "good will" is limited by the size and circumstances of the city in which a daily newspaper is published, and the gross receipts are dependent altogether upon this "good will," and not at all upon the character of the plant, nor upon the amount of capital required to carry on the business.

There is no business which shows such large gross receipts with such a small investment of capital behind them, or so small outlay for raw materials. As there are but two legitimate sources of newspaper revenue—advertisements and sales—so there are but two raw materials entering into its manufacture—ink and paper. There were 178,165,-951 pounds of paper used in printing the 2,077,659,675 issues that came from the American press during the census year. The estimated

value of this paper was \$14,253,276.08, which is but 16.3 per cent. of the gross product. By adding the estimated value of the ink used, which is comparatively trifling, we find that the value of material represented in every \$100 of gross product is only \$16.48. It requires no argument to convince that any interest that can make such a showing is in a healthy condition.

So marked is the difference between the expense and the receipt accounts in the publication of many newspapers, and so striking is the contrast thus afforded to every other species of manufacturing, that a gentleman high in the Census Bureau, whose attention was called to it, remarked that he did not understand why everybody did not go into the newspaper business if the facts were as they appeared. Well, there are hundreds of persons who have tried the experiment on precisely that hypothesis, and who know, to their sorrow, just where the fallacy lies. To succeed in newspaper publication is to earn large dividends on small capital. So it is in silver mining. If we could all know just where the silver is located, and just how to get it out, we would all be silver miners. The capital sunk in seeking silver in vain bears some relation to the capital lost in seeking to make the newspaper which shall earn these large profits on this small investment for materials and labor. The failures are as costly, in care and labor squandered at least, as the successes are lucrative; and they are quite as frequent. The inordinately profitable newspapers are all printed in the large cities, where they have great fields over which to spread. For many years past it has been the exception for a new newspaper enterprise on an extended scale to succeed in any of these cities. On the contrary, side by side with the successful newspapers are always to be found struggling and ragged competitors, whose type-setters count themselves lucky at the end of the week if they get the money equivalent of the ems of type their nimble fingers have set. Once fairly attained, newspaper success is hard to fritter away. But to attain it in a field already well occupied is, I verily believe, the hardest achievement at which American pluck can aim.

Let us admit of American journalism all that may be claimed against it. It is crude; it lacks the professional element; it is unstable; it is premature in its multitudinous development.; it is often ignorant, and it is generally blindly partisan; it is often cheap, in more senses than one. It is still in its formative era; but it has, nevertheless, passed by great leaps into a business and a profession combined, which are subject to conditions just as clearly defined

and as definitely ascertainable as any other occupation which goes to the making of our cosmopolitan civilization. In the beginnings of the fourth estate in this country the newspaper men were a nondescript group, generally regarded by their fellow citizens with either pity, contempt or fear. They were mechanical printers, without education or experience, or they were violent and self-seeking politicians, whose selfish purposes and narrow views shone from every impression of their types, or they were adventurers whose waiting for something to turn up drove them into the newspaper business after everything else had failed, on the old theory, now happily obsolete, that anybody can edit a newspaper whether or not he can do anything else. An advancing civilization is driving all these men to the border towns and the remoter provincial villages. There, let it be admitted, they still exist and still edit newspapers. There they have their mission, and there they are not without their value in preparing the way for the successors who are sure to follow them. A credit for \$500 and a capacity for indifferent scribbling will still "start a newspaper" in many an American town. But it is no longer the typical American newspaper.

S. N. D. NORTH.

SOME RECENT POETRY.

"Ballads and Sonnets," by Dante G. Rossetti. London and Boston. Roberts Brothers.
"The Pageant and Other Poems," by Christina G. Rossetti. London and Boston. Roberts Brothers.
"Poems," by Oscar Wilde. London and Boston. Roberts Brothers.
"Leaves of Grass." Boston. James R. Osgood & Co.

IT is a long cry back to the time when Mr. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's name was first heard as the author of certain poems that had a powerful charm for the young ears into which they were—whispered, we may almost say, seeing how very quiet and recluse was the mode of their publication. It was the time of the pre-Raphaelite agitation in England, and Mr. Rossetti was already known as one of the chief leaders of that chosen people of whom Millais was the Joshua and Holman Hunt the Aaron. Millais, indeed, had started off as a mystic, with his "Christ in the Carpenter's Shop," but he had not long held to that side of the movement, finding a greater attraction in subjects drawn from modern poetry—from Keats or

Tennyson, or, what was still better fitted to his decidedly matter-of-fact mind, from modern everyday life. Holman Hunt, beginning, too, with religious mysticism, continues to work in that field to this day, having made few excursions, and those unhappy ones, into the fields of poetry or common life. Rossetti, the most poetical mind of the whole school, the only one who seemed to have something of his own to say, began with the mystical interpretation of poetry, with the invention of poetic variations on old poetic or legendary religious themes, and has remained to this day a mystic of mystics, wrapping up every subject on which his fancy for the moment rests, be it a verse from Tennyson, a scene from Shakespeare, a story from the Bible, a hint from Homer, a picture from Montegna or Botticelli, in the robe of St. Francis. No doubt, Rossetti was known to his own circle of acquaintances as a poet from the first, but his name first crept out of the silence and seclusion in which he has always loved to live as that of a painter who chose subjects which were not so strange in themselves as they were made to appear by the treatment to which they were subjected. But much of this was hearsay. Who could say what the pictures were like, for who had seen them? Never, since painters were, had there lived an artist who seemed so bent on hiding his pictures from the public. Only the elect or the accidental few who, by virtue of personal acquaintance, enjoyed opportunities never willingly accorded to any stranger, conveyed to the outside world mysterious hints and vague suggestions of what was being projected in that secluded studio, and raised young and eager minds to feverheat as much by what they kept back as by what they disclosed. Mr. Rossetti never "exhibited;" his pictures and drawings were never on sale; they could not even be bought except by those whom the artist could be persuaded to look upon as fit to own them—nay, even photographs of them were not to be had except as a great favor, rarely known to be granted to anyone. There was the photographer's shop, and there were the negatives which one might admire and covet to his eyes' content; but, if he wished to purchase any one of them, permission had first to be asked of Mr. Rossetti, and "most likely, sir, he won't give it; or, if he should, he will set 'em so high no one would pay his price. For, you see, sir, he does not want anyone to have 'em." This was in 1862, when in ways difficult to describe, but more by private than by public rumor, Mr. Rossetti's reputation—fame, we may perhaps call it—had spread even to these benighted shores. A few water-color drawings of his had

made their way to America, and though they were but inferior specimens of his skill, and such as he himself would hardly have given even to friends in England, they acted as still further stimulants to the desire felt here to know something more of this artist, of whom Mr. Ruskin wrote a little later, in 1863: "I believe at this moment the pre-Raphaelite school of painting (centred in England, but with branches in other countries) to be the only vital and true school of painting in Europe, and its leader, Dante G. Rossetti, to be, without any compare, the greatest of English painters now living." But the curiosity of these ardent young American worshippers was hard to satisfy here at home. The only approach to satisfaction was the publication in an edition of Tennyson's poems, published by Moxon, in 1859, of certain small wood-cuts after Rossetti, so interesting, so novel, and, to sympathetic eyes, so filled with mystic beauty and poetry, as to make their owners more hungry than ever. Had we space for the reminiscence, we would tell how at last one bold crusader actually crossed the ocean for little else than to see with his own eyes, and report for the rest of the devout, what the pictures of this "greatest of English painters now living" were actually like. How, arriving in London with a letter to one of the chief print-sellers in that city as the only clew, and, stating his errand, he was informed, to his amazement, that the gentleman in question had never so much as heard the name of Rossetti, though familiar enough with the names and works of Millais and Hunt. How, courteously promising to find out the whereabouts of the unknown artist if it were possible, after some days a polite letter came with an introduction to a well-known architect "who knows your Rossiter man;" how the seeker's heart fell at the suggestion that poor England, too, had her Rossiter no less than unhappy New York, and that in her ignorance she confounded him with a jewel of far different water. How, at length, the letter of introduction led, with English hospitality and readiness to help, to a certain chamber, where on the wall hung, oh, rapture! drawing after drawing of the true Rossetti; and then, a little later to a stately house, where not only a cloud of his works made sunshine in the London smoke, but where were to be seen drawings by other chiefs of the school—Millais and Burne Jones and Sandys—these scarcely looked at, however, because all one's eyes were wanted for him alone who was elsewhere inaccessible. Nor must we delay to tell how, when the embassy was over and home regained, there was held a solemn convivial meeting, at which, in awed silence, a full report was listened to of all that the envoy

had seen and heard, and a full account given—which reads strangely in one's note-book in the light of to-day—of all the pictures of the unknown master that had rewarded the crusader's reverent search.

Meanwhile, the painter was beginning to be known as poet and scholar, too. One or two of his poems had been circulated in manuscript copies, and it shows how easy it may be for artist's work or poet's work to escape notice until the time be fully ripe that, when at last it was concluded to be no breach of good manners to print one of these in the *New Path*, the organ of the pre-Raphaelite faith in this country, it was found that not only this poem, but two others, had been printed several years before in the *Crayon*, a journal devoted to the fine arts, but looked upon by the true believers as the very hot-bed of Philistinism.

This poem was "The Blessed Damozel," by which and by "The Staff and Scrip" the admirers of Mr. Rossetti were long content to know the master. In 1870 appeared the volume of "Poems by Dante Gabriel Rossetti," in which "The Blessed Damozel" stood first, with some slight alterations from the earlier draft, and the "Staff and Scrip," also slightly changed, followed a little further on in the table of contents. This volume had been preceded, in 1861, by a remarkable collection of "Translations from Early Italian Poets," of which a second edition, so revised and remodeled as to be really a new book, appeared in 1870, entitled "Dante and His Circle." But, though this volume made Rossetti's name familiar to us in a not altogether new light, as a scholar, it opened up little new light in the minds of those who thought of him as a poet and a painter working in a field of which he was the sole owner. It may be said in passing, however, that in this volume of translations Mr. Rossetti rendered a real service by making us acquainted with a new starry world, with some satellites, some few planets in their own right, revolving round the sun of his age, Dante, and helping us to estimate his splendor better by the knowledge of his companions; and that it gave us, beside, a new and very perfect translation of the great poet's "Vita Nuova."

A curious incident connected with the publication of the "Poems" in 1870 added a piquant interest to the volume. It was reported in London that many of the pieces of which it was composed having been circulated in manuscript among the author's friends, the scroll suddenly disappeared from sight, having been thrown by the poet into the grave of his wife, in the desperation of his grief. But the

beauty of the lost poems being known to not a few, it had been at last determined to rescue them from their prison. Unfortunately, this could not be done by wishing it; the law had to be invoked; it was said that only by act of Parliament could a grave be opened—at any rate, this was seriously told the writer in London by friends of the poet—and it was only after much difficulty that the manuscript was recovered. There was too much bathos in this story for serious contemplation, nor can it be denied that it gave a certain flavor of insincerity to the poems themselves which to this day it is hard to dissever from them. One could have wished that the poet had been content, as were those poets who gathered about Spenser's grave, with throwing upon the coffin the pens with which their threnodies had been written. But, it must be confessed, had they thrown in the threnodies themselves, no one would ever have thought it worth his while to exhume them, while the poems of Rossetti it were certainly a pity to have lost.

Now, twelve years later, comes another volume of poems from the same pen, and we have to read them in the rather dazzling light of the earlier productions. All must be taken into account in judging an impression, and in the case of any one of the books of the Rossetti family, as published in London, the covers of the books are a part of the affair not be despised. Mr. Dante Gabriel Rossetti devised the covers, not only for his own "Poems" and the "Dante and His Circle," but those for the volumes published by his sisters, Christina and Maria, as well as that for his brother's, William Michael Rossetti, translation of Dante's "Hell,"—this last a very skillfully contrived piece of design, though perhaps rather thrown away on so dull a translation as this of Mr. William Rossetti's. These covers have not been reproduced in any of the American reprints of the Rossetti books, and, though it may seem a trifling matter to allude to, it is still a fact that the poems without the characteristic garb in which they first saw the light do not seem to be the same as we first knew them. 'Tis like drinking sherry out of a teacup. The cover in which the Boston edition of the new volume of Mr. Dante Rossetti—"Ballads and Sonnets"—appears is certainly calculated to set an old-time Rossetti man's teeth on edge, though it may, like enough, be a far-off imitation of the English original. Yet we can hardly fancy the artist consenting to these unnecessarily tortured letters, nor to the printing his name Dante G., instead of Dante Gabriel—it being contrary to English custom—since it is one of the many English gibes against us Americans

that we leave our middle names forever untranslated initials. Still, we cannot tell, for, to our surprise, we find the sister, who in general is known and loved as plain "Christina," now adding, for the first time on a title page to our knowledge, a middle and untranslated initial "G." to her name. Whether this betoken any decay in English manners or no (undoubtedly Mr. Ruskin would so interpret it!), we cannot tell. Only we are sure that Mr. Dante Gabriel Rossetti would never have arranged his name on the cover of a book of his in such a way, the "Dante G." on one line and the "Rossetti" on another, as to make us think involuntarily of our old acquaintance "John P." "Robinson," he.

Perhaps, if we seem a long time coming to the inside of Mr. Rossetti's new volume, the reader may suspect we do not greatly care to come to it. There would be some truth in such a suspicion, but it would not be wholly true. No doubt the new poems are a disappointment; no doubt they come very far short of those we first knew from their author's hand. There is no poem in this volume which is worth the "Blessed Damozel," looking at that curious mixture of mystic piety and emasculate sensuousness with eyes as far as possible purged of all old prejudice in its favor; surely there is nothing here in any way worthy to compare with "The Staff and Scrip," or with that poem which is certain to have a life of long duration, even among the ephemeral productions of our time, "Sister Helen," one of the few modern ballads that have a genuine flavor of antiquity, though of what precise era would be hard to say. But, indeed, there are several other poems of the earlier volume that would be hard to match in the later one—"My Sister's Sleep," "The Last Confession," the "Ballad of Dead Ladies," translated from the French of Villon, and, among the sonnets, "A Match with the Moon." The new volume contains the completed series of sonnets called "The House of Life," of which a portion appeared in the earlier book. These sonnets have, in abundant measure, a defect often met with in the author's work—a labored obscurity, as if either his thought were not clear in his mind, and he were wrestling with his power of expression to make it clear, or as if, being clear already, he were trying to dress it up in involuted words from the apprehension of the public. We confess to finding the too frequent difficulty of unraveling their structure repaid oftener than is comfortable with a sense of emptiness, or, what is as bad, with a sense that the thought conveyed is not worth the pains it has taken to find it out. In this respect the sonnets but reflect the difficulty we feel with

much of the symbolism of which the author is so fond in his pictures, and which makes many of them too puzzling to be really enjoyable; they call for too much of the same sort of mental exertion that we are obliged to put forth for the solution of conundrums. Those who know his drawing of "Hamlet and Ophelia," or his illustration of Tennyson's "Palace of Art," the "Saint Cicely," in the Moxon edition we above alluded to, will understand our meaning. Doubtless, it is the fault of the engraver, who himself did not understand Mr. Rossetti's drawing; but we remember what strivings of heart there used to be among the devotees in the old time as to the meaning of the thing that looks like a banner over the head of Death in the "St. Cicely." Nor could we ever understand how Hamlet, in the other drawing, ever got himself so entangled in the *Miserere* seat in Ophelia's closet, or how he ever maintained his attitude long enough to go through his passionate address to the lady. And were not all these things thus forced upon our attention wide of the mark? Did they not even then, to young and healthy minds, savor a little of morbid feeling and of—oh, fatal word!—yes, of affectation? When we compare this sonnet-series, "The House of Life," with the greatest work of human art in this line, the sonnets of Shakespeare—when we compare them even with the greatest work of modern English poetry in the same field—with the "Sonnets from the Portuguese" of Mrs. Browning, we see how far behind the former Mr. Rossetti's sink in splendid clearness of diction and in weight of meaning, and how far they fall behind the sonnets of Mrs. Browning in passionate intensity, the deep and often stormy feeling of the woman being never made turbid by sensuousness, nor ever darkened by morbid sentiment.

In the themes Mr. Rossetti chooses and in the subjects of such narrative poems as "The Staff and Scrip," "Sister Helen," "Rose Mary," "Lilith," he shows an ability not common in these days to trace out a path for himself and to walk alone in it. It is rather in the machinery of his poems, in the imagery, the learning, the diction, that we are constantly reminded of other times, of other ways of thinking and feeling, of a whole wardrobe of ideas and sentiments and ways of looking at life, ancient and outworn, the cast-off clothes now of the Mediæval age, now of the Renaissance time, not when this latter was fresh and strong in the lustihood of young life, but when it was sickening to its sad decline. Nor is the voice of the Middle age that we hear in these pages the glad voice of the early day "still choiring to the young-eyed cherubim," but the sad croon-

ing of the weary penitent who snatches from penances and sad litanies a fearful joy. We have said that Mr. Rossetti wraps all his thoughts and fancies in the robe of St. Francis. But it is not the robe of the happy saint, the lover and interpreter of nature, the brother of the birds and the voice of the flowers; rather it is the saint who swoons in the ecstacy of his adorings, sees visions of the cross, and wakes with sympathetic wounds in his own hands and feet. Mr. Rossetti's Italian blood mantles in the veins of all his poems, luxurious, sybaritic, pagan to the core, far more deeply and sincerely pagan than Mr. Swinburne, who is not half as pagan as he brags, and with so little sense that paganism is a reproach, he sees no need to be noisy or pugnacious in his expression of it. Then, on the other side, strange mixture, his English blood will tell, and conscience, and sense of duty, and Heaven and Hell in sharp antagonism, disturb his voluptuous dreams.

The new volume of poems by Miss Christina Rossetti is a more serious disappointment than that of her brother. If we see no reason why he should take upon him the labor of writing on such worn-out themes as the "White Ship" and "The King's Tragedy," we can at least thank him for one poem, "Rose Mary," that at least recalls what he was in a more fruitful time. But there is nothing in Miss Rossetti's newest book that recalls the delightful pleasure she gave in the "Goblin Market," "At Home," "Love from the North," "Spring," "My Secret," "No, Thank You, John," "Shut Out," "Up Hill," and perhaps others of her first venture—a venture which gave her a place, assured and quite her own, among the thrushes and finches of the English Poets' Pleasaunce. Even in her second volume, the principal poem, "The Prince's Progress," was not all disappointing, and there were others that kept alive the pleasant memories of our first acquaintance, but it could not be denied that the volume, as a whole, was inferior to its predecessor. Now comes the third book, and what can we say of it but that the voice of the singer is muffled and dumb under such a weight of boding and mourning, of penitential sighs and groans, as make it impossible to take any pleasure anywhere in its pages. The poem that gives its name to the book is a mere childish diversion for a Christmas holiday, but with little character or originality, though, indeed, after Spenser no one need hope to do anything much worth while with this theme of the months and seasons. As for the rest—how we miss the hundred pretty touches of the old time, twenty years ago, touches showing the most delicate

and loving observation of nature, and expressing in quaint ways thoughts, feelings, perception, uncommon at any time, and quite alone in our day and generation. What to say, and what to do? Best say nothing. 'Twere ungracious where so much is to be grateful for, and what's to do but to read the old songs over again, as we have done many and many a time in the years that have slipped by since first we knew them, and wait for those that still may come. But, alas for the day when any one persuaded poets that they have any other mission than to sing for joy, and to give joy by their singing.

Mr. Oscar Wilde need not detain us long, for what is he but a multifarious echo? He has, for all that appears, no motive whatever for singing, and says as little in his poems as he does in his lectures. He has a cleverish knack at verse making, and, as there appears to be no especial reason for his ever having begun, so there seems no reason why he should ever stop. He has no call to sing, like the elder poets of our time, or like the Swinburnes, Rossettis and Whitmans, who carry in their verse, in its earnestness or in its music, the seal of their mission. As we turn these listless pages, we seem to watch a dancer who swings indifferently each partner that comes along, and yields her as indifferently to the next in line. We do not like Miss Rossetti's religion, but we respect it and believe in her; we could dispense with something of Mr. Swinburne's eroticism and paganism, but they are his own, and we accept them with admiration for all the beauty that garlands his verse. But mere poetasters, like Mr. Wilde, with no convictions, with no strong overmastering power of verse or of thought to make us careless of their rough vested music, are simply a weariness to the flesh. Neither Mr. Wilde's religion nor his want of religion seems to us worth thinking about. In one verse he speaks warmly of Swinburne, who has "sung the Galilean's requiem," and seems to think the having done it a good thing, on the whole; and then, in maudlin strains, he whines about the "prisoned shepherd of the church of God," and how, "far away at Rome, in evil bonds a second Peter lay," words which, if Mr. Wilde knows anything, he knows have no foundation in fact nor in common sense. The clear impression left upon our mind by this book of poems is that Mr. Wilde is the sport of the hour, and blows hot or cold, believes or disbelieves, is amorous or devout, or intellectual or sentimental, according as the wind sets from this, that, or the other quarter. His cleverness is not all his own, but is a part of the fashion of the time; everybody who is anybody in these days must write verses like some-

body else, or show that he could do it on compulsion, and Mr. Wilde is too clever and thinks too well of himself to let himself be beat at this game with his contemporaries. Accordingly, he walks a funeral pace with Tennyson in "In Memoriam," dances Bacchant-like in a breech-clout with Mr. Swinburne, sings penitential psalms or sonnets with Rossetti, on whom, by the way, he lavishes the most extravagant praises, and writes long strings of aimless verses in which Keats is seen reflected like the heavens in a duck pond. Even his reading of Walt Whitman is reflected in some of his titles. But, all the time, what Mr. Wilde really is, we never get the smallest inkling, and perhaps it would be wasted time to try to learn.

"Strange," said Mr. Emerson, when he was asked his opinion of "Leaves of Grass," "strange, that a man with the brain of a god should have a snout like a hog." And the story ran that Mr. Wendell Phillips, turning the pages of the book, remarked, "Here seem to be all sorts of leaves except fig leaves." This was in 1855, and as the original edition lies before us to-day we recall vividly the sensation that was made by its appearance. In the first place, it was an original-looking volume, a homespun affair, a thin quarto of ninety-five pages, printed in large type, and bearing on its title-page no name of any publisher, but only the words "Leaves of Grass. Brooklyn, New York, 1855." On the reverse the reader was informed that the book had been duly "Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1855, by Walter Whitman," etc., etc., and this was the only clew the public had to the name of the author. Not that the public greatly cared to know. The book was not "published" in the official sense. It was said that the writer of it was a printer by trade, and that he had set up the type and done all the presswork with his own hands. Perhaps he did the binding as well, for that was as primitive as the rest. Yet, though crude looking to the dapper eyes of the trade, there was a rudimentary good taste in the get-up. The title-page would have pleased Guttenberg or Faust, nor would Aldus himself have despised its large and manly aspect. It is parodied in the new issue, but had Walter Whitman had the ordering of this edition he never would have permitted Mr. Osgood to belittle the title-page with his very uncomfortable trade-monogram, which always makes us think of a *trichina*, though we have no precise notion of how a trichina looks. We may add that the original edition of "Leaves of Grass" was embellished with the same portrait of the author that adorns the new Boston edition. The prose preface, however, of ten pages, double

columns, is omitted, which is a pity, for it is very characteristic of the author, and shows more clearly than the book itself where the author came from intellectually. Mr. Emerson said once of certain philosophers that they had all been milking the same cow—Swedenborg; and Mr. Whitman, as no one who reads his prose preface can doubt, had been for a long time milking the New England transcendentalists. The preface reads like a selection of papers from the *Dial*. Parts of it remind one of the "Manuscript Symphony of Dolon," but the most of it is an echo of Emerson himself, minus his music and his wit.

The book, however, was misunderstood, as was to have been expected. Mr. Emerson, who had the penetration to see what was fine and original in it, was as wrong in his judgment of one element in it as was Wordsworth in his judgment of 'Wilhelm Meister.' As Mr. Emerson himself reports: "He proceeded to abuse Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister' heartily. It was full of all manner of fornication. It was like the crossing of flies in the air. He had never gone farther than the first part; so disgusted was he that he threw the book across the room." In the marble purity of his mind Mr. Emerson was more shocked than he need have been by Mr. Whitman's plain speaking, for that, after all, is all that his much-berated coarseness amounts to. At first he could not see the wood-god for his phallus. Later, he wrote a letter to Whitman, in which he said, "I greet you at the beginning of a great career." Whitman showed that he was not quite a god, for he was so tickled with the compliment that he straightway printed it in letters of gold on the back of a new edition of his book. This was a breach of confidence, as Mr. Emerson thought, and he expressed his private indignation at the liberty taken. But what else did he expect? Had he never read Esop?

Still, whatever may be Mr. Whitman's personal drawbacks, and no writer ever more freely invited the public to an inspection *gratis* of all his foibles, the fact remains that Mr. Emerson was right in greeting him as he did. If Whitman really does nothing more than enlarge and exaggerate the "Nature" and the first volume of "Essays" of his master, he does it in a way to entitle himself to the award of originality as much as that master is entitled to it. The doctrines of individualism, of personal independence, of the unity of all souls, of the oneness of man with the universe, of the equal birth of good and evil, these are all here as we had heard them sweetly sung or said by the Orphic seer himself, only they were here jumbled, confused, with end-

less repetition, without art, without taste, without sense of proportion, and absolutely without humor. Here were scorn of the conventions of society by one who never knew them, and who was as ignorant of society as a Digger Indian; the sincerity of cows and dogs and horses, to whom Adam and his wife and the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day were all as one; a primal nakedness of which the author made a great show of not being ashamed, knowing well enough that the logic of his position made shame unreasonable. And all this, with much more, was put forth in good masculine English with farmer-like shrewdness, without mincing of words or phrases; we heard the plain talk of farm-hands and mechanics, of sailors and soldiers, without the fear of women or of dandies before their eyes.

The new edition of "Leaves of Grass" has neither the unity nor the expression of the original book. It is not essentially altered in the main part, nor is what coarseness was once there in the least softened or expunged, but it has been gone over too much with the file, rough as it is still left; and all that Whitman has written since the first book appeared is crowded here pell-mell, without order or sequence. It would be a thousand pities were the author judged by the few passages, perhaps not two pages in all, where his frankness pushes him to say things that are really only coarse because they are said. Of indecency, of essential grossness, there is in the book really nothing. It is easy to believe the author as pure-minded, as incapable of doing or thinking evil, as any best man among us who would blush to be seen in his shirt-sleeves by a woman. All we charge Whitman with on this score is a want of the sense of beauty and proportion, a want of taste, in short, and worst fault of all, an absolute want of humor. He is neither a true American nor a Greek. Were he the former, he would have a sense of humor; were he the latter, he would have a sense of art. But we owe him a just debt for being what he is, and for the much that he has written it would not be easy to repay him with grateful words. He and Emerson are the only poets we have thus far produced; all the rest are imitators, or make-believes, or players upon jewsharps. But Emerson sits far above Whitman by virtue of his noble art, and, little as he has produced, cannot be brought into comparison with his more prolific disciple. The original "Leaves of Grass" will remain a real contribution to the thought of America, and some of the additional pieces, "My Captain, O My Captain," "Song of the Banner at Daybreak," "Out of the Cradle, Endlessly Rocking," once read can never be forgotten.

CLARENCE COOK.

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MR. INGERSOLL AS A REFORMER.

THE controversy between Mr. Ingersoll and Judge Black, in the *North American Review*, has brought the former prominently before the public again, and almost everywhere in church circles may be heard renewed denunciations of "the great infidel." On the contrary, outside of the church, and perhaps also to some extent within it, there is a large and respectable body of earnest and sincere men who, while regretting, it may be, the questionable methods which Mr. Ingersoll is employing, are yet in substantial sympathy with the central object of his efforts. Such men may be able to take a more unbiased view of Mr. Ingersoll and his work, and to form a more just and impartial estimate of his services to mankind and to the cause of truth, than those whom he is combating and who have to defend themselves and their creeds against his attacks. At a time, therefore, when his praise or dispraise is upon every lip, it seems eminently fitting that such an estimate should be attempted by one who has no dogmas to bolster up, no pet theories of religion to champion, and who, whatever may be the defects of his judgment, is, at least, without any of the prejudices of sect, or any of the jealousies or animosities that so frequently spring out of creeds.

To the orthodox, Mr. Ingersoll is the sum of all wickedness and depravity. They can see nothing good either in him or his purposes. His very name is a synonym of whatever is blasphemous and profane. Hating God, hating the truth, hating everything that is pure and holy, his one purpose is to destroy whatever mankind has held sacred; to root out from the human mind all ideas of religion, of a supreme being, and of future responsibility; to break down not only the hopes but the restraints of religion, and thus throw society into chaos, and

take away from mankind their only anchor amid the storms and unrest of life. To those of us who are able to view the lives and opinions of men through a medium unclosed by our own prejudices and preconceptions, Mr. Ingersoll's opinions and his labors may, and in all probability will, present themselves in a very different light. To us he is an earnest, sincere, outspoken advocate of the truth as it appears to him. Liberty is his watchword—liberty of thought, of speech, of action. He has the most exalted conception of the powers and capacities of human nature, and its ability to work out for itself the greatest amount of good of which it is capable, if only untrammeled by superstitions and allowed to develop according to its own instincts. He has, too, the full courage of his convictions. Whatever he believes, that he does not hesitate to announce. His philosophy is the philosophy of utility, which in his case is carried to such an extent as to resolve itself into the purest and farthest-reaching iconoclasm. Old faiths, having no foundation in reason—but often, in fact, in direct opposition to positive knowledge, and depending for their acceptance on the ignorance and credulity of mankind—have no right to obstruct longer the progress of the world, and should be rooted out of the human mind without pity and without regret. Among such beliefs may be classed the belief in the overruling and protecting providence of God, in a place of future retribution or reward, in the idea of a future responsibility for our conduct in this world, and particularly for our opinions concerning the current superstitions of the age—in everything, indeed, that relates to a life beyond the grave, about which we neither know nor can know anything. It is to this life alone that all our thoughts and all our energies should be given—how to make it pure, and noble, and good, by the constant practice of virtue, temperance, charity and love. We know that the present is ours; we do not know that the future will be. Hence, it becomes us, discarding all dreamy ideas of a hereafter, to do whatever we can for our own happiness and for the happiness of mankind. The world is full of evil, full of sorrow and suffering, of pain and anguish. The general happiness of humanity is far overbalanced by the general misery. Our eyes are more often filled with tears than with the light of joy. Our hearts are constantly riven with anguish, and for the most part our sorrows multiply with our days. If even the happiest of us should sit down at the close of life to cast the balance between his joys and his sorrows, who can doubt upon which side the preponderance would be found? Placed, therefore, without any seeking of our own, in the

midst of a life which, in its brightest aspect, is little more than a constant struggle, it is our greatest, our most imperative, duty to do what we can to ameliorate the condition of existence, not by the teaching of doctrines whose tendency is to subordinate the real present to a speculative future, but by teaching mankind lessons of love, of sympathy, of charity, and of benevolence; by teaching them that the happiness of each depends upon the happiness of all, and that no man in whose breast such sentiments are at work can possibly be entirely happy so long as he knows that somewhere in the world there is a human being, however humble, over whom there brood the shadows of anguish and despair. Mankind should be taught to love, not God, but one another. The lesson they should learn is the lesson of universal benevolence. In our relation to each other, love and sympathy should be the guiding principle of our lives—a love broad as the sum of human existence, a sympathy comprehensive as the sum of human sorrow. The very name of hate should be blotted out of the vocabularies of the world—so far, at least, as it relates to our feelings toward each other. It is born of the worst elements of human nature, is fostered by false teachings, is altogether unworthy of us, and should have no place in the economy of a well-ordered life. Next to loving one another—indeed, even before loving one another—we should love the truth. But we should strive to know what the truth is, and not be willing blindly to accept as such anything that may happen to be found in the Bible, or that may be taught by the church, or that may have the sanction of former ages of belief. Conscience alone is the ultimate standard of morality, reason alone the ultimate standard of truth. Whatever the conscience of any individual approves or disapproves, is right or wrong so far as that individual is concerned. Whatever is consistent with enlightened reason, is most probably true, and nothing else can be. Any system of moral teaching that violates our ideas of right and justice is a false system. Any doctrine that is inconsistent with enlightened reason, or conflicts with positive knowledge, is a false doctrine. Such a system and such a doctrine cannot be anything but pernicious and hurtful to the best interests of mankind, and they should be combated by every man who loves his species and who loves the truth. It matters not if they have come down to us from the earliest ages and are hoary with the prescription of centuries. Indeed, the very fact that they arose in an ignorant, credulous and uncritical age is among the strongest guarantees of their falsity; and that they have been imposed upon human credulity

for centuries is the best reason why such imposition should be tolerated no longer. All forms of faith, and all questions of religion, must "give an account of themselves to reason." They must show what right they have to claim the further allegiance of mankind. If they cannot stand the test, let them be thrust aside as antiquated and useless. It is to knowledge, hand in hand with science, which is the right application of knowledge, that we must look for the redemption of the world, if it is ever to be redeemed. Nothing else can dissipate credulity and destroy superstition. It alone can "wipe out those plague-spots of the human mind," those moral and intellectual diseases transmitted to us through the ages. Hence the necessity of a judicious scepticism, that men should cultivate habits of inquiry, and learn to think and investigate for themselves, and refuse to take upon credit ideas absurd in themselves, and supported by no authority except merely the sanction of the past.

These opinions and many others of like nature and import are connected in Mr. Ingersoll's teachings with a certain optimism of character peculiar to him and to the school to which he belongs. The sincerity of the man is unquestionable. The pulpit and the religious press, it is true, have constantly impugned his motives, charging him with all sorts of selfish purposes; with trying to make money by ridiculing God and Christianity; with struggling to discredit the Christian religion, not because he really does not believe its doctrines, but because he knows it condemns his own life; with hating everything that is true and holy because of "the evil heart which is at enmity with God." But we neither make nor countenance any such charges as these. On the contrary, we believe them untrue, unjust and uncharitable. We believe that Mr. Ingersoll is very deeply and very thoroughly in earnest; that his reasons for objecting to the Christian religion are just what he says they are; we believe he is sincere in his conviction that the cause of truth and knowledge demands the overthrow of this religion, and that in all his efforts in this direction he has had no other object than merely to subserve what he conceived to be the best interests of mankind. If his "crusade" against Christianity has been profitable in a pecuniary sense, we believe this has been its accident, and not its object, and that it is equally as unjust and uncharitable to charge him with advocating opinions known to be false, merely for the gain that is in them, as to charge the same upon Mr. Beecher, or Mr. Swing, or the Rev. Joseph Cook.

By those who know him in his private relations, Mr. Ingersoll is

said to be an affectionate husband, a kind and indulgent father, an earnest and devoted friend; a man full of noble and generous impulses, and always ready to sympathize with those who need sympathy, and to extend whatever aid is in his power to such as need assistance. As an orator, his reputation has gone throughout this country. His style is vigorous, aggressive and powerful, abounding in epigrams, sparkling with wit, and not unfrequently bursting into sentences which, if they do not rise to the dignity of true eloquence, are at least full of pathos and power. If his speeches lack the eloquence and refinement that form so marked a feature of the oratory of Mr. Wendell Phillips, or the solid and substantial merit that belongs to all the utterances of Mr. Beecher and Robert Collyer, the deficiency, so far as the popular judgment is concerned, is perhaps more than compensated by peculiarities which distinguish him from all other orators of the age. His vivid imagination, his pungent wit, his terrible and withering sarcasm, his power of quick and telling repartee, his skill in turning even the most solemn and sacred subjects into ridicule, and, above all, his utter fearlessness, amounting at times even to recklessness, of expression, are all characteristically his own. These qualities, aided by a fine manly presence and a countenance indicative of a general satisfaction with the part he has played in life, together with a vigorous and impressive delivery, make him what is very rare at this day—a great popular orator.

In such a man as this there is much to be admired even by those who utterly dissent from all his views of religion, a theme upon which Mr. Ingersoll has succeeded in making himself exceedingly obnoxious to the orthodox public. The bitter warfare that is going on between him and them renders them, perhaps, incompetent to pronounce a just and impartial criticism upon him. There is a certain vindictiveness, a certain unsympathetic and uncharitable tone pervading all their utterances concerning him, which, though he is himself perhaps responsible for it, does nevertheless leave behind it a sense of unfairness and injustice. Now, we do not share in these feelings. We bear Mr. Ingersoll no malice. He has shocked none of our sensibilities, he has ridiculed none of our beliefs, he has held none of our cherished prejudices up to the rude scorn and jests of the crowd. We may go further and say that, while we dissent from many of his views, we are yet in substantial agreement with what we believe to be the central object of his efforts. But while admitting the general correctness of his opinions, his integrity of purpose, and his sincere

desire to benefit mankind, it must be said, and said regretfully, that we believe his methods are not only unwise, impolitic and unjust, but that they are actually hurtful to the cause of liberal truth, and tend more to the strengthening and building up than to the pulling down of those errors and prejudices which Mr. Ingersoll is most anxious to destroy. A religion that has sent its roots so deep into the heart of humanity, that has been the comfort and consolation of so many millions of sincere and earnest men, and has commanded the assent and the loving reverence of so many of the best intellects of the world, cannot wisely be treated with contempt or made an object of public scorn; and he who thinks that a great world-religion can be overthrown by such methods will find in the end that he has misjudged human nature, and incorrectly estimated the tenacity of religious sentiments when once firmly rooted in the popular mind. We are not convinced of the error of our opinions by having them made the laughing stock of the vulgar and the unthinking. On the contrary, such a course can have no other effect than to confirm us in our convictions. He who thinks that he can convert mankind by laughing and sneering at beliefs which to them are sacred, beliefs which are vital to their religious consciousness here, and associated with all their dreams of peace and happiness hereafter, will find that he has so far fallen short of his purpose that he has really aroused a counter-antagonism which will more than offset all his efforts. This, we regret to say, is the mistake Mr. Ingersoll has made in most of his public addresses throughout this country. He has believed that thoughtful men can be convinced by ridicule. He has believed that the best way to reach their minds is by coarse jest and open ribaldry. He has believed that, while claiming the broadest charity for himself and those who think with him, it is perfectly fair that he should manifest the greatest want of charity for all who still walk in the old ways, and who still cling to the ancient letter of the creeds. He has believed that, while avowing the most intense and far-reaching hate of certain noble, well-intentioned but mistaken men, he could yet teach the lesson of universal love. He has thought that the best way to rouse men from their dream of superstition is to jostle them rudely, and tell them that they are "fools and credulous," and that the doctrines to which they cling with such pertinacity are unworthy the intellectual assent of children. To the Bible, to the church and to the ministry he is invariably unjust, and when speaking of either his language is uniformly censorious, unsympathetic and uncharitable. He seems to

take peculiar delight in shocking the religious sensibilities of his audiences by speaking of the most solemn subjects in the rudest and coarsest language of jest and buffoonery. Now, we believe that no greater mistake than this could possibly be made by one acting as a public teacher and striving to open a way for an acceptance of his doctrines, and we regret to see a man so gifted, so earnest, so sincere in his desire to confer some great benefit upon his race, adopting methods which are so far from being the best or even good methods that they can, in fact, have no other effect than to injure the cause they were intended to promote. It is true there can always be found in every community, and particularly in the great centres of population, a class of men who are ready to applaud such language—men, for the most part, destitute of moral consciousness and with but few of the instincts of religion, either natural or revealed, who delight in believing there is nothing good or true in the world, but that everything is false and base, and utterly unworthy of our higher efforts. Such men are only too glad to learn that religion is a sham, and that the hell which they have ignorantly feared has been “abolished.” They listen with a certain malignant pleasure to the unkind and uncharitable language which Mr. Ingersoll habitually applies to all who are still trying to keep the old faith warm in their hearts—language which satisfies their worst appetites, feeds their petty spite and malice, and keeps alive in their breasts those feelings of hate and distrust which antagonize the kindlier and more loving spirit of this age. But these men are not the best—they are the worst—elements of society. They are moral communists, who would gladly see the standard of public morality leveled not upward to the best but downward to themselves. So long as Mr. Ingersoll continues to speak as he has spoken in most of his public addresses in the past, he will not want for the applause of such men as these. But has he no message for the higher thought and intelligence of the age? Is he satisfied with the applause of crowds that listen in silence to his loftiest and noblest utterances, but make the galleries ring with their cheers whenever he descends to rude jest, or coarse buffoonery, or bitter vituperation? We believe his aims and his purposes are far nobler and far higher than this; but, at the same time, we believe he has adopted methods that can never lead to their accomplishment. If we have not sadly mistaken the spirit of the times, the better liberal sentiment of this age, while sympathizing deeply with the great purpose that lies back of all of Mr. Ingersoll’s efforts, looks with regret

and sorrow upon the adoption of methods which cannot be anything but hurtful, because they violate the dictates of the best and noblest qualities of human nature. Whatever may have been the spirit of the past, the spirit of the present is one of tenderness and sympathy and love. The bond by which mankind are united is, to the higher thought of the age, as universal as humanity. It is the bond of common sorrow and common struggles. From this community of trials there has sprung up with the increase of knowledge in the last three centuries a sympathy with human sorrow and suffering such as was never known at any other period of the world's history. The sense of the universal brotherhood of mankind has sunk deep into the better thought of the world. Whether it has come from the teachings of Christianity, as claimed by the church, or is merely the necessary outcome of the increase of human knowledge, its existence is none the less a fact. This feeling of brotherhood has brought with it a feeling of love and tenderness, of sympathy for the sorrows and of charity for the opinions of others, which is one of the most notable characteristics of the age. That this is at present the prevailing spirit will not be questioned by any one who has even a partial knowledge of the development of thought for the last century. It is seen everywhere. It has penetrated to the ignorant and the uneducated. It has even reached into the pulpit, and moderated its denunciations of the prevailing scepticism. But more, perhaps, than anywhere else it is found in what is known as the "liberal thought" and "liberal philosophy" of this century. The whole spirit of that philosophy is the spirit of charity and benevolence. It hates tyranny, it hates uncharity, it hates whatever is unsympathetic and unkind; but, even more, it loves the good, the beautiful, the loving and the true. Now, while we believe Mr. Ingersoll is in full sympathy with the teachings of this philosophy, we think his better judgment will convict him of having violated those teachings in almost all of his public utterances. He has been accustomed to hear the indiscriminate and uncharitable denunciations of a certain class of ministers who think it impossible that an earnest and sincere man can be an unbeliever, until, no doubt, he has grown callous to such abuse. But he has nothing in the nature of priest-like cant or priest-like reviling to apprehend from us. We are not his enemy, neither have we taken counsel with his enemies; yet we say—not in anger, but with sorrow and regret—that the tendency of his teachings is out of harmony with the gentler and more loving spirit of this age; and that, while he is striving to bring

men to the light of truth, he is doing it in a way that will confirm them in their worst superstitions and drive them further and further into error. The charge which we bring against him is not that he is attempting to corrupt mankind by teaching them false doctrines—though where is the public teacher who has not had mixed with the golden truths of his philosophy much that was mistaken and unfounded—but that, while struggling for the right and the true, he is employing methods whose tendency is always towards the wrong and the false, and which vitiate all his noblest purposes and desires. We urge no objection to his teachings; let us even admit that they are the teachings which the age requires. But is he employing the best means, or even good means, of winning mankind from the old lines of thought and teaching them to walk in the new way? We do not believe that men's opinions, and least of all their religious opinions, can be changed by harsh and uncharitable criticisms; and whoever has heard or read Mr. Ingersoll's public lectures need not be told that this is the general character of all of his criticisms of religion and of the church.

The church is not nor has it ever been either perfect or approximately perfect. In the midst of some truth it has always insisted upon the acceptance of a vast amount of error. In its past history it was tyrannical and dogmatic to an extent of which in this age it is difficult to conceive. Many of its doctrines never have been and are not now in harmony with known truth and the deductions of positive knowledge. Many of them, perhaps even a majority of them, are false and untenable. They have been the cause of a vast amount of suffering in the world. They have led to persecution and the stake. They have induced men to commit the greatest crime that could possibly be committed—the suppression of honest thought. Perhaps for a thousand years the church was the greatest curse, the most searching and farthest-reaching calamity, ever inflicted upon mankind. We would not attempt to answer the terrible indictment which Mr. Ingersoll has so frequently brought against the church of the Middle and the Dark Ages. But was there nothing good in all this? Was it utterly and altogether bad? Is there nothing that can be said in extenuation of all this evil? Who does not know that while the church crippled the human intellect, while it enslaved the minds as well as the bodies of mankind, while it crushed all knowledge and attempted to put out the light of reason, while it hated human nature and sought to destroy human happiness by teaching the gloomiest and most odious forms of

self-humiliation and asceticism, it was yet through all this dark history the sole depository of the moral and religious consciousness of the Christian world; and that, while it subjected the human reason, it kept alive and fresh in the hearts of men the spirit of morality? True, it was not the morality of to-day. It was a morality deeply impregnated with the worst and grossest forms of superstition. It was mixed with a strong leaven of foolish and ignorant fears and presided over by a vast amount of corruption in high places, but from that morality, gross as it was and unsatisfactory as it seems to us looking back at it from the summit of this century, there has come by a process of moral evolution the sweeter and nobler, the higher and better, moral sentiment of to-day.

Since the Reformation the church has been a powerful agency in the spread of civilization and the propagation of knowledge. It has blended itself in one way or another with almost every phase of human progress. More than any other single agent it has given tone and color to the moral outlook of the centuries, and, while we are very far from believing that all that is good in our civilization is the result of Christianity, we are equally far from believing that it has been productive of no good at all. That the church of to-day is what it should be or what it might be, perhaps few will be found to claim. Many of its doctrines that fully met the desires and satisfied the consciences of those with whom they originated are to us without meaning and without force. They have served their purpose, and their day of usefulness has passed away. Could they, too, have passed away with their day of usefulness, it had been better. But the church has made the fatal mistake of preserving these dead and meaningless doctrines, and insisting that men shall accept them. She will not see that many of her relations to mankind have changed, and that many of the old ideas that were once useful and helpful are so no longer. Unwilling or unable to comprehend the problem presented to her, she still insists on the strict letter of her ancient creeds, and clings with a blind and touching pertinacity to her old doctrines. She will not perceive that the great progress that has been made in knowledge has altered many of the moral and intellectual needs of mankind, has transformed man's ideas of the government of the world and of his relations to the universe and to God, and while giving him other and higher conceptions of the demands of the moral life has at the same time deprived him of many beliefs that were once a source of infinite comfort and consolation. Instead of conforming to the new order of

things and changing her teachings to suit the demands of a higher and better knowledge, she insists that these old and worn-out doctrines shall still be accepted. By this fatal mistake she has shut her doors against much of the best intelligence of the world, and is driving from her thousands of earnest, sincere, candid and thoughtful men and women who would gladly find something to lean upon amid the struggles of life. It is this fact that gives to Mr. Ingersoll's criticism of the church whatever force it may have.

Now, what the age demands is not that the church shall be destroyed, but that it shall change its teachings in accordance with the demands of human knowledge. With all its errors and imperfections it is and has always been one of the strongest "generators of moral force" known to the world. This alone, even if there were nothing else good in it, is a sufficient reason why it should be preserved, and the duty of the reformer is not to destroy the good in order to reach the bad, but to tear out what is bad and let the good remain. Mr. Ingersoll has not been content to do this. He has insisted on the overthrow of the whole system. He has passed his fingers over its body and said, "it is unsound here, and here, and here; it is rotten to the very core, and has no right to obstruct longer with its decayed carcass the busy highways of human life."

And as with the church so with the ministers. With the probable exception of the Universalist and Unitarian pulpits, Mr. Ingersoll very cordially hates the whole body of the Christian ministry, and he never omits to give them a thrust whenever an opportunity is afforded. Now, there can be no doubt that a great many of them preach an immense amount of rubbish and nonsense, and that a great many more are ignorant and intolerant to an incredible degree; but ignorance does not excite the hate of the philanthropist, but his pity. Moreover, a philosopher who witnesses the intolerance of a whole class of men will look beyond the men themselves in search of that which has made them what they are, and, instead of hating them because they are intolerant, he will hate the cause of their intolerance. Surely it is not consistent with the loving and merciful spirit of this age to hate any one, and most of all to hate those who may happen to differ from us on points of faith concerning which it is most probable that all of us are in error. We do not overlook the fact that Mr. Ingersoll may feel himself justified in his treatment of the ministry by the treatment which he himself has received at their hands. We are not ignorant of the unkind and uncharitable interpretations put upon

his conduct by many of the preachers of this country, and have ourself listened to much language of this kind that was both unjust to Mr. Ingersoll and untrue to fact. But the men who have spoken thus do not represent the higher thought and better intelligence of the American pulpit.

It is both unjust and unfair that Mr. Ingersoll should hold the entire body of the ministry responsible for the conduct of these men, for certainly no one can doubt that there is in the pulpit of this country a grade of thought infinitely higher, nobler and better than this. Among the American ministry are many earnest, sincere, charitable, large-brained and large-hearted men, who not only do not approve of this conduct, but who listen with pain and regret to the harsh and uncharitable language of their subordinates. Perhaps they are very far from constituting a numerical majority of the ministry, but they exercise a great and unquestionable preponderance of influence on the moral tone of the age, and no one who is disposed to be candid can deny that this influence is always exerted on the side of charity, mercy and love. Now, Mr. Ingersoll constantly ignores this fact, and involves the whole ministry in one universal system of abuse—unkind, unsympathetic and unjust, but most of all, we think, unwise, because in violation of the better teachings of the new order of thought, and because men in this age demand that fairness shall be done, and will not be influenced by one who persistently refuses to conform to this demand.

But he does not stop with the church as a system or the ministry as a body. He scrutinizes with the utmost minuteness every doctrine of the creeds and every article of belief, and deals out to each its proportionate amount of epithets and abuse. He can see nothing good, nothing beautiful, nothing true in any of them. They are to him unsound in all their parts, utterly worthless and bad, and should be destroyed root and branch, because injurious to mankind and hurtful to the best interests of truth.

We shall not attempt to defend any of these ancient beliefs. Perhaps in the progress of knowledge the time has come when it would be better if many of them were dropped out of the moral consciousness of mankind. Let it be granted that they are no longer helpful to us in the higher walks of modern life and knowledge. Let us admit that they have lost their meaning, and become to us only empty sounds and hollow memories. But was there never a time when they spoke to the hearts of men with a voice which perhaps is now dumb

and silent to us? Did they never serve any useful or beneficent purpose? Did they never answer the higher needs and satisfy the better aspirations of mankind? Whatever may be the opinion of others, we cannot believe that ideas can become historic and find a loving and reverential acceptance over long periods of time unless they have their foundation in truth, or meet in some way the needs and demands of society, and it is not for us to condemn in unmeasured terms beliefs which, if unmeaning to us, were full of meaning to our fathers, were vital to their peace and happiness, and filled up, better than anything else which they had, the measure of their moral and intellectual needs. Perhaps the solutions which we have found, and which seem to suit us better, will fail to meet the demands of succeeding ages and the new phases of a broader knowledge. But these solutions are held by us in the spirit of truth and love, and we cannot without uncharity suppose that the opinions of mankind in the past were not held in the same spirit. When posterity shall come to sit in judgment upon our beliefs, we may not expect from them a greater measure of charity and justice than we ourselves have meted out to our ancestors.

All the great historic ideas of Christianity—the doctrine of a first pair, of the fall of man and the atonement, of a heaven for the good and a hell for the wicked, of a devil who constantly attended men's footsteps to allure them into the paths of sin—all were not without a deep and impressive significance to mankind in the ages that are past, and to vast multitudes of sincere and well-intentioned persons they have never lost their significance. But even to such as no longer believe in these doctrines they are not without a certain mythical beauty and impressiveness. Even the doctrines of hell and a personal devil, hateful and irrational as they seem to the higher reason and better instincts of humanity, are not entirely destitute of a certain beauty, stern and unpitying as it may appear. As the idea of a hell, a place of eternal punishment for the evil-doer, was intended to represent God's hatred of sin and the certain penalty that would follow the infraction of the divine laws, so the idea of a devil was originally, no doubt, only an impersonation of the Christian's conception of evil. From these mental conceptions, which, even if erroneous, were held in a sincere conviction of their truth, has come the grosser belief in a physical hell and a personal devil. These ideas, we think, should no longer hang their drapery about the human mind; but let us not be unjust toward them nor suppose that they have never answered any good purpose to mankind.

Severe and uncompromising as are Mr. Ingersoll's denunciations of the preachers and the creeds, he is even more severe upon the Bible, which he regards as the source of all the errors of the Christian world. From it have sprung all these miserable doctrines that have cursed mankind. It is to him a stupendous compend of falsehood and barbarity. If it could be destroyed, if the very memory of it could be blotted out, nothing else could bring so great a train of blessings to mankind, for all the other curses ever inflicted upon the world have not been in their aggregate so great a source of calamity as this. It is not necessary to repeat all his harsh and denunciatory epithets. They are, no doubt, familiar to the mind of the reader; and every candid man must admit, and admit with regret, that in his treatment of the Bible Mr. Ingersoll is invariably unjust and unfair to a degree unusual even to himself. It is unfair even if Mr. Ingersoll really believed the Bible to be the word of God. But he does not believe it to be so, and yet he constantly treats it as though it were. Now, how much better and wiser it would be, looking at it in the light of modern biblical criticism and research, to regard it, not as the word of God, but as the honest and sincere effort of the early mind to express its conceptions of the origin and government of the world? And who shall say those conceptions are not grand and beautiful, mistaken though they seem to us in this realistic age?

A few words as to Mr. Ingersoll's place among modern sceptics, and we close this paper. In his answer to Mr. Ingersoll's first article on the Christian religion, in the *North American Review*, Judge Black says: "Mr. Ingersoll is not, as some have estimated him, the most formidable enemy that Christianity has encountered since the time of Julian the Apostate. But he stands at the head of living infidels, 'by merit raised to that bad eminence.'" We suppose the term "infidel," which is generally used by writers of Judge Black's school in an opprobrious sense, is meant to apply to all persons who do not believe in the inspiration of the Bible or the divine origin of the Christian religion. In this opinion Judge Black is in full harmony with what seems to be the impression very generally current among the orthodox portion of our population, and particularly in the ministry. Indeed, judging by the prominence given to Mr. Ingersoll by the church of this country, one who had no knowledge of the real state of affairs might well suppose him not only the greatest but the only unbeliever now living in the world. Whether this comes from an ignorance of the actual status of the highest scientific and philo-

sophic thought of to-day, or whether it is supposed that Mr. Ingersoll's positions are more easily answered than those of men who have founded their objections to Christianity upon the deductions of modern investigations and modern science, it would be profitless to inquire. That the church has given Mr. Ingersoll this prominence, that it has persistently put him forward as the head and front of the great intellectual revolution that is now convulsing theological thought, is known to every person who is familiar with the tone of the modern pulpit and the religious press. In doing this the church has made a great mistake—a mistake not only injurious and misleading to the popular mind, but involving a vast waste of energy that could be much better employed, so far as her own interests are concerned, in giving herself that accurate scientific training in which she is at present so deficient, and which alone can fit her to cope with those great scientific minds which are molding the philosophic thought and directing the intellectual energies of the age. That the church has seen fit to adopt this unworthy course cannot, in the interests of truth, be sufficiently deplored. We have tried to point out our reasons for believing that she has nothing to fear from Mr. Ingersoll. The very offensiveness of his methods is self-destroying. Moreover, his objections are not founded, like those of the more conservative school of liberals, upon the deductions of modern science and investigation. He calls to his aid none of the modern weapons, which are the only ones that are really dangerous to the church. He belongs to the earlier and more uncritical school of sceptics, and formulates scarcely a single objection to Christianity which has not been made by free-thinkers in all ages of the world, and particularly in the last century by Bolingbroke, Voltaire and Thomas Paine. Whatever answer can be made to these objections has been made many times, and many years ago, and, however strongly the objections themselves may be founded in the common sense and right reason of mankind, we have seen from their history in the past that they possess no great reforming efficacy, and that the church has suffered no material injury from their propagation. It has generally been deemed a sufficient answer to such objections to say that these are "God's ways," and therefore cannot be understood by human reason.

But there is a scepticism pervading all the higher branches of thought which is far deeper than that of which Mr. Ingersoll is the exponent, and far more to be feared by the church. At its head are

the profoundest thinkers, the most comprehensive intellects of the century. It is moving hand in hand with science and philosophy—whether a false science and a false philosophy must be determined by the higher knowledge of another age. It is a power that works in silence, but its influence is reaching out in every direction of the human mind. It labors steadily and incessantly toward the truth, not by antagonizing religion, but by thrusting religion aside and conducting its investigations in a manner wholly independent of Christianity or the Bible. It matters not if its truths, when attained, are found to be in harmony or in conflict with previously entertained ideas of religion. This power in these latter days is assuming omnipotence, and even the higher grades of pulpit thought have not escaped its touch. This scepticism is the result of modern scientific investigation, and it refuses to be satisfied any longer with the usual statement that God's ways are incomprehensible to man. To this influence, more than to all other causes, is to be ascribed the great progress that has been made in free thought within the present century. Now, Mr. Ingersoll cannot be said to represent this movement any more than the white froth on top of the ocean wave can be said to represent the mighty power that sets the wave in motion. But this is the movement which the church must overcome if she would check the defection from her ranks that is daily becoming more and more alarming. And this cannot be done by attacking and abusing Mr. Ingersoll, who is neither the leader nor the representative of the movement. It can only be done by showing that the deductions of modern science, which lie at the basis of this movement, are erroneous, mistaken and untrue. Hence our belief that in giving Mr. Ingersoll this undue prominence, instead of attempting to meet the objections of a higher and far more influential school of thought than that which he represents, the church has made a mistake which will greatly injure herself without benefiting the truth. To attack Mr. Ingersoll and ignore Herbert Spencer and Mr. Darwin and their respective schools will be construed by many who understand the real issues as a virtual admission of her inability to meet the objections raised by science and philosophy. To him, however, who regards a thorough discussion of all questions as essential to their perfect understanding, the controversy raised by Mr. Ingersoll will not be void of interest as being another factor in the great sum of human energies out of which has come whatever we have that is good, or beautiful, or true.

WILLIAM MYALL.

ÆSTHETE—OR PHILISTINE.

What æsthetic is, or what Philistine, may not be defined in a phrase or two, howsoever well turned or epigrammatic. For, from the fact that philosophers and metaphysicians have never been able to construct any universally acceptable theory of the Beautiful, it is difficult either to prove the truth of one set of opinions concerning Art or to demonstrate the falsity of another. Nevertheless, there is no lack of dogmatists, and in these latter days there has arisen, indeed, a whole sect which arrogates to itself an infallibility in criticism. Its members are they who use the word "æsthetic" as an adjective to characterize themselves, as well as any picture, statue or poem that suits their peculiar views, while all else they call "Philistine."

For the importation of this epithet from the German into our language Matthew Arnold seems to be responsible, and for its original meaning we need only turn to his essay on Heinrich Heine, wherein he says that "Philistine must have originally meant, in the minds of those who invented the nickname, a strong, dogged, unenlightened opponent of the chosen people or the children of the light."

The name now is used in an enlarged as well as in a somewhat perverted sense, comprehensive enough, for instance, for application either to one of Frith's pictures or to the man whose aim is material prosperity. This aim is or should be foreign to a child of light, except in so far as it will forward him in his pursuit of the Beautiful.

It might be objected here that we are explaining the ideas of a class of enthusiasts whose very existence is strenuously denied by several English journals. But, though Mr. Du Maurier's portraits of Maudle, Postlethwaite, Prigsby and the Cimabue Browns may be caricatures, exaggerations, the characters so bodied forth have certainly some basis of reality—which conclusion is drawn from the observation of certain phenomena visible even on this side of the water. Cis-Atlantic æstheticism bears about the same relation to the true London craze that Newport fox-hunting does to the real thing. Like Hamlet we are "but mad north northwest." Still, we are bitten by the mania, and generally enough to furnish a topic to the periodical press, always so quick to chronicle any popular movement. Probably each of our 8,816 newspapers has had something to say upon the matter, so that, doubtless, even the sheep-herder in the wilds of Colorado has read

about utterness, about arrangements in brick-red, and about hawthorn teapots. China worship, however, if he only knew it, was not first practiced in this day and generation, as one may learn from Hogarth's prints—such as, for example, the "Taste in High Life in the Year 1742." And this was in the time of George II., a most Philistine reign! Clearly, the propensity to mural decoration and to pottery collecting is not peculiar to the aesthetes, though it be one of the manifestations of their abnormal state of mind.

According to scientific alienists, mental maladies arise from and are marked by certain physical disturbances, which are duly described in the text-books on insanity. Thus, if we may credit Mr. Du Maurier, confirmed æstheticism is to be known by the sufferer's tendency to emaciation, woebegoneness of visage, and extreme depression of animal spirits; and in addition, in women, by a desire to dress like a figure out of Boccacio's *Decameron*. Indeed, by writers upon insanity there is well recognized, in certain kinds of mental disease, an uncontrollable inclination of the patient to adorn his room with gewgaws—even with shreds and patches the most incongruous—a form of madness called chronic.

Making no more comparisons of this sort, it does seem, in all seriousness, that the so-called æsthetic movement is an unnatural mental state brought about by what might be called over-culture—or injudicious culture in a certain direction. It is a revulsion—a revolt against the rational, practical, perhaps rather materialistic spirit of the nineteenth century. In its anachronistic attempt at a neo-Florentine revival, and in the fatuity and mutual admiration of sundry of its apostles, it bears a certain likeness to the Della Cruscan epidemic that broke out in England eighty or ninety years ago, and which was subdued by the Bæviad of that stern Philistine, William Gifford. Yet, unlike the Della Cruscans, the aesthetes, though a motley host, can count among their number some men of real power—poets, painters, critics—who, despite their eccentricities and intemperances, have given the movement the vitality it possesses. The disciple usually goes further than the master—not always wisely; for, even if a reform of public taste were desirable, there might arise some question as to the necessity of upsetting all the received notions of beauty in poetry, music or painting. We have inherited the fruit of labor done in all the years before us, and a characteristic of the lover of art ought certainly now to be a catholicity of taste, not a mediæval intolerance of anything but the works of one particular school or epoch. Nor

should the critic of 1882 be able to gain, like Goldsmith's cognoscento, a reputation by praising the works of Pietro Perugino.

The use of cant phrases and catchwords has always been common to fanatical fraternities and cliques of enthusiasts; thus it comes to pass naturally that there is an æsthetic shibboleth. Strange collocations of words, or words curiously strained and perverted into a new service, serve alike to identify the user and to show that the intensity of his meaning cannot be adequately expressed by the language of the commonplace.

The consciousness of being one of an *esoteric* class is usually pleasing; hence the unction with which the Whistlerites speak of "arrangements," "nocturnes," and "symphonies in blue and gold." While they know that to the uncultured their phraseology is nonsensical, to themselves it conveys an idea, very much as to a musician does the talk about "form and color" in the execution of a song. Yet what the masters and adepts understand is not always intelligible to the neophites of the craft. In common parlance, many of our æsthetes do not know what they are talking about. For it is not everyone who can be perceptively intense. And, though the æsthetic demonstration be a genuine and spontaneous wakening of the illuminati, it is to be feared that there is in its professors or preachers a certain element of imposture. That this is often the case in such uprisings is so familiarly known that it is needless to cite examples.

Mr. Gilbert, in the opera of "Patience," treats æstheticism as compounded of quackery and delusion, and makes Bunthorne, soliloquizing, avow himself an arrant humbug; but, though this may have been dramatically necessary, it hardly does justice to the brotherhood. Burne-Jones and Oscar Wilde may be fraudulent, but there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of Ruskin, William Morris, or even Swinburne in the most carnal of his songs. The honest æsthete really believes that the only pursuit worth following in this world is the search for the Beautiful. His standards are his own withal, and he sometimes deems that lovely which to the multitude is repulsive. What he does and what he thinks are the natural outcome of his peculiar organization, and he cannot do or think otherwise. But his conduct and his creed are travestied by the quacks who imitate them for effect, though Philistines at heart, and by the many who know nothing of the matter, but desire to be in the fashion. Then there are the myriads of humble followers who imagine that they are but enlisted in an affair of wall-paper, peacock's feathers and angular

furniture; in the narrowness of their view not appreciating the magnitude of the issue.

What are the most noble and commendable of man's works, the useful or the ornamental? It is nothing less than that. The question is one concerning which mankind has for centuries been at variance, and even now seems in no wise nearing an agreement. Mr. Ruskin's views are very decided and very well known, and in a greater or less degree thousands are of his way of thinking; but, on the other hand, there is very little doubt but that a plebiscitum would by an overwhelming majority decide for the things of utility rather than for the things of beauty. Men of moral courage the æsthetes are, most certainly, for in these days, when commerce and mechanics are becoming honorable, and a duke may deal in coal, it requires as much audacity to condemn the useful arts as Socrates, that arch Philistine, showed when in a far different age he dared to say that objects not useful were not beautiful. The popular judgment of Athens was against him probably, perhaps as much as public opinion is now adverse to that school which counts affairs of taste as matters of the first importance. If an expression could be had of the generality's vague notion of æsthetics, in the unperverted meaning of the word, it might be found to agree very nearly with Schiller's idea that æsthetic activity is a play or sport of the higher impulses. This, though first a poet's intuition, may be said to have become also the rationalistic idea, for it has been adopted and developed by Herbert Spencer in his new philosophy of Evolution. Using James Sully's presentation of Spencer's theory: "Play or sport is defined as the superfluous and useless exercise of faculties that have been quiescent for a time, and have in this way become so ready to discharge as to relieve themselves by *simulated* actions. Æsthetic activities yield to the higher powers of perception and emotion the substituted exercise which play yields to the lower impulses, agreeing with play in not directly subserving any processes conducive to life, but being gratifications sought for themselves only." A truly Philistine view this, as opposed to the mode of thought which makes these activities the serious business of life. Serious, indeed—yea solemn—must be the service of High Art to those votaries who love the stiff and gloomy Early Florentine! And happy is the lot of the uncultured who can take delight in the frivolities and jollities of such painters as Wilkie, Leslie or Mulready!

Admiration for pictures of every-day life is a characteristic, how-

ever, of only one species of Philistine. Others of the genus have other peculiarities, and some approach so nearly in appearance to the chosen people that only a trained eye can perceive the difference—even as none but true Parisians can discern infallibly what is or what is not *chic*. Naturally, their almost infinite variety renders any compendious description of the Philistine tribe impossible in a limited space; but they have one common mark—the lack of “sweetness and light.” Since Matthew Arnold began to call attention to the woeful want in Britain of these two things desirable, there has been perhaps no noticeable or noted increase of sweetness. But of light there is appreciably more, and the Philistines have come by their share of it. Though it may be that theirs, being got by industry and hard study, is to the natural light of the æsthetes as a gas-lamp is to a will-o’-the-wisp. For your true æsthete is a transcendentalist, and, like Hudibras’ squire Ralpho, is guided, not by wisdom, but “by inward light, a way as good and easy to be understood.” He is like the fool in Proverbs, wiser in his own conceit than seven men who can render a reason.

Philosophical induction he despises; cannot endure the thought that tulips or lilies have any unæsthetic part to play in the economy of nature, and unmeasured is his contempt for Mr. Darwin, who teaches that the butterflies’ painted wings or the peacock’s consummate tail are the results of a natural process of selection, or adaptation to environments. *Beauty for beauty’s sake* is his device, and, as he so loathes a utilitarian or a prosaic soul, the realm of poetry might readily be supposed the æsthete’s special province. Yet even this his prerogative is trespassed upon. The true poet, though he sees and loves all there is of beautiful on earth, is more universal in his sympathies than becomes the typical æsthete. Hence in the song of a master spirit there now and then is heard a strain Philistine. Only bards of the third or fourth class can be truly and consistently æsthetical. Keats could keep the path from which Wordsworth sometimes wandered, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti maintains a tone which Byron had not. That giant, indeed, was often also a Philistine, and he who denies it himself is one. As for distinctively Philistine versifiers, vast is their number and countless their productions. Choosing, as they naturally do, themes dear to the heart of average humanity, some of their simple lines will live long after poems more artistic and refined have sunk into oblivion. Not always, though, does even the æsthetic sense itself disdain simplicity; but, on the contrary,

its possessors will perchance fall into raptures over a ditty which to ordinary comprehension is no better than one of Mother Goose's melodies. Whether the author is or is not one of the elect, makes all the difference imaginable. For the inner brotherhood are as clannish as Welchmen. But a minute, finished and complete account of the idiosyncracies, the likes, dislikes and particular tenets of the æsthete is as much beyond the scope of this article as a graphic description of the protean Philistine is an actual impossibility. By their works shall ye know them. If this class claims over that an abstract and intellectual superiority, possibly some showing of their several contributions to our welfare will serve to indicate their comparative real value to society. Ruskin, Eastlake, Morris, and their co-workers, can certainly claim from us a debt of gratitude. To their doctrine and teaching we owe it that in the architecture and interior decoration of a house of this period we may see grace, truth, harmony, variety of form and color, instead of such monstrosities as were common not many years ago even in the dwellings of the instructed. They have done something more than invent a new green or rediscover a lost red, or bring again into vogue chairs and tables Jacobean; for they have made it understood how beauty may be given even to the humblest cottage, and have shown that things common need not be things unclean or abominable.

Yet the main characteristic of the time is practicality and progress. The man of the nineteenth century may be willing to return to the furniture of the seventeenth, the pottery of the sixteenth, and the stained glass of the fourteenth, but it is doubtful whether he can bring himself again either to the manner of thought or the mode of locomotion of those days. Thus, the prophet who in *Fors Clavigera* cries out against the iniquity of railways and of cotton mills, is as great an anachronism as would be the apparition upon the Thames embankment of Peter the Hermit preaching another crusade.

The leisurely, artistic, mediaeval handicrafts could no more supply our fast increasing millions with raiment and with household wares than could now the wains and caravels of Queen Elizabeth's reign carry the plenty of the teeming West to overcrowded European cities. If the fears of poor Malthus are proved to have been groundless, it is because the genius of non-aesthetic engineers and mechanicians has been able both figuratively and literally to remove mountains. And that the poor of to-day are able to live at all and be clothed in any wise is due to the distance-destroying, labor-saving, wealth-producing

inventions of men probably too much occupied with the Practical to possess a right perception or appreciation of the Beautiful.

Blazing coal-gas and the voltaic arch may not yield a light as soft and pleasant as that of waxen tapers or of alabaster lamps, but the world's work requires them. The world, too, honors so much those who add to its material resources that possibly Bessemer or Siemens may leave behind them monuments more enduring than any canvas of our pre-Raphaelite school. Still, this is a complex age, and many-sided must the critic be who will do full justice to either Æsthetic or Philistine.

ABBOTT FOSTER.

A VISIT TO SIR WILLIAM HERSCHEL.

[The writer has had many opportunities of knowing how widespread an interest is felt in the personal life of Sir William Herschel and of his devoted friend and sister Carolina. The memoir of Carolina Herschel found many readers, and it was valued, not only for the views it afforded of the astronomical activity of that unique household, but on account of the insight it gave into two most remarkable lives. The life of William Herschel was that of the ideal astronomer; for forty years he lived in his observatory, never leaving it when any progress could be made in his chosen work of finding out the construction of the heavens; and his faithful assistant in all these labors presents an example of pure and devoted friendship almost without a parallel.

In collecting the material for my Life of Sir William Herschel, I examined every source of information known to me, and reviewed the biographical memoirs of the period in the hope of finding some of those details of Herschel's daily life which are so necessary in forming an adequate idea of a man's intimate personal character. I was fortunate in finding many such, especially in the journals of Madame D'Arblay and the letters of the poet Campbell to his friend Alison, the historian. Since that time I have obtained, through the kindness of a friend in England, a most charming view of the Herschel interior, and I venture to present it here. It is translated from the French of M. Faujas Saint-Fond (*Travels in England, Scotland, etc.*). It relates to the period of Herschel's greatest activity, and gives a most vivid picture of those solitary nights of minding the heavens which are illuminated by so many discoveries.—EDWARD S. HOLDEN.]

THE house in which Mr. Herschel makes his observations stands at one end of the forest of Windsor, and is about twenty miles distant from the house of Sir Joseph Banks; but, with good horses and in an English chaise, the journey may be performed in three hours.

* * * * *

I arrived at Mr. Herschel's house about ten o'clock. I entered, by a staircase, into a room which was decorated with maps, instruments

of astronomy or natural philosophy, spheres, celestial globes, and a large harpsichord. Instead of the master of the house, I observed, in a window at the farther end of the room, a young lady seated at a table, which was surrounded with several lights. She had a large book open before her, a pen in her hand, and directed her attention alternately to the hands of a pendulum clock and the index of another instrument placed beside her, the use of which I did not know; she afterwards noted down her observations.

I approached softly, on tiptoe, that I might not disturb a labor which seemed to engage all the attention of her who was engaged in it; and, having got close behind her without being observed, I found that the book she consulted was the Astronomical Atlas of Flamsted, and that, after looking at the indexes of both the instruments, she marked, upon a large manuscript chart, points which appeared to me to indicate stars.

This employment, the hour of the night, the youth of the fair student, and the profound silence which prevailed, interested me greatly. At last she turned round her head accidentally, and discovered how much I was afraid to disturb her. She rose suddenly, and told me she was very sorry I had not informed her of my arrival, that she was engaged in following and recording the observations of her brother, who expected me, and who, in order that he might not lose the precious opportunity of so fine a night, was then busy in his observatory.

"My brother," said Miss Carolina Herschel, "has been studying these two hours; I do all I can to assist him here. That pendulum marks the time, and this instrument, the index of which communicates by strings with his telescopes, informs me, by signs which we have agreed upon, of whatever he observes. I mark upon that large chart the stars which he enumerates or discovers in particular constellations or even in the most distant parts of the sky."

Mr. Herschel's observatory, to which I repaired some moments after, is not built on an eminence, nor on the top of a house; he has preferred placing it on a verdant plain, where the wind is not so likely to shake his instruments, and which is sufficiently extensive to permit all the motions such large machines require. His telescopes are elevated in the air, and mounted in a most simple and ingenious manner. A young man is placed in a kind of chamber below, who, by means of machinery, turns the telescope and the observer together in a circle, with a gradual motion corresponding to that of the earth.

Thus, the reflection of the star observed is retained on the metallic mirror.

These large machines are, besides, constructed with that precision, solidity and care which renders them capable of bearing the intemperateness of the air, and the mirrors are so disposed that they can be taken out and replaced at pleasure, with the greatest facility, notwithstanding they are of considerable weight.

Here I saw that ever-memorable telescope with which the eighth planet was discovered. Mr. Herschel gave to it the name of the King of Great Britain, and called it *Georgium Sidus*. But all astronomers, actuated by a feeling of general gratitude, have with one unanimous voice unbaptized it and given it the name of the Planet of Herschel.¹

This telescope, with which I had the pleasure of making observations during two hours, is only seven feet long and six inches (six lines) in diameter. Mr. Herschel assured me that he had made more than one hundred and forty mirrors with his own hands before he reached that degree of perfection to which he at last brought them. A telescope of five feet in length is placed beside this one.

This celebrated astronomer has not confined the size of his telescopes to the last measure; there are two others, which are twenty feet long, mounted on large standards rising above the house. The diameter of one of these telescopes is eighteen and three-fourths inches, and the mirror weighs one hundred and fifty pounds.

As these superb instruments are of the Newtonian kind, which require the observer to be beside the object-glass, Mr. Herschel has constructed an apparatus of ingenious mechanism by which the further end of the telescope can be reached with ease and safety. There the observer finds a turning-chair so disposed as to enable him to sit at his ease and follow the course of the stars. A domestic, placed below the telescope, by means of an ingenious combination moves it softly and gradually along with the observer and all the apparatus. Thus William Herschel has been enabled to discover distinctly those innumerable stars which form the most pale and distant part of the galaxy.

With these instruments he has been enabled to observe that multi-

¹ La Place, in his learned work, the "Exposition of the World," calls this planet Uranus. My correspondence with the members of the Royal Society of London having been suspended since the commencement of the war, I am ignorant of the reason of this change; but I presume that it is owing to the modesty of Mr. Herschel, who has doubtless refused an homage so justly and so universally paid to him by the learned world.

tude of double stars, as well as so many nebulæ, with respect to which astronomers had only vague and uncertain notions; with them, too, he has undertaken to count the stars of the sky, and has made most astonishing discoveries.

Placed at the upper end of his telescope, when the indefatigable astronomer discovers in the most desert parts of the sky a nebula, or a star of the least magnitude, invisible to the naked eye, he informs his sister of it by means of a string which communicates with the room where she sits; upon the signal being given, the sister opens the window, and the brother asks her whatever information he wants. Miss Carolina Herschel, after consulting the manuscript tables before her, replies, "Brother, search near the star *Gamma Orion*," or any other constellation which she has occasion to name. She then shuts the window and returns to her employment.

* * * * *

We commenced our observations with the Milky Way. The telescope of twenty feet discovered to us, in the palest and most distant part of the heavens, an immense number of bright stars, quite distinct and separate from each other.

Mr. Herschel then directed the instrument to the star in the foot of the Goat, which emitted so strong a light as to affect the eye. On making its light fall upon a paper written in small characters we could discern and count the lines with ease. It is curious thus to distinguish objects by the glimmering of a star—that is, a sun—many hundreds of millions of miles removed from the confines of our system. The double stars, which are not visible with the most powerful achromatic glasses, appear separate and very distinct when viewed with the telescope of twenty feet long.

Mr. Herschel made me observe the nebulæ of M. Messier at first with the telescope of seven feet—that is, with the one which served to discover the planet. These little specks appear still nebulous with that instrument, and one perceives only a feeble and obscure glimmering. But the telescope of twenty feet permits one no longer to doubt that they are clusters of stars, which appear confused only from their immense distance; by this telescope they are found to be perfectly distinct. Mr. Herschel requested me to direct my principal attention to the stars which he was the first to discover to be of different colors from each other, and among which some are seen that border on blue, others on orange, and several on a bluish color.

It is certainly neither to an optical illusion nor to the effect of the

mirrors and lenses which Mr. Herschel uses that he ought to attribute this difference of color. I started every possible objection upon the subject; but the learned observer always answered them by facts to which it would be unreasonable to reply. Thus, for example, he repeatedly directed the telescope to two double stars of pretty nearly the same magnitude, and separated from each other by a small interval only—that is, small in appearance, for the interval must be immense if we consider the distance from the earth. Both were of the same color, and emitted the common white light of the stars. On directing the same telescope immediately after to other double stars near them, the one appeared to be evidently blue and the other of a silver color. The blue was in some instances on the right, and in others on the left. I saw also some single stars of a blue appearance, several of a bluish white, and others of an orange color. Mr. Herschel said to me, with much modesty, that this discovery was not of very great merit, since it was easy to make it without recurring to large telescopes, achromatic ones with large object-glasses being sufficient to discover the colored stars above mentioned.

The observations, however, of Mr. Herschel were at first disputed, for it is much easier to deny than to examine. But they were soon confirmed, as they deserved to be, by the astronomers of Germany and of Italy, and by MM. De Cassini, Mechain, and others, of the Observatory of Paris.

Mr. Herschel showed me a pretty large work on the stars, which he designs to publish as soon as it is brought to a conclusion. He has confirmed, what has been long since observed, that several stars, distinctly marked in the ancient catalogues, and of which some even are laid down in the celestial atlas of Flamsted, have entirely disappeared. It is thus probable that there sometimes happen great revolutions and terrible catastrophes in several parts of the system of the universe, since, if the stars were suns, their extinction must have annihilated the organized beings who existed on the planets which they illuminated.

Jupiter, viewed with the telescope of twenty feet, appears much larger than the full moon. His parallel belts are very distinct, and his satellites are of a truly astonishing magnitude.

On directing the same telescope toward Saturn we saw the ring in the most distinct manner, and also the shadow which it projected on the body of that immense and singular planet. Mr. Herschel showed me the sky and even several stars in the interval between the mov-

able ring and the planet.¹ By means of some luminous points which are remarked in the ring he was enabled to discover that this solid circle has a rotation from west to east in the same manner with the other planets of our system.

The micrometer which Mr. Herschel uses is composed simply of two threads of silk, very fine, well stretched and parallel, which may be moved to a greater or shorter distance at pleasure. The instrument of parallel threads was known before, but this acute observer has perfected it by finding an easy method of turning one thread over the other at pleasure, so that on placing them in the telescope he can take angles with the minutest precision.

The inventor of such large telescopes is far from having confined himself to those of twenty feet long. He was engaged in making the necessary preparations to construct one of forty feet in length, and of a proportional diameter.

Mr. Herschel's intention in constructing telescopes of this great size is not so much to magnify the object as to obtain, by the aid of mirrors of such vast field, a more considerable quantity of light. This project is new and excellent. He told me that he expected to encounter great difficulties in carrying to perfection a telescope of that diameter and such weight (mirror four feet diameter, weight 2,000 pounds, whole apparatus 40,000 pounds weight), but that he, at the same time, expected such great effects from it that nothing should be capable of discouraging his progress.

I remained until daylight in that astonishing observatory, constantly occupied in traveling the heavens with a guide whose boundless complaisance was never wearied by my ignorance and the importunity of my questions. I passed about seven hours, without intermission, there observing the stars. * * * That delightful night appeared no more than a dream to me, and seemed to last only a few instants, but the remembrance of it is indelible; and the grateful recollection of the kindness with which Mr. Herschel and his interesting sister condescended to receive me will never be erased from my heart.

* It is hardly necessary to say that here M. Saint-Fond has not quite understood the explanations given him.

“SOCIOLOGY” AND THE LAND QUESTION.

IN the November *Princeton*, in an able article on “Sociology,” Professor Sumner, of Yale, pays his respects to a number of opinions on social subjects, to the whole group of which he attaches, without discrimination, the question-begging epithets of “utopian,” “sentimental” and “socialistic.” With some of those opinions we are in no wise concerned; but there is one among them on behalf of which we beg to suggest some distinctions “by way of motion in arrest of judgment.”

The opinion for which we venture thus to ask a further hearing before final sentence be pronounced against it, is one which may be said rather to constitute the *principle*, or reason, of several different schemes of proposed reform than to consist of any one of those schemes in particular in concrete detail. The question, therefore, is not whether this or that proposed practical *embodiment* of the principle referred to is proper, practicable, or likely to prove efficient, but, on the contrary, whether the *idea* upon which all these are based is or is not itself shown by Professor Sumner’s arguments to be a wholly mistaken one, or one at least which cannot properly be allowed to shape our policy. It is not certain proposed *means* for achieving the end aimed at which our essayist has so powerfully attacked; it is the *end itself* of which he seems to wash his hands, intimating (if we understand him) that he really would rather not have it, thank you, even if he could.

But this same end, so scornfully disapproved by this bright particular professor, has (as we shall see) been quite as distinctly approved by other professors of considerable eminence, as well as by certain stars of the first magnitude in the sociological heavens. It is this “disagreement of the doctors”—not to put too fine a point upon it—which emboldens laymen to ask a question or two, and even (provisionally) to take sides with John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Emile de Lavelaye, Alfred R. Wallace, Henry George, Simon Newcomb, Sheldon Amos, and the *Westminster Review*,¹ upon the point at issue.

What that point is we will now attempt to state.

The notion, then, has been broached, and elaborately maintained, that the acquisition by any limited class in the community, of the

¹ See the leading article, October, 1881.

right to receive the ground-rent of land, is a wholly deplorable occurrence, as being at once unnecessary, useless and intensely mischievous. Unnecessary, because, so far from being unavoidable, it occurs and can occur only to the extent that positive law lends to it its sanction. Useless, in that, instead of serving (as does the individual's right to the wages of his labor and the income of his capital) to maintain a just and inspiring relation between personal desert and personal reward, the private appropriation of the ground-rent of land tends in the opposite direction, ultimately even reversing that relation. Intensely mischievous, finally, in that it imposes on the people a forced tribute, which absorbs in the long run the bulk of industrial gains, and “reduces to a minimum” the rates of both interest and wages.

Those holding this opinion not unnaturally desire (if it be practicable by proper means) to prevent this mischievous, useless, unnecessary acquisition by a limited portion of the people of the right to receive the ground-rent of land. How it is to be prevented, if at all, is a point on which opinions differ. Here, however, as already stated, the means are not in question, the issue raised by Professor Sumner being the much more radical one whether there is, in fact, any occasion whatever for aiming at the object by any means at all.

His argument, at least in its bearing upon the particular doctrine here in question, may, we think, be fairly summed up in the following propositions:

I. That Sociology is not yet sufficiently developed to enable us to prescribe intelligently the course to be adopted for the promotion of the general welfare.

II. That the complaints made against the institution of private property in rent are complaints “which are really to be made against the author of the universe for the hardships which man has to endure in his struggle with nature.”

III. That “if we should try, by any measures of arbitrary interference and relief, to relieve the victims of social pressure from the calamity of their position, we should only offer premiums to folly and vice and extend them further.”

IV. That “private property in land is an institution which has been developed in the most direct and legitimate manner,” so that to give it up “is to turn away from advance, and is to retrograde.”

Let us now take each of these in turn, and try to ascertain how far it really tells against the opinion above set forth :

I. First, then, let us see what there is in the argument which Professor Sumner bases on our ignorance of “Sociology.”

Now, as to this we have not the slightest intention of disputing with him as to the exact degree of crudity still exhibited in this science, in spite of his own and his colleagues' distinguished labors. We are willing to assume, for the purposes of this argument, that the case in this respect is quite as black as he paints it. Our doubt is not of the fact which he alleges, but of the application he would make of it—the implication which he thinks it has. We will admit it to be literally true that Sociology is not yet sufficiently developed to enable men to prescribe intelligently the course to be adopted for the promotion of the public good. Very well; but does this imply that upon the land question we must adopt Professor Sumner's view, as opposed to that of the many eminent men who disagree with him? We really do not see that it does at all. With all respect, we confess to a suspicion that in assuming such a position he has been guilty of insisting on scientific certainty, as a *sine qua non* to action, in a case in which he himself claims that no such certainty can be had, but in which, nevertheless, *some* action must be had. For we take it to be quite undeniable that the present is one of those cases in which one cannot help but choose, in conduct, however much the want of data or of the ability to marshal them may compel the scientific judgment to remain suspended awaiting the attainment of further light. *There is no such thing as not acting upon this question*, any more than there is any middle ground between acceptance and rejection of that religion whose founder said, “He who is not with me is against me.” With reference to that religion, men have urged their obvious incapacity, under the circumstances, to attain to any scientifically accurate and certain judgment upon the question involved; but, as Mr. Gladstone some time ago pointed out, the claims of the doctrine are such that to postpone acceptance of them is itself rejection of them according to their terms. This illustrates the kind of logical “demurrer” we wish to interpose. For it seems very clear to us that men cannot help being and acting either for or against the private appropriation of the ground-rent of land. If Professor Sumner has any doubt of this, let him ask himself what would happen, with reference to this, if to-morrow society were to announce in some authentic way that it would no longer take sides upon the question—no longer hold itself ready to appeal to Mr. Gladstone's “resources of civilization” in support of individual rights to rent. Surely, it is idle to ignore the fact that after all is said and

done the private ownership of the ground-rent of land rests exclusively on positive human law. Professor Sumner may be right in his approval of the policy of that law; but the question is at any rate a question of policy, and whether the one or the other school has the correct opinion thereon is a point we must decide as best we can without letting the backwardness of the science of “ Sociology ” lead us into giving him the benefit of the doubt. It is only in so far as he has knowledge that his opinion should have weight; by emphatically asserting ignorance he becomes a Prospero without his wand, a Socrates without his *dæmon*.

The measures we might attempt with the best of motives, urges Professor Sumner, may, for all we can now tell, prove to have been unwisely chosen, and become the source of incalculable mischief. Unquestionably, they may. *But so, too, may the alternative programme which he favors.* The question is, which of the two views has now the greater probability in its favor, according to our present light. That we have not the full noonday light of science to show us the true path, by no means relieves us from the necessity of picking out our way somehow, though only by the light of the poor little lanterns at our command. In point of fact, several of the ablest and most learned thinkers in the world claim that the private appropriation of the ground-rent of land, gratuitously and greatly aggravates for the people the really natural and unavoidable difficulties of existence. Professor Sumner believes they are in error, and he has now at last presented, with his own characteristic force, certain arguments to support his view; those arguments must be dealt with on their merits, and will, no doubt, exert their due share of influence upon the public mind. What we emphatically protest against is the attempt of one of the physicians in the case to insist on *his* prescription being followed, not only because he has reasons to recommend it, but also, forsooth! because the science of medicine is in a very backward state!

What though it be true that “to err in prescribing for a society is to set in operation injurious forces which extend, ramify and multiply their effects in ever-new combinations throughout an indefinite future”! It is for this very reason that we are so unwilling to acquiesce in Professor Sumner’s erroneous prescription in the particular mentioned.

“It cannot pay,” he tells us, “to experiment with a society, because the society does not die and can afford to wait.” It happens, however, that some societies have died, and, moreover, the cause of death has

been said to be this very cancer of land monopoly: "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam.*" But, waiving this for the argument's sake, the point remains that to uphold the private appropriation of rent is as much "experimenting with a society" as would be the alternative policy; and, as one or the other "experiment" *must* be tried, the general warning against experimenting can have no proper influence in deciding the question *which* alternative we should adopt.

This whole attempt to claim for one of two contending views the benefit of the doubt arising from the imperfect development of the science bearing upon the point savors very strongly of the fallacy occasionally indulged in by theologians of a certain school. "Our finite intelligence," such a person will proclaim, "is notoriously incapable of infallibly deciding the tremendous problems of which theology treats; *ergo*, it is only those who are inspired by a wicked and silly 'pride of intellect,' who will hesitate to adopt once for all *our* solutions of these problems!" So much for Professor Sumner's first position.

II. We come now to his second argument, which, if we are not mistaken, is to be deemed the *pièce de résistance*. That argument, as already stated, is the following: That the complaints made against the institution of private property in rent are "complaints which are really to be made, if at all, against the author of the universe for the hardships which man has to endure in his struggle with nature."

Now, if this is true, the opponents of the "institution" are at once very properly put out of court under the following unquestionably just sentence of Professor Sumner: "If a man comes forward with any grievance against the order of society, *so far as this is shaped by human agency*, he must have patient hearing and full redress; but, if he addresses a demand to society for relief from *the hardships of life*, he asks simply that somebody else should get his living for him. In that case he ought to be left to find out his error from hard experience." So far from protesting against this, we only wish that it were far more certain than it is that the preposterous complainant thus referred to will, when "left to find out his error from hard experience," quietly consent to *stay* left (so to speak), instead of insisting, as he is sometimes ill-mannered enough to do, on sharing his "hard experience" with his betters.

But is it true that the complaints we make against the private ownership of rent "ought really to be made, if at all, against the author of the universe for the hardships which man has to endure in his struggle with nature"? Let us see.

What grounds has Professor Sumner for asserting that our grievance is not one “against the order of society, *so far as this is shaped by human agency*”? Does he mean that, in his opinion, the present “order of society” has come to include the private monopoly of rent *otherwise* than through the shaping operation of “human agency”? Or, is his meaning this, that the evils which we charge to the private ownership of rent are not really due to it, but to some other cause or causes, in respect of which “the order of society” is not “shaped by human agency”? One or both of these he must have meant, for, if the evils complained of *are* in fact due to the private ownership of rent, and this institution *is* itself one in respect of which the order of society is shaped by human agency, it follows that Professor Sumner is mistaken in supposing that our grievance is not one against the order of society in a respect in which this (order) is shaped by human agency.

In point of fact, however, he does base his view (at least apparently) upon both grounds, so that, “scholar” though he be, we cannot claim to have so soon and easily “mated” him. On the contrary, we will now be compelled to examine each of his grounds in turn.

We are not, we admit, altogether clear that he really meant to commit himself to the position that, in respect of the private appropriation of the rent of land, the present order of society has not been shaped by human agency. Seriously to claim that private property in rent—an institution notoriously needing to be continuously propped up by bayonets and clubs—is a natural phenomenon, in the sense in which gravitation and the seasons are natural phenomena, really seems almost too suggestive of that famous dictum of another oracle, that “*reading and writing come by nature*. ” Nevertheless, it is not for us to draw the line for such eminent authorities between possible opinions and impossible opinions; and if, as we say, we cannot positively ascribe—we had almost said *impute*—to Professor Sumner the opinion now in question, we are not, on the other hand, fully at liberty to assume that he does not hold it. He does not categorically state it, it is true; but (if we are to judge by our own experience) his article somehow *suggests* it, at least as a vague background for his position. One passage, indeed, in the essay seems almost to compel a choice between this impression and the equally ungracious one that our critic has wholly and quite inexcusably misapprehended the opinion he criticizes. After stating—what we do not dispute—that an (erroneous)

"assumption which underlies almost all discussion of social topics is that we men need only make up our minds what kind of a society we want to have, and that then we can devise means for calling that society into existence," our author illustrates the point by saying, that (among other things) "it is believed that *rent on land can be abolished* if it is not thought expedient to have it." Now, *in one sense of the terms employed*, this alleged "belief" is clearly absurd, and its existence would well have instanced the "assumption" mentioned by Professor Sumner. In that sense "rent on land" would mean the excess or "margin" in the product of the more productive lands in use over that of lands yielding so little that its cultivators cannot afford to pay anything at all for the privilege of using it; and "to abolish" rent would mean *to prevent the existence* of such excess or margin! The trouble is that in this sense, in which it is absurd, the alleged "belief" is a mental foundling for which the professor would be very hard pushed to find a parent. We confidently challenge the production of a single school or author entertaining any such belief. What is "believed" by a large and growing school of thinkers upon the subject is that the *monopolization of "rent" by any class short of the whole people* both can and should be "abolished." Let "rent" exist, by all means, in that sense of the word in which it stands for so much *wealth*; all that anybody asks is that the benefits of its existence shall not be unjustly monopolized by any limited part of the community.

Unless, therefore, Professor Sumner has very seriously misapprehended his opponents, the passage quoted seems to assume that even in this latter sense (in which alone it is really held) the "belief" he mentions is absurd. But, if this is what he means, we think he is clearly wrong. The *distribution* of wealth, as distinguished from its *production*, says John Stuart Mill, "is a matter of human institution solely. The things once there, mankind individually or collectively can do with them as they like. They can place them at the disposal of whomsoever they please and on whatever terms. Further, in the social state, in every state except total solitude, any disposal whatever of them can only take place by the consent of society, or rather of those who dispose of its active force. Even what a person has produced by his individual toil, unaided by any one, he cannot keep unless by the permission of society. Not only can society take it from him, but individuals could and would take it from him if society only remained *passive*, if it did not either interfere *en masse* or employ and pay people for the purpose of preventing him from being disturbed in the possession. The

distribution of wealth, therefore, depends on the laws and customs of society. The rules by which it is determined are what the opinions and feelings of the ruling portion of the community make them, and are very different in different ages and countries, and might be still more different if mankind so chose.” And Herbert Spencer says that “this doctrine that men are equally entitled to the use of the earth is consistent with the highest state of civilization, *may be carried out* without involving a community of goods, and *need cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements*. The change required would simply be a change of landlords. *Separate ownerships would merge in the joint-stock ownership of the public.* Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body—society. Instead of leasing his acres from an isolated proprietor, the farmer would lease them from the nation. Instead of paying his rent to the agent of Sir John or His Grace, he would pay it to an agent or deputy-agent of the community. Stewards would be public officials instead of private ones, and tenancy the only land tenure.”

We cannot but reject, then—whether Professor Sumner really meant to assume it or not—the notion that the institution of private property in rent is not one in respect of which the order of society has been shaped by human agency. In the words of Professor Simon Newcomb: “It is well known that (certain natural) materials and agencies, as fast as they become available, *are in the main appropriated by individuals, through the agency or consent of government, and are then held as private property.* Such is the case with the soil and the minerals beneath it. The owners of this property charge as much for the use of it as if it were their own creation, and not that of nature. The price thus charged, termed ‘rent’ by the English economists, necessarily increases with the increase of population.”

Let us now examine, in its turn, Professor Sumner’s other ground for his position—the ground, namely (as already stated), that the evils which we charge to the private ownership of rent are not really due to it, but to some other cause or causes, in respect of which the order of society is not shaped by human agency.

His argument in support of this is at any rate clear and simple, and the presentation now to be made of it claims the honor of having been taken bodily from his text.

“The increase of population goes on according to biological laws,

which are *capable* of multiplying the species beyond any assignable limits, so that the number to be provided for steadily advances, and the status of ease and abundance gives way to a status of want and constraint.” “On the side of the land also stands the law of the diminishing return as a limitation. More labor gets more from the land, but not proportionately more. Hence, if more men are to be supported, there is need, not of a proportionate increase of labor, but of a disproportionate increase of labor. The law of population, therefore, combined with the law of the diminishing return, constitutes the great underlying condition of society.” Finally, “Let him who desires to study social phenomena first learn the transcendental importance for the whole social organization, industrial, political, and civil, of the ratio of population to land.”

Such, then, is his argument. The point to be proved being that the evils in view of which certain “socialists and sentimentalists” deplore the monopolization of the land by a limited portion of the people are not really due *at all* to such monopolization, how does the learned reviewer proceed to prove it? Why, by solemnly assuring us that the increase of population taking place, as it does, subject to “the law of the diminishing return,” has caused “the status of ease and abundance to give way to a status of want and constraint”! We confess, however, that to our minds this seems very far from conclusive. We do not mean, simply, that the allegation thus brought forward by Professor Sumner has been elaborately and at least plausibly controverted, to Professor Sumner’s knowledge, by no less persuasive and widely-read a writer than Henry George; so that, for the general public, at any rate, what was called for from Professor Sumner in this connection was rather a pointing out of the fallacies in this and other recent attacks upon the Malthusian dogma than the arbitrary and oracular reassertion of that dogma, as if it were a self-evident proposition fit to serve as a sort of sociological axiom and major premiss. But, waiving this for the sake of the argument, and admitting it to be literally true that the increase of population *has* in point of fact *already* appreciably reduced the proportion borne by the obtainable wealth to the number of those who are to share it—admitting this, we say, *it still does not follow* (if the professor will permit us to say so) that “*the monopolization of the land by a limited portion of the people*” *has not ALSO contributed—and that largely—to the grand total of misery and privation under which large classes of the people groan and perish.* To point out one

cause of the evils complained of, is not to disprove the ability of other causes to increase, to aggravate, to intensify those evils. "What makes more noise than a pig under a gate?" asks an old conundrum; and the answer is, "Two pigs under a gate." So now, when the question is, What causes more distress than Professor Sumner's "great underlying condition of society"? we cannot but answer, *that* condition, plus the monopolization of the land, or war, or waste, or bad seasons, or the million and one things whose tendency is to destroy wealth or to prevent its attainment or its enjoyment by those whose "distress" is in question.

Just look at the position for one moment. Certain persons, including some whose opinions Professor Sumner would admit to have a certain degree of weight, believe that, by allowing the private appropriation of the land, society has but sold its birthright for a mess of pottage, and uselessly and unnecessarily assumed the burden of paying tribute to a certain limited class as a condition precedent to being allowed to labor and to live. Inasmuch as land is an absolutely indispensable condition of human life, and is fixed in amount (especially as respects land available for a given purpose at a given time), while, on the other hand, the demand for it increases with that very growth of population upon which Professor Sumner harps, its ownership comes to constitute a monopoly, and the rent exacted for it becomes a monopoly price. Its exaction reduces by so much the amount of each year's production available for rewarding capital and labor (the only *meritorious* factors of production). Professors Fawcett and Cairnes have pointed out that neither wages nor profits have advanced, during the last hundred years, at all in proportion to the marvelous increase in the productiveness of industry during that time; and Professor Cairnes has expressly accounted for this singular phenomenon by pointing out that the gain has gone "to swell that fund which is ever growing, even while its proprietors sleep—the rent-roll of the owners of the soil." As the *Westminster Review* has put it (October, 1881.): "Personal proprietorship of land provides the greatest wealth for the smaller number, and the greatest poverty for the greater number."

Such, in brief outline, is the position of this particular school of "socialists and sentimentalists." Professor Sumner's point against it is that there exists a wholly distinct cause—*i. e.*, the growth of population, combined with the law of the diminishing return—which reduces the proportion borne by the total wealth to the total population. He

seems to think that that proportion alone is of any importance, and that *that* being given, it matters nothing how the wealth which does exist is distributed among the various portions of the overgrown population. It is the old statistician's fallacy of thinking only of "averages," and overlooking the differences existing between the real items. If the "*per capita*" share cannot be prevented from becoming unsatisfactory—owing to practically irresistible natural causes—then, our learned critic thinks, there is an end of the matter, and it is "sentimental" and "socialistic" to protest against any law or institution, on the ground that it tends unjustly to impoverish certain classes still further. From this decision we unhesitatingly appeal. We distinctly claim that, over and above the importance of having a large production in proportion to population, it is furthermore of very great importance to have the total, such as it is—nay, *all the more when it is too small—distributed* in the proportions which justice and policy require. We claim that an improper distribution causes the congestion of certain parts of the social organism and atrophy of others, and besides infinite other mischiefs, direct and indirect, reacts injuriously upon production itself. The professor may be able to prove that we are wrong in these beliefs, and that there is nothing the matter with distribution; but that, at any rate, is the question for debate, and he does not settle it by insisting that the average wealth is inevitably reduced through the operation of "a great underlying condition of society." For that may be very true, and yet leave it also true that other, and perhaps preventible, causes are aggravating the evil. To illustrate: It is well known that the natural growth and the development of a human body irresistibly bring the latter into a condition in which, in place of the plasticity of life, one part after another exhibits the rigidity of death, and, finally, all the parts are rigid together. According to the logic of this argument of Professor Sumner's this fact should convict of futility and sentimentalism all attempts to prevent or to cure disease, or to avoid accidents threatening life or limb. But it is plain that, though death is surely brought upon us by the very processes of human life, it is, nevertheless, quite permissible to take precautions against accidents and disease likely to precipitate matters or to impair the health while life still continues. And equally plain is it (we submit) that the mischievous tendency of "the growth of population, combined with the law of the diminishing return," in no wise disproves the capacity of a vicious distribution to work very considerable mischiefs of its own.

We venture, therefore, to dismiss Professor Sumner's second argument with the following quotation from Professor Clifford:

“The laws of political economy are (it is true) as rigid as those of gravitation; wealth distributes itself as surely as water finds its level. But the use we have to make of the laws of gravitation is not to sit down and cry ‘Kismet!’ to the flowing stream, *but to construct irrigation works.* And the use which the Republic must make of the laws of sociology is *to rationally organize society for the training of the best citizens.*”

III. We come now to Professor Sumner's argument to the effect that any alleviation, by artificial means, of the severity of the struggle for existence would be demoralizing and incompatible with the most desirable development, both of society, the organism, and of individuals, its component units.

“If we should try,” he says, “by any measures of arbitrary interference and relief, to relieve the victims of social pressure from the calamity of their position, we should only offer premiums to folly and vice and extend them further.”

Now, as to this, we think that there is a distinction to be drawn. We are as firmly convinced as Professor Sumner that “Communism”—the common ownership of *all* property—would be the fatal Scylla of economic organization. For, by so guaranteeing to each, though never so indolent or inefficient, an equal share with all the rest in the results of production, such a system would prove intensely demoralizing, and rapidly lead either to its own suppression or to industrial degeneration and gross injustice, misery and contention. Unquestionably, economic merit should be allowed to tell; superior usefulness not only in fact deserves, but cannot prudently be denied, a resulting reward, *proportioned to the degree in which it is superior.* “Any arrangements,” says Herbert Spencer, “which in a considerable degree prevent superiority from profiting by the rewards of superiority, or shield inferiority from the evils it entails—any arrangements which tend to make it *as well* to be inferior as to be superior, are arrangements diametrically opposed to the progress of organization and the reaching of a higher life.”

All this is perfectly clear. But then, on the other hand, it is no less clear that the principle stated is true and valuable only within its proper limits, and cannot, without danger and error, be extended or misapplied. That superiority should not earn any but the *average* reward, may be impolitic and unjust; but this is far from saying that

we should fly to *the opposite extreme*, and allow superiority to seize *more than a proportionate advantage*. After all, “superiority” is simply relative, and may easily become far too great a luxury for society to afford, if it is to be paid for by the merciless sacrifice of the bulk of the community. The mere existence of certain men possessed of ability, or energy, or astuteness, or perseverance, or—unscrupulousness!—greater than the average, cannot be held *ipso facto* to invalidate the claims of the general welfare to be the *summum bonum*, the supreme end and aim of human policy and endeavor. “*Salus Populi*” must still remain “*suprema lex*.”

“Among blind men a one-eyed man is king,” says the Spanish proverb; humorously illustrating that purely relative character of mere superiority on which we here insist. And, surely, it is obvious that, great as would be the importance of such a one-eyed man to an otherwise totally blind community, *the latter could easily go too far in purchasing his services on his own terms*. It would pay them perhaps to let him be “king”—of the modern “scotched,” constitutional kind; but *not* an absolute despot, cruel and capricious master of their fortunes, liberties and lives; rather than this, they would do wisely to dispense altogether with his power to assist them. And power, after all, is all that some superiorities amount to, remaining, as they do, unexercised (for the public good) when once their possessors have thereby mounted to their place of vantage.

But this disastrous error of allowing *disproportionate advantage* to a merely relative superiority of ability or fortune—often of at least doubtful morality or utility—is involved in society’s panic-stricken flight from the Scylla of an extreme communism to the Charybdis of an equally extreme individualism. Because it will not do to have all property in common—thus making no allowance at all for greater economic merit and public usefulness—we fly at once to the conclusion that the land must be allowed to become the monopoly of the few; that as to *no* property should an average or equal share be kept attainable to each by the practice of a mutual assurance to this end, upon terms with which all could comply. Men assume, on the contrary, that *all* income should depend on success in a race, on victory in a struggle, conducted

“On Nature’s good old plan,
That those should take—who have the power,
And those should keep—who can.”

As David A. Wells has put it, “the principle which has come to be

the generally accepted basis of all commercial, industrial and financial transactions is succinctly expressed in the coarse and selfish proverb: ‘Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost.’”

Vae victis—that is the word. Not enough for the fortunate winner the wreath and the golden prize; the brethren over whom he has triumphed must become his slaves!

To include *no* property within the scope of a mutual assurance, making an average or an equal share of it attainable by every one, is to make, not intrinsic, but comparative, merit—or even the merest luck—the sole basis of prosperity; just as in a race even a good runner, whose achievement is admittedly admirable, does yet, if but some other run *a little better*, *wholly* lose the prize, instead of simply receiving *proportionately less* than his rival. For, though *at first* men may respectively be able to secure about what they deserve, yet *afterward*—if no property whatever is to be excluded from among the prizes which the winners are permanently to appropriate—those who in the beginning, through merit or accident (if not worse), did better than their fellows—nay, *even those of whose ANCESTORS only this is true*—these, I say, are thereby advantaged in subsequent competition, and, becoming possessed of the essential *conditions of production*, and even of life, are able to impose their own terms upon the others, and extort all but the pittance which will keep those others alive and capable of work. As this condition of things emerges, we see the revolting spectacle of many idle (sometimes worthless) persons living in luxury and extravagance, while others toil long and hard, and some even at dangerous occupations, for bare living wages, and enjoy neither the leisure nor the material conditions essential to a healthful life, physical, moral or intellectual. Thus, the industry of even the unborn generations is, as it were, mortgaged in advance, and once for all, and Esau’s descendants are the predestined slaves of the sons of Jacob, because Jacob purchased Esau’s birthright for a mess of pottage.

Instead, therefore, of society’s needing private property in land in order to maintain the desirable relation between the individual’s desert and his reward, the fact is that that institution inevitably destroys that relation, and exactly reverses the true rule of distribution. “The reward,” says John Stuart Mill, “instead of being proportioned to the labor and abstinence of the individual, is almost in an inverse ratio to it. Even the idle, reckless and ill-conducted poor, those who are said with most justice to have themselves to blame for their condition,

often undergo much more and severer labor, not only than those who are born to pecuniary independence, but than almost any of the more highly remunerated of those who earn their subsistence; and even the inadequate self-control exercised by the industrious poor costs them more sacrifice and more effort than is almost ever required from the more favored members of society. The very idea of distributive justice, or of any proportionality between success and merit, or between success and exertion, is, in the present state of society, so manifestly chimerical as to be relegated to the regions of romance.”

IV. We are thus brought to Professor Sumner’s fourth argument—that “private property in land is an institution which has been developed in the most direct and legitimate manner;” so that to give it up “is to turn away from advance and is to retrograde.”

This, to say the least, is a very remarkable assertion. We confidently oppose to it this other—that the fact is just the reverse; and we appeal to history. Unless *every* institution is proved, *by the mere fact of its existence*, to have been “developed in the most direct and legitimate manner”—unless, in a word, “whatever is, is right”—Professor Sumner will find it hard to make good his claim as to this particular institution. Violence and fraud have notoriously been the means by which individual titles to land were originally acquired. History shows that originally landholders were neither more nor less than official administrators of the public domain, bound to see to the public defense and to defray all other public expenses, besides affording bounty and protection to the people of their own districts. They held the lands in trust (so to speak) for the people, and entitled for themselves only to *trustees’ commissions*. But, being in, they gradually repudiated their obligations, just as the tenants in Ireland are now doing. One after another exemption from a clear obligation they extorted from kings unable to resist them. Even now the process is going on in England, as Mill says, “either by the *stealing*, euphemistically called the *inclosure* of commons, or by the alienation of lands held upon trust for public or semi-public purposes.” In America this “development” takes the shape of scandalous “grants” of public lands by Congress and State legislatures.

The fact is that this institution of private property in land has “developed,” not through the automatic operation of “natural” processes independent of man’s intervention, but as the result of the struggle between weaker and stronger for the good things of this world, including this world itself. It is to beg the question to assume

that “development” has spoken its last word, and that that word is infallible. Institutions can no more claim sacredness “by grace of development” than a given dynasty can by the “grace of God.” Like the champions of old knightly times, both must be ready to fight “all comers,” and *maintain* their position against them; for a supplanter would, by the very act of supplanting them, have *succeeded* to whatever indorsement, by “development” or Providence, mere existence was supposed to prove for them. Black slavery at the South was a “developed institution,” and the Abolitionists were at first laughed at as crazy innovators; perhaps, even, had their opponents numbered among them so scientific a critic as Professor Sumner, these Abolitionists would have been called sentimentalists, ignorant of sociology. It may yet be found that *white* emancipation also is a practicable further stage of social “development.”

We regret to see signs that even in the Yale chair “Evolution” is becoming the subject of a dogmatic superstition. It seems to be forgotten that the “survival of the fittest” is alleged only *with reference to given circumstances*, and that what was the fittest under the circumstances in which it “survived,” may be very unfit, indeed, whenever the circumstances change. To have been the best practicable thing so far, or for some time, confers no immunity from the necessity of continuing the struggle for existence, answering all challenges. Professor Sumner is as guilty of a fallacy in claiming immunity for his institution on the ground that it was once allowed to grow up, as M. de Lavelaye is for attacking it on the ground that it did not exist in primitive times. Neither circumstance is at all conclusive. *How* it was that private property in land was allowed to “develop” when it did, has been pointed out by Professor Sheldon Amos, in his “Science of Law,” in the following passage, with which we will close our argument:

There are in all States a number of classes of things which, for one reason or another, are either temporarily or permanently excepted from the category of things of which appropriation is possible.* * * Land, as a subject of ownership, might, indeed, be treated as belonging to the class of things set apart for the service of the State, *though in the earlier stages of the development of the community the quantity of land, and the limited number of uses to which it is capable of being turned, combined to keep this aspect of it out of sight*. Yet, in fact, the relation of a State to its territory, which in modern times enters into the essential conception of the State, implies that the land cannot be looked upon, even provisionally, as a true subject of permanent individual appropriation. This view obviously commends itself from the mere facts that the land is the only indestructible commodity in the country having an existence coextensive in duration with that of the State itself; and that the culture and produce of the national soil must always be a matter of urgent State concern, quite independently of all considerations of the classes of persons to whom, from

time to time, the task of laboring on the soil is, as it were, delegated. *A period may, however, arrive when the density of the population and the fixed limits of the national soil make this view of the essentially political character of the land not only plausible, but irresistible.* If the land is looked upon as susceptible of permanent appropriation by some persons, other persons must, by the same theory, be regarded as possibly excluded from it—that is, banished from the territory of the State. Before reaching such a crisis as this, States are usually arrested by an imperious appeal to review the conditions and tendencies of their land laws. The State is brought face to face with the fact that the spurious notion of the possible appropriation forever of the national soil by private persons has made alarming progress both in popular theory and practice.

Alas!—it may be added—even in learned universities and among evolutionist professors!

CHARLES FREDERIC ADAMS.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

IN South America there are ten independent governments; and the three Guianas which are dependencies on European powers. Of the independent governments Brazil is an empire, having an area of 3,609,160 square miles and 11,058,000 inhabitants. The other nine are republics. In giving area and population we use the most complete statistics at our command, but they are not strictly reliable, nor as late as we could have wished. The area and the population of the republics are: Venezuela, 426,712 square miles and 2,200,000 inhabitants; United States of Colombia, 475,000 square miles and 2,900,000 inhabitants; Peru, 580,000 square miles and 2,500,000 inhabitants; Ecuador, 208,000 square miles and 1,300,000 inhabitants; Bolivia, 842,730 square miles and 1,987,352 inhabitants; Chili, 200,000 square miles and 2,084,960 inhabitants; Argentine Republic, 1,323,-560 square miles and 1,887,000 inhabitants; Paraguay, 73,000 square miles and 1,337,439 inhabitants; Uruguay, 66,716 square miles and 240,000 inhabitants, or a total in the nine republics of 3,789,220 square miles and 16,436,751 inhabitants. The aggregate area of the nine republics exceeds that of Brazil 180,060 square miles, and the total population exceeds that of Brazil 5,069,552.

The national weakness of these several republics and their lack of stability have long been their most prominent characteristics. Many causes have combined to establish these conditions. But we will not discuss them. Their existence is recognized. Somewhat by the acts of our government, but more through tradition, the people of the

United States have adopted the belief that it is the right and duty of this nation to protect and defend the independence of all the republics on this continent; to take care that the principles of the Monroe Doctrine be not violated; and it has in a mild way held to and enunciated the tenets involved in that doctrine. At times it has been a little spasmodic and emphatic in announcing them; but usually, while tenaciously holding them, it has not been demonstrative in proclaiming them. While so many independent republican organizations exist on this continent, any one of which could be erased from the map by Brazil or by any European power in a well-conducted campaign of six months, it will be necessary for this nation to be prepared to maintain the principles of the Monroe Doctrine by force if occasion should demand. But if these republics can be induced to take a position among the nations of the world by which they will be fully competent to care for themselves, then the principles of that doctrine will be no longer applicable to international politics. We believe that through the prudent councils of this nation such an end can be attained.

These nine South American republics could and should confederate together and organize a central national government, thereby creating one great republic, in which the present nine republics would assume the position of sovereign States subordinate to the central power. By doing so they would in every governmental and material manner be benefited, and the welfare of all their people would be advanced. The aggregate area, the number of inhabitants, the active and the latent wealth of the country, and the ability and the experience of the South American statesmen, are sufficient to make and maintain one magnificent nation. A nation would be created which would at its birth rank seventh or eighth among the great powers of the world, and third among the great republics. In a short time it would stand equal with the foremost; it would have recognized influence in international councils, and it would add a third to the two great republics now when the masses of all nations tend toward the principles of republicanism. As these nine republics now stand, the voice of any one of them, or of all, in the aggregate, is unrecognized in international politics. As nations they are weaklings, and have been too unstable to secure influence beyond their nearest neighbors. Their confederation would insure stability at home, and secure that power abroad which every nation covets.

The controlling influence of the United States in the affairs of this

continent cannot be questioned. It has no apprehension of interference in its own affairs from any source, nor does it doubt its power to maintain stability on this continent should occasion arise. Its resources are abundant, and within its own territory. Its citizens are loyal to its welfare, and easily trained for war. It will assume that attitude which will tend most to its own interests and to the welfare of its sister republics. But the creation of a republic on this continent, possessing great civil and military power, of large international influence, and great resources and wealth, would add to and second the power and the influence of this nation. Combined, the two would give renewed life and an impetus to their national principles and to the love of civil liberty throughout the world. Adding a third to the two present great republics, their influence in the world would jointly be nearly equal to that of the nations governed from the throne. This would speed the time—not remote—when the republics will be more numerous and more powerful in the civilized world than the empires and kingdoms. Small and weak republics do not impress mankind with the love of liberty as do the great and powerful. Would there not be in the creation of such a republic a benefit secured to the world, a benefit to this nation, and, above all, a benefit to these small republics? If such would be the case, would it not then be a question worthy the consideration of this government whether it will not lend its aid and advice to secure that end?

The stronger each nation on this continent is, the more compact its government, the greater its military resources in men, money and material, the greater its latent and active wealth, the more fully will each be prepared to maintain its national dignity, to advance the civilization of its people, and to add to its own glory, magnificence and power. There are now in North America the United States, Canada, Mexico and Central America. We may call it manifest destiny, mutual interest, or what we will, it will be but a short time in the life of this nation before Canada, Mexico and Central America will be absorbed into the United States. The isthmus is a natural international boundary which within one or two generations will mark our permanent southern limit. This union or absorption will not be a result of war, but through the influence of mutual interests and by reason of the rapidly growing unity of the people. They will come to us by the voice of a majority of their people, and be as loyal to the government as are the original thirteen States. The territory north of the Isthmus of Panama is our heritage, the new world home of the

people who speak the language and inherit the characteristics of the people of the British Isles.

War has been of no uncommon occurrence between the South American republics. These weak nations have been made still more feeble by its devastation. In the war of 1864-70 the Argentine Republic and Uruguay, both republics, allied themselves with Brazil, an empire, against Paraguay, another republic. Paraguay was utterly wasted, and its president slain. For three years past war has raged between Chili and Peru and Bolivia. Bolivia is crippled, and Peru is virtually destroyed. The causes of these wars are not of interest here. They have proven what stupendous folly small nations can be guilty of. The ruin of governments, the slaughter of men, the devastation of the country, the loss of wealth, and the injurious effects upon the civilization and the prosperity of the people, are the only substantial results obtained. In both these wars, and in many others with which these republics have been cursed, the men have proven themselves to be brave soldiers—brave to a fault—and worthy to be employed in the service of a great nation. To squander their lives as has been done is cruelty and folly. A little nation may be jealous of its little neighbor, it may be vain and ambitious, but wars growing out of these characteristics are ruinous to the civilization and the prosperity of the conqueror and of the conquered alike. Mankind is not benefited by such wars. The victor gains no caste among nations by reason of its victory. Chili has gained no caste by her success. She had no national influence previous to the Peruvian war, and she will have none now. She will acquire some territory, and Peru and Bolivia will each have lost some. In all this the world is not interested; but, as a matter of sentiment, it sympathizes more with the latter than it congratulates the former.

No one of these republics is capable of resisting an army sent against it by any one of the great powers. They have neither the men nor the resources to maintain such a war for a single year, even with all the advantages which the topography of the country affords. Brazil can annex any one of them at pleasure. They have not sufficient resources to enable them to resist. The foundation of the Monroe Doctrine is the recognized weakness and inability of these republics to protect themselves. For this reason they are held as wards of this nation. There is no sufficient reason for their studiously and persistently maintaining this attitude. It is in their power to become strong and protect themselves, and this they should do. Their statesmen

should not parade their own inability to organize a reputable government and maintain it. This has been and is now their attitude before the world. We hope to see it changed.

Let us see what a nation created by a confederation of these nine republics would be; what grade, by reason of its area, population and resources, it would hold among the nations. The Spanish blood predominates. The Spanish language is spoken. The educated classes are of nearly pure Spanish extraction. The laboring classes are of mixed Spanish and aboriginal blood, or of pure aboriginal ancestry. The characteristics of the Continent are emphatically Spanish. The area and population we have already given. The territory is nearly equally divided between the republics and the empire, the former having a greater area of only 180,060 square miles; but the nine republics have an aggregate population of 5,059,522 more than Brazil. The United States has an area of 3,634,797 square miles, including Alaska; but, excluding Alaska, it has 3,056,797 square miles. The area of Brazil is greater than that of the United States, excluding Alaska, by 552,363 square miles, and the aggregate area of the nine republics is greater by 732,423 square miles. This comparison of the area of the nine republics and of Brazil with that of this nation gives a definite idea of their magnitude. Geographically, these republics occupy the northern, western and southern portions of South America, and are contiguous. The aggregate exports and imports of South America, according to the last available data, were \$529,300,000; those of Brazil, \$168,930,000; of the nine republics, \$360,360,000. Thus a confederation of the nine republics would create a nation having an area of 3,789,220 square miles, 16,436,751 inhabitants, and an annual commerce of \$360,360,000.

We will assume, for the present, that in a confederation of these republics the organization would be the same as that of the United States; probably the general features of this government would be adopted, while the variations in detail would be many. The French people modeled their constitution after ours, yet the conditions peculiar to that country caused many deviations. Similar causes in South America would produce similar results. A convention of the republics to frame a constitution would need to consider the extent and character of their country. The character and the necessities of the people, the constitutions of the several existing republics, the powers to be retained by the States, the powers to be granted to the general government, besides many minor details, would need

to be considered. A constitution would need to be one of compromises and concessions by which all interests would be protected. The new nation would have executive, legislative and judicial departments. In the executive, a president, vice-president and cabinet. In the legislative, a Senate of eighteen members and a House of Representatives, say, one for each 75,000 inhabitants, or about 220 members. In the judicial, a Supreme Court, and such federal judges as might be required. The complete organization of the new nation could be perfected as soon as the congress had provided the necessary laws. The French Republic was organized from the wreck of the empire very quickly. But the conditions of France, by reason of its facilities for quick communication, were greatly in advance of those of South America. It had many learned men already trained in national government. These South America does not possess. The details of government in France were complete, and the area of the republic was not increased over that of the empire. But in these new republics none of the details of enlarged national government exists, and the area would be increased many fold over that occupied by any present republic. The men to organize and to govern such a nation have not yet been trained. But the republics are all, or soon will be, at peace, and their governments in full operation. There would be no disturbance by a change to an enlarged nationality. The government could not be perfected in all its details as quickly as was that of France; yet, in a year or two, it could be done.

In framing their constitutions the constitutions of the United States, France and the present republics could be drawn upon, and one could be framed which would fully meet all the requirements of the nation. The first congress could frame the necessary laws by drawing from the statutes of the same countries and making them applicable to the new conditions. The experience of a century in the United States, more than a decade in France, and many years in each of the nine republics, would have provided the statutes, which could be modified and made available very speedily. There is not a department of government here or in France which has not been built up upon legislation based on actual experience. Almost every conceivable question has been solved, and the result is at the disposal of all nations. Questions peculiar to that country which would in the future arise, without known precedents for their solution, could be provided for as they arose. The familiarity of the South American statesmen with the requirements of their country and their people would make them equal to any emergency.

By a confederation of these republics nothing would be lost in national dignity by any one of them, but much would be gained through the dignity of the nation of which each would be an integral part. Possessing such boundless sources of wealth as this new nation would have, with a soil enabling its people to produce all the great staples of commerce in abundance, with more silver, gold and precious stones than the rest of the world, with a government able to give security to persons and to property, and with perfect national quiet established and local revolutions impossible, each State would harvest more glory and honor than it can now do as a separate republic. No one of these republics now stands before the world with a tithe of the dignity and respect of the smallest or the newest of our States.

The burdens of taxation on the people would be much reduced if, instead of supporting nine distinct national governments, they supported but one. By transferring the machinery of distinct nationality to a central government, and retaining in each State the organization and the officers only of a local or a State government, and paying its *pro rata* of cost of the national government, the aggregate expense of government to the people would be much reduced. The present expense of supporting the State government of either Rhode Island, Delaware or Florida, compared with what it would be if each supported an independent national government, is a perfect illustration of the existing condition in South America. Yet each of these States is more competent to support such a government than are one-half of these republics. Each one of the republics now maintains an executive, legislative and judicial department on the scale of nationality. A mail service and an army and a navy are supported. The army and the navy nominally in each are on the scale required to maintain internal order and for offensive and defensive purposes, and it has lately been proven that some of them support these adjuncts for the purposes of conquest. But, however small and inefficient an army and a navy may be, the cost of maintaining them is oppressive. A full and complete diplomatic corps is now maintained by each republic at an expense which the people can ill afford. The littleness of each, compared with the great powers, is so marked that their representatives are seldom, if ever, consulted or the nations represented considered. At best, their ministers are little more than commercial agents, representing republics over which, in several instances, two or three European commercial houses hold absolute sway. Yet these diplo-

matic corps are incidents of independent nationality. The army, navy, diplomatic corps and postal organizations are useless appendages to the nine republics when they can be transferred to a central government, where they would be a thousand-fold more effective, and each of the nine States relieved of the taxation which now supports them. Certainly, the central government would of itself be more expensive than any one of the nine, but would be easily supported by a nation of 17,000,000 of people. With them it would be as with us. The local or State governments, comparatively inexpensive, would be supported by the people of the several States, and the national government by the whole people. The burdens of taxation would rest lightly upon them. There, as here, the revenues of the general government would be drawn mainly from customs duties, and the people would pay into the treasury a tax in proportion to their purchase of imported merchandise—a tax more nearly unfelt by a people than any the ingenuity of man ever conceived and imposed.

The wide difference in the area of these republics would not unlikely give rise to discussion in an attempted confederation. It should not do so; yet that it would may be assumed. The larger and more populous States might demand too great preponderance. The Argentine Republic, with its Patagonian possessions, has 1,322,560 square miles, while Uruguay has 62,716. The United States of Colombia has 2,900,000 inhabitants, and Uruguay 240,000. This is a wide difference, but not so wide as that between Rhode Island with 1,306 square miles and Texas with 237,504, or New York with its 5,082,871 of people and Nevada with its 62,266. Thus our States differ more widely both in area and in population than would theirs, and in wealth the difference would be still greater. The States, in their sovereign capacity, would likely have there, as here, equal representation in the Senate, while in the House of Representatives the controlling influence would be with the larger States. With a representative for each 75,000 inhabitants, Uruguay would have four and the United States of Colombia thirty-nine. State influence would be determined by the number of representatives in the lower branch, and by the ability and skill of individual members. A confederation might be more easily accomplished if the republics were more nearly equal in area and in population; but no advantage would be obtained, even if they were so, over the present condition.

The vastness of the territory and the present organization of some

of the republics might give rise to difficulties in organizing a central government. For instance, the United States of Colombia is a confederation of States having a national government. The government at Bogota is a general one, based upon the model of that at Washington. The States of that nation have independent State governments, and those States are subdivided as our States are subdivided. But, in the event of a confederation of the nine republics, the United States of Colombia would need to take the relative position of one of our States; the present States the relative position of our counties, and their subdivisions the relative position of our townships. Some of the republics have similar organizations to the United States of Colombia, while others are wholly different and more simply organized. This question, like all others involved, could be solved by a convention of the republics, and the cordial coöperation of each of the present governments. It is not necessary that all the States should follow our plan in their internal organization. The States of this nation have not done so, nor would they have been more successful if they had. The trained and learned statesmen of South America could solve all questions necessary to accomplish the end desired, and secure the organization of one powerful republic from the nine weak ones now existing.

In the organization of a nation such as that which we desire to see established on the South American Continent, it would be imperatively necessary to provide means of intercommunication, not simply as an aid to the development of the resources of the country, but as a military measure. The preservation of order in every state, and to be prepared to defend the nation in the event of foreign war, would make facilities for the rapid transportation of troops and materials of war into every State, and to each large seaport, and to every capital, a requirement from which escape would be impossible. The preservation of the national life might depend upon bringing the more remote States and capitals under the immediate protection of the general government at the national capital. At present such facilities are altogether wanting. No other country in the civilized world is so barren of the modern means of rapid transportation—indeed, of transportation of any character—as are these republics, excepting in the few small sections where railroads have been built. At this time Chili and Peru jointly have 2,248 miles of railroad; the Argentine Republic, 1,410; Paraguay, 45; Uruguay, 280; Venezuela, 78; United States of Colombia, 6; or, in all, 4,067. But these several systems are widely separated, and to be brought into

one general system each present system would require to be connected by links several hundreds of miles in length, some even more than a thousand miles long. The present highways of travel and commerce in the republics, aside from the present railroads and navigable rivers, are by far the most rude and crude among civilized people. They are only trails or bridle-paths for mule-trains or horsemen, or only foot-paths for men, which even a mule cannot traverse. The highways of the country are not now one thousandth part as good as they were in the days of the Incas. Such roads are worthless for moving large bodies of troops with their supply trains. While an aggressive army could not readily move inland, it could occupy all the cities of the coast, and by short campaigns could occupy the several internal capitals, and the government would be unable to concentrate large bodies of troops at any point either for offensive or defensive work. A nation of 17,000,000 of people would be as helpless as any one of the weakest of these weak republics now is. With the present means of transportation, an attempt to move an army corps from Buenos Ayres to Caracas, or indeed from any State capital to the national capital, would be absurd. With a railroad uniting each capital, troops could be transferred from Venezuela to Buenos Ayres in ten days, and in absolute safety from hostile attack *en route*. The road would be a primary necessity to successful nationality. Without it such a nation would tumble to pieces with a summer's breeze, but with it it would be one of the strongest nations, and, in proportion to its population, the strongest on earth. If it could supply and feed its army in its unlimited mountain fastnesses, it could never be conquered. As a commercial provision, such a road would be no less a necessity. These people now depend upon mule and llama trains and Indian pack carriers to move their commerce to the coast, to the navigable streams or to the existing railroads. Wheeled vehicles are substantially unknown in all that country. Yet the aggregate annual commerce of these republics is \$363,000,000. What it would be with proper transportation facilities it is not possible to estimate from any present data. The construction of such a road would not supplant the existing means of transportation, but would so shorten the lines upon which the commerce is now carried that a complete revolution would be effected. The rich agricultural regions would be made available for cultivation by it. The mines would be made available for working. Its influence upon the people would be to advance their civilization, to educate and elevate them far above their present level. It would

afford facilities for the accumulation of wealth, for the distribution of information, for perfect mail facilities, for telegraphic communication and would bring the people into contact and intercourse with each other and with all the nations of the world. It would afford those means of social and national elevation which have wrought such marvelous changes for the better in all parts of the world where they have been provided. It would afford commercial advantages to the country which would directly and indirectly return to the government many times its cost.

The construction of such a work would be a heroic undertaking. A railroad from Caracas to Bogota, thence to all the capitals south, including Santiago, Buenos Ayres, Assumption and Montevideo, connecting all the present railroad systems, winding through and skirting the Andes in more than half their entire length, would surpass in magnitude any single public work ever undertaken by man. But without it the new nation could not succeed or live. Such a road ought now to exist to bring these several peoples into communication with the outer world, and to give them that self-respect and character which pertains to the better civilization of this age. The grade of civilization of these republics is not so high but that it is susceptible of vast improvement. People so trammelled as they cannot rise to a high intellectual or national level, or even much surpass their present condition. It would educate the people in the principles and sentiments of nationality and patriotism, which cannot have been fully developed in a country subject to frequent insurrections and revolutions. It would infuse vigor into the industries, and multiply commerce many fold. It would cause other nations to respect the new nation, and cause the new nation to respect itself. It would make it a nation. A nation of 17,000,000 of people, 3,789,220 square miles of territory, and \$363,000,000 annual commerce, could readily supply the necessary money to construct this indispensable bond of unity required to insure its success, development and permanency.

With such a new nation created, the Monroe Doctrine would have been made successful. In five years that nation would have passed beyond the contingency of interference from foreign powers. While it may be the pleasure of Mexico and of Central America to maintain their independence and to hold themselves separate and aloof from us—for this government will not infringe upon their independence—no nation or nations would seriously consider an aggressive movement upon them. They would lie between the great Republic of the North and the great

Republic of the South, both of which would go to their aid whenever required. Upon the creation of such a new nation, the Monroe Doctrine, as well as the question of the control of the great inter-oceanic ship canals yet to be built, would be settled for all time to come.

But would any benefits accrue to the United States by the confederation of these republics? It is the duty of this nation and of its people, whose preëminence is due more to the form and administration of this government than to any other one cause, to aid other States and other peoples to enjoy the same blessings. No such end can ever be attained by a weak State, however good its government may be or how honestly administered. The national sentiment of our people, their unparalleled prosperity, their high education and advanced civilization, are the fruits of the comprehensive greatness of our confederated government and the high order of the statesmen who organized and those who have since administered it. Like causes would produce like results in other countries. Perhaps in South America the same results from the same causes would not develop so rapidly as here, and perhaps they would develop more rapidly. But, whether the advance would be more or less rapid than with us, a government organized and administered as ours has been would in the end produce like results. Our national government commenced with 3,000,000 of people. That would commence with 17,000,000; but all the fundamental principles would be the same in that as they were in this, and the final results would be the same. The new nation once created, the people, in all national, intellectual and social ways, would be advanced as far in ten years as they will under the present republics in a century. In such an undertaking it is the duty, as well as the pleasure, of this country to aid them. The new nation would give this nation a powerful diplomatic and commercial ally on this continent. It would establish the third greatest republic, and advance the cause of republicanism several generations. By combining their influence, the United States, France and the New Republic, the republican nations of the world, stand even in science, wealth and power with the monarchies of the world. In governmental influence upon the masses of men they would be infinitely in advance. In the South American republics all the elements of greatness are frittered away in littleness. Once confederated, these elements would be combined into influential greatness. From being the rearmost of nations, they would as a nation be among the foremost. Wars, revolutions and insurrections in all that country would

cease, and the stain of instability would be removed from the name of republic. All these reasons, and many more, are present which combine to make it to the interest of this nation to have such a government organized south of it.

There is one consideration which interests us as a nation, and as an active, industrious, productive and commercial people—a consideration of no more interest to us than to the new nation and to its people—that is, the commercial interests of these then two great republics of the world. Greatness engenders mutual respect and makes nations kindred. Because of the weakness of these republics the European powers, with England in the lead, have by steady national pressure secured the control of their commerce. This country reaps comparatively no advantage from it. Geographically this country and these republics lie side by side, while commercially they are at the antipodes. Many causes aggregate to cause this condition; but these we will not discuss. Chief among them is their national weakness. This the European nations have taken advantage of and forced upon them their commerce, while we have waited to develop a commerce through the natural channels of trade. The confederation of these republics would organize a nation of great strength, and blot out that conviction of weakness, dependence, humiliation and imbecility which now makes them the unwilling commercial prey of Europeans. Enlarged nationality secured, the government would assert its dignity, and the people, drawing their inspiration from their government, would assert their commercial independence. They could then turn their traffic into those channels where their best interests are. Of such a condition the people of this country are now prepared to take advantage. We are now constructing railroads from our southern boundary, through Mexico, to the boundary of Guatemala, and even into that country. In a very few years these roads will connect by the line of the isthmus, through Central America, with the railroads of South America. If, then, the new nation should construct such a road, connecting its capitals as we have mentioned, then the road connecting the commercial centres of this country, along the line of Mexico and Central America, would be a great highway, along which, like a mighty river, the commerce of this double continent would flow upon the shores of the Caribbean Sea. A great commercial metropolis would be built, and that sea would be white with the sails of ships carrying the heavier freights from our shores to theirs and from theirs to ours. The interchange between the two nations would be beyond estimate.

Their commerce would come to us direct, and ours would go to them direct. Our merchants would be their merchants, and their merchants would be our merchants, in this commercial revolution between the north and south. We should be much benefited, they benefited more. Under such a government, able to protect its own citizens and foreigners alike, the mines of the mountains from Panama to Cape Horn would be developed. From them the gold and the silver, which can be taken out at a minimum cost, would be put in the circulation of the world. Our 50,000,000 of people have just commenced to develop the boundless resources of this country, while the resources of that, no less than ours, have scarcely received the first imprint of development. Aside from all else, the commercial interests of this country and of the continent should induce this government to investigate this question carefully, and determine whether this country would be benefited if a confederation of the South American republics was effected; then determine whether the people of South America would receive benefit; whether the causes of national prosperity, civilization and the principles of republicanism and the love of liberty among mankind would be advanced thereby. If so, and the end can be accomplished, then certainly such a movement should be initiated, and by all proper and peaceful means conducted to a successful issue through and by our friendly councils.

We have stated no proposition nor advanced a theory which is not within the power of this nation to conduct speedily to success. If this government shall deem it advisable that a powerful republic be created in South America, then it is within its proper province to adopt a policy, settled and firm, looking to that end. In every legitimate and peaceful way it can aid in accomplishing it. It is not to the interest of European governments that such a nation be created, and they would give it no countenance. Europe thrives upon the weakness of these republics. Our already great military, commercial and intellectual strength, which year by year is being augmented, has been attained by the same means we would advise these republics to adopt. They have maintained their weakness by adherence to a policy the opposite to that which we have pursued. We have been successful; they have failed. We should counsel them to change their weakness for strength, their littleness for greatness, their insignificance for magnificence, their poverty for wealth, their civilization for a higher civilization, their intellectual attainments for higher intellectual attain-

ments, their undeveloped for a developed country, their insignificant position among nations for a foremost place, and their failure for success. We should reap a benefit by the creation of such a nation, but the overwhelming advantages which would accrue would be to the new nation itself.

T. W. OSBORN.

THE RIVER THAMES.

Perchance my voice might sing
Of army and court and king,
Of proud pictorial episodes where swords and helmets ring ;
Perchance my voice might tell
What happy memories dwell
Where England's meadowy distances like music fall and swell.

But rather would I find,
In the onward march of mind,
Strong right to assert supremacy and rule above my kind.
For me 'twas given to know
Gross prejudice flung low,
And science leveling fable in victorious overthrow.

Philosophy's full beam
Has bathed my honored stream,
And guided men toward nobler moods than superstitious dream.
Here fact, crying out, "I am,"
Stripped sophistry of sham ;
Here throne the effulgent intellect of matchless Verulam.

Here temperate self-control
Calm'd freedom's fiery soul,
Reversing her impetuous course toward wisdom's rugged goal ;
Here reason's lips have wound
The clarion whose clear sound
Sent dogma whimpering from the prey its greedy fangs had found.

Tired out with guile, intrigue,
An irresistible league,
My people in fervid action showed their agonized fatigue.
Less with the crimson reek
Of scaffolds did they speak
Than through the broadening girth of limbs that made their
fetters weak.

Lo, now the shadow is fled
 Whose darkness overspread
 The starry angelic eyes of truth and her seraphic head !
 Lo, progress, harshly wroth,
 Frights bigotry, like a moth
 When brushed from out the broideries of some costly arras-cloth !

The mightier minds no more
 Waste effort to explore
 Infinity's ocean breaking on an unconjectured shore.
 They turn from the empty task
 Of tearing her close mask
 Off the Iris whose oracular mouth denies them what they ask.

Their impulse aims, instead,
 With equal steps to tread
 The arduous jeopardy called life, where many a foot has bled ;
 They heed the woful tone
 Of crushed humanity's moan,
 And leave the unknowable to dwell at peace with God, the
 Unknown.

They hold as worthiest prayer
 To assuage the long despair
 That poverty's fell ubiquity makes drudging millions bear ;
 They search, by pity taught,
 All the arsenals of thought
 For weapons murderous to the wrongs that ignorance has wrought.

They see, like streaks of day
 In heaven's chill doubtful gray,
 The auroral evidence of love, and hate's dark disarray.
 They send toward purer things
 Desires whose journeyings
 Are larks that dare the unventured dusk with sweet adventurous
 wings.

Yet while by stubborn deeds
 Their fresh unfaltering creeds
 Have reached through hollow pomps of cant reality's vital needs,
 Where grandlier, far or near,
 Than on my green banks here,
 Do all man's godliest attributes converge and persevere ?

A SCIENCE BASED ON ASSUMPTIONS.

IN using the term "free trade" I will be understood as referring, not to an ideal theory fit for Plato's Republic or Moore's Utopia, but to that system of trade advocated by the Cobden Club, and which has its place in the political economy promulgated by the Manchester school of economists. The antagonism between this system and national economy, in which the doctrine of protection has a vital place, is irreconcilable. Adherents of these systems can occupy no common ground. The professed aim of political economy is cosmopolitanism, while protectionists labor to secure to each nation industrial and commercial independence and the enjoyment of its resources and autonomy.

The methods of these schools are as irreconcilable as their objects. Free traders not only claim that their methods are scientific, but deny that the protective system has a scientific basis, and denounce it as selfish, immoral, dishonest.

John Stuart Mill declared political economy to be a "science based on assumptions." In the methods of a system based on assumptions, statistics and the facts of history can have no place; it must be a system of pure dialectics; and Professor Sumner logically protests against "the heaping together of statistics, historical facts and authorities in economic discussions." Its methods are purely *a priori*, as contra-distinguished from the inductive system pursued by Bacon, Newton, Locke, Priestly, Franklin, by List, Colwell and Carey, the perfection of which is attested by the marvelous progress the world has made by the application to the arts of life, of nature's subtle and potent forces disclosed by this system of investigation. Alchemy and astrology were the legitimate results of the *a priori* system, but the inductive system has given us chemistry and astronomy.

It is this adherence to superannuated methods that constrains practical men to disregard the economic teachings of our schools. Professors of political economy in American colleges boast that their unanimity is almost absolute. This claim may to a great extent be admitted, though Bowen, of Harvard, and Thompson, of the University of Pennsylvania, are noteworthy exceptions. Indeed, this approximate unanimity may be expected to prevail as long as professors shall find it less laborious to rehash the formulas promulgated by a particular school than to investigate the merits of rival systems. But does

this measure of uniformity of opinion attend their students, who, having secured diplomas, go forth to engage in practical business? No! Experience controverts the theories they accepted in the class-room. They find themselves involved in the management of affairs, and compelled to deal with results which demonstrate the absurdity of the assumptions from which their professors' "absolute truths" were deduced. The doctor, the clergyman, the littérateur, freed from this rough contact with the course and vicissitudes of trade, may cherish the views with which he quits college; but his classmates who engage in any department of productive industry soon come to regard the doctrines of our Sumners and Perrys as beautiful and seductive theories, which must be classed with the airy nothings bodied forth by poets.

National economy, of which the protective system is a vital part, rests on other foundations than assumptions. Its method, the inductive, requires the most careful study of statistics and the facts of history. Its adherents have great respect for authority, but challenge the right of any man to recognition as an authority until experience has demonstrated the excellence of his teachings. Beholding what Colbert did for France, they consult him; stripping the writings of Adam Smith of the voluminous notes of explanation and illustration under which his text has been obscured, and in many instances perverted, they appeal reverently to his original text. They read with instruction the homely words of Franklin, who, as soon as war had emancipated the American people from those British statutes which prohibited them from advancing any of their native materials to the condition of finished products, told the people of Pennsylvania that the way to improve their social condition and increase the value of farm land was to establish fulling mills, iron works and other shops at as many points as possible, thereby creating local markets for the farmers' productions and sources of supply for his wants. They honor Frederick List, whose labors in behalf of the Zollverein, which proposed the industrial unification of the discordant German States by the establishment of the most absolute free trade among them, coupled with adequately protective duties upon imports from any other country. They find in his teachings¹ a system which brought order out of chaos, and made the German Empire, as we know it, possible, and they regard him as an authority.

They, however, bring the suggestions of all these great men to the

¹National System of Political Economy. Philadelphia, 1856.

test of experience and reason. So, too, they regard with especial reverence the names of Stephen Colwell and Henry C. Carey. Mr. Colwell bequeathed to the University of Pennsylvania a collection of politico-economic writings in many languages, unequaled by any private economic library in the world; and his great work "The Ways and Means of Payment" is accepted as the greatest book ever written on this important subject in all countries in which the science based on assumptions, with which its conclusions conflict, does not too absolutely prevail. It goes without saying that Henry C. Carey is an authority wherever national economy is studied. His works have been honored by translation, in part or in whole, into eleven foreign languages, and are to be found in the school, State and private libraries of the people speaking these languages, including those of Russia and Japan. How carefully statistics, history and authority are excluded from consideration by economists of the Manchester school is shown by the fact that the writings of these distinguished Americans are rarely to be found in the library of an American college, and never appear in the catalogues of "books worthy of study," published from time to time by its American disciples.

From Colbert, who elaborated and established the protective policy in France, to Carey, these practical men have recognized the fact that national and individual life are not governed by a system of equations, but influenced by cupidity, ambition and all human emotions and passions. They regarded it as the duty of nations to maintain each its autonomy, and to add to its wealth and power by engaging the faculties and aptitudes of its people in the development and conversion of its native materials into articles of use or beauty. They regarded the nations of the world as a family, and inculcated the theory that, when each member of the family could supply its wants and gratify its desires, the greatest degree of happiness would prevail, and the peace and prosperity of the world would be best assured. None of them believed that mankind would be blessed by suppressing the resources of any country and dooming its people to idleness or the unrequited toil of mere unskilled laborers, in order that England might become the workshop of the world and the mistress of the seas.

Against what, I am asked, would you protect American industry? Is it an infant? Are not our resources superior in extent, diversity and value to those of any other nation? Are not that aggregation of enterprising emigrants and their descendants, known as the American people, as ingenious, industrious and thrifty as the people of any other

country? To these questions I answer, Yes; and add, I would protect them in the enjoyment of these attributes and resources against all comers who might deprive them of any of the advantages incident to them, whether through the instrumentality of low wages or from the possession of unusual combinations of the raw materials of any ware or fabric. We maintain an army and navy for the defense and protection of tangible property on land and sea. The laborer's skill and time are his estate. They are the means whereby he and his family live, and I would defend them also against every unequal assault. Every hour the willing laborer spends in enforced idleness is the destruction of so much of his estate; and the destruction is so absolute that that which is lost is gone beyond recovery.

I therefore hold it to be the special duty of my government, and that of every other nation, to defend its producing classes in the enjoyment of the home demand for their skill by a system of duties sufficiently protective to secure them against the brutally selfish course pursued toward the people of weaker nations by conspiring British capitalists. This potent influence is so exceptional, so alien, to the legitimate laws of trade as to be wholly without the range of the methods known to free traders. None of their assumptions recognize its existence. It is a power which, by contravening the laws of trade, has overwhelmed the industries of many countries, impoverished their people, and reduced their governments to bankruptcy and dependence. It is a recognized part of the established policy of British capitalists, against which *a priori* reasoning could no more provide than it could prescribe conservative rules of conduct for persons overtaken by a cyclone, an earthquake or a deluge. On this point let us appeal to history.

Prior to the establishment of American independence Parliament had, by successive statutes, restricted the right of the colonists to employ their time and skill in the conversion of native raw materials into wares and fabrics. Referring to some of these laws, Henry C. Carey said :

The first attempt at manufacturing any species of cloth in the North American provinces produced a resolution on the part of the House of Commons (1710) that "the erecting of manufactories in the colonies had a tendency to lessen their dependence on Great Britain." Soon afterward complaints were made to Parliament that the colonists were establishing manufactories for themselves, and the House of Commons ordered the Board of Trade to report on the subject, which was done at great length. In 1732 the exportation of hats from province to province was prohibited, and the number of apprentices to be taken by hatters was limited. In 1750 the erection of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron was prohibited; but pig iron was allowed to be imported into England duty free, that it might

there be manufactured and sent back again. At a later period Lord Chatham declared that he would not permit the colonists to make even a hobnail for themselves; and his views were then and subsequently carried into effect by the absolute prohibition in 1765 of the export of artisans, in 1781 of woolen machinery, in 1782 of cotton machinery and artificers in cotton, in 1785 of iron and steel-making machinery, and workmen in those departments of trade, and in 1799 by the prohibition of the export of colliers, lest other countries should acquire the art of mining coal.¹

Seven years of war, by establishing the *political* independence of the United States, repealed these characteristic British statutes. But British capitalists, under the auspices of their government, resorted to a more subtle, but no less effective, process for the *industrial* subjugation of the American people. It was more costly than the Parliamentary process, but experience has often demonstrated that money invested in its execution brings good returns. It was to require British consuls to note and report the attempted establishment in any of the States of any branch of manufactures which might compete with the productive or commercial interests of England; and for her capitalists to proceed forthwith to glut our ports of entry with the article proposed to be manufactured at prices below the cost at which they could possibly be produced in this country. The temporary loss thus incurred would, the conspirators knew, be compensated by the prices that might be demanded when their monopoly of our market should be re-established. The policy when first applied to this country was not experimental—it was traditional. It had been resorted to in the markets of all unprotected or insufficiently protected countries, and was now to be executed on a grand scale in the young republic. Consular vigilance and commercial chicanery, it was hoped, would reenslave the hardy people who had by a long war just won the right to employ their time and skill in the conversion of materials with which their country was amply endowed. The struggle was a desperate one, and lasted for more than sixty years; but during the last twenty years the American people have, under an amply protective tariff, enjoyed industrial as well as political independence.

While the Napoleonic wars devastated the fields of Europe, they called into existence many new industries. Preëminent among these was that child of the protective system, the manufacture of beet-root sugar which, while it is a blessing to mankind, contributes largely to the revenues of France, Germany, and other countries in which it has been domesticated. At the termination of those wars the ports of Europe were opened to British trade, and, without regard to

¹ Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign, chapter x., page 95.

probable demand, the cost of the article, or the price at which it could be sold, were immediately overstocked with commodities of every kind that might be produced in the country to which they were sent. Direct profit was not the thing sought; it was the destruction of industries which might, if developed, compete with those of Britain.

The losses sustained on these enormous shipments to the Continent, and on the excess beyond our consumptive power consigned to this country, greatly aggravated a financial crisis, the causes of which Lord Brougham, then Mr. Henry Brougham, discussed in the House of Commons, April 9, 1816. In the course of his remarks he said:

The difficulties of 1812 are fresh in the recollection of the Committee, and are still working their effects in many parts of the country, although the repeal of the Orders in Council, by enabling us to export goods which were all paid for to the amount of seven or eight millions, afforded a most seasonable and important relief, and enabled capitalists to lower their stock on hand in a great proportion. That stock, however, began to increase during the unhappy continuance of the American war; and the peace, unexpectedly made, in Europe, followed by the treaty with America, soon produced an effect to which I must request the serious attention of the Committee, because I believe its nature and extent are by no means well understood. After the cramped state in which the enemy's measures, and our own retaliation (as we termed it), had kept our trade for some years, when the events of the spring of 1814 suddenly opened the Continent, a rage for exporting goods of every kind burst forth, only to be explained by reflecting on the previous restrictions we had been laboring under, and only to be equaled (though not in extent) by some of the mercantile delusions connected with South American speculations.

Mr. Brougham then proceeded to indicate the great losses produced by these excessive exports to countries impoverished as those of the Continent had been, and continued:

The peace with America has produced somewhat of a similar effect, though I am very far from placing the vast exports which it occasioned upon the same footing with those to the European market the year before, both because ultimately the Americans will pay, which the exhausted state of the Continent renders very unlikely, and because it was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war had forced into existence, contrary to the natural course of things.¹

This process was thoroughly effective in the United States. Our workshops were closed; their proprietors were bankrupt; our skilled laborers were without employment, and there was open to them no refuge but the almshouse or work to which they were unused, as agricultural laborers in the newly settled districts of the country. The public revenues had been unduly swollen by these excessive importations; but, pending the glut and the inability of our unemployed and

¹ Brougham's Speeches, Edinburgh, 1838; vol. i., pp. 518-519.

impoverished people to consume imported manufactures, the Government found itself without current revenue.

To counteract the effects of this conspiracy, the protective tariffs of 1816, known as the Calhoun Tariff, and of 1824 and 1828 were enacted. Under their beneficent influence our feeble industries revived and the Treasury of the Government was amply replenished; but when these tariffs were deprived of their protective power by Mr. Clay's Compromise bill which went into effect in 1833, the glutting of our markets was again resorted to, and 1840 found our laborers without employment because a conspiracy of British manufacturers had ruined the proprietors of the shops and factories in which they had been selling their time and skill.

Under the effect of the protective tariffs referred to, the last installment of the national debt was paid in 1834. But in 1840, thanks to a tariff for revenue only, conceded by Mr. Clay and the Whig party to the disciples of the science based on assumptions, the financial condition of the Government was deplorable. Not only was it without revenue but without credit. In his report of December 7, 1840, the Secretary of the Treasury estimated that at the close of the year 1841 there would remain in the Treasury an available balance of but \$824,273; and that even this small balance might disappear and a deficit of several millions be found, "under the operations of the Compromise Tariff act of 1833," which was rapidly lowering the amount of customs duties levied. The President, in his message to Congress at its extra session in June, 1841, estimated the probable deficit in the Treasury at the close of the year at \$11,406,132, and the Secretary of the Treasury informed Congress that during the previous four years, the expenditures had exceeded the revenue by \$31,310,014.

During 1841 and 1842 Congress authorized the negotiation of Treasury notes and loans amounting together to \$15,000,000; but on January 12, 1843, but \$5,672,976 of any description of the loans had been taken. On that date the Secretary of the Treasury, in a special communication to the House of Representatives, referring to the repeated failures of his attempts to negotiate the loan at home, announced that a gentleman of the highest consideration for intelligence and integrity had been sent abroad to negotiate all or part of a \$5,000,000 loan in England or on the Continent, but added: "I regret to communicate that he has since returned without accomplishing the object of his mission."

The agent was General William Robinson. He reported that he had been unable to find a banker who would take the responsibility of putting on the market a United States loan for even such an amount; and in his special message to Congress of December 6, 1842, President Tyler, referring to the failure of this mission, said:

After a failure in the American market, a citizen of high character and talent was sent to Europe, with no better success; and thus the mortifying spectacle has been presented of the inability of this Government to obtain a loan so small as not in the whole to amount to more than one-fourth of its ordinary annual income, at a time when the governments of Europe, although involved in debt, and with their subjects heavily burdened with taxation, readily obtained loans of any amount at a greatly reduced rate of interest.

The case was desperate. *A priori* reasoning, and the science based on assumptions, had taken issue with fate. It now became apparent even to their adherents, that, in order to obtain revenue and restore the credit of the Government, Congress must permit the idle people to earn wages and acquire the power to consume taxable commodities. This they had never been able to do under a tariff for revenue only, though it had so repeatedly been prescribed by the *a priori* system of reasoning and the science based on assumptions. They were now compelled to consent to a resort to a protective tariff, and enough of them voted with the protectionists to pass the highly protective law of 1842. One of them, a personal friend of mine, Mr. Charles Brown a native of Virginia but representing one of the Philadelphia districts, said, as he cast his vote, "To do this is the bitterest pill I have ever had to swallow." Unpalatable as it was to him, it proved to be medicine that operated well for his country; for the immediate effect of this return to the protective system was to revive our industries and replenish the national revenues.

The prosperity thus produced was, however, to be short-lived, for in 1846 Congress substituted for the protective tariff of 1842 the tariff for revenue only, prepared by Robert J. Walker, then Secretary of the Treasury. The country had never prospered under such a tariff. Was it to do so now? Let experience answer this question. The law went into effect in 1847; and, though we mined \$1,100,000,000 of gold from the newly discovered gold fields of California during the following decade, 1857 found the nation bankrupt, its working people and machinery without employment, its banks broken or in a state of suspension, and the Government again without credit or adequate current revenue. This condition of things continued until, by the

protective tariff of 1861 and its war supplements, we made the duties on imports so high that combined British capitalists dare not, after paying such duties into our Treasury, undersell our manufacturers. The experiment would involve more capital than even they felt it safe to venture against such odds. Thus protected our industries again revived, and, with varying degrees of prosperity, have continued to expand.

David Syme, when he emigrated to Australia, carried with him the free trade theories of an Englishman. His experience in this new country soon convinced him that a science based on assumptions (its primary assumption being that the laws of trade are as fixed and persistent as those which regulate the ebb and flow of the tide and the movements of the heavenly bodies) offered no solution of grave questions which business men in a country without accumulated capital and machinery have to solve. Editor and essayist, he devoted himself to the study and exposition of the laws which govern industry; and in the course of his admirable little volume entitled "Industrial Science," thus enforces what I have been saying :

The manner in which English capital is used to maintain England's manufacturing supremacy is well understood abroad. In any quarter of the globe where a competitor shows himself who is likely to interfere with her monopoly, immediately the capital of her manufacturers is massed in that particular quarter, and goods are exported in large quantities, and sold at such prices that outside competition is effectually crushed out. English manufacturers have been known to export goods to a distant market and sell them under cost price for years, with a view to getting the market into their own hands again. The *modus operandi* is incidentally explained with much *naïveté* in a report published some years ago by the House of Commons: ¹ "The laboring classes generally," writes Mr. Tremenheere, "in the manufacturing districts of this country, and especially in the iron and coal districts, are very little aware of the extent to which they are often indebted for their being employed at all to the immense losses which their employers voluntarily incur in bad times, in order to destroy foreign competition and to gain and to keep possession of foreign markets. Authentic instances are well known of employers having in such times carried on their works at a loss, amounting in the aggregate to £300,000 or £400,000 in the course of three or four years. If the efforts of those who encourage the combinations to restrict the amount of labor and to produce strikes were to be successful for any length of time, the great accumulations of capital could not then be made which enable a few of the most wealthy capitalists to overwhelm all foreign competition in times of great depression, and thus to clear the way for the whole trade to step in when prices revive, and to carry on a great business before foreign capital can again accumulate to such an extent as to be able to establish a competition in prices with any chance of success. The large capitals of this country are the great instruments of warfare (if the expression may be allowed) against the competing capital of foreign countries, and are the most essential instruments now remaining by which our manufacturing supremacy can be maintained."²

¹ Report of the Commission appointed to examine into the state of the population of the mining districts, 1854.

² Pages 67-70.

I have charged the British Government as a co-conspirator. Is the charge well founded? Can the energies of the most powerful Christian nation have been systematically employed in the subversion of governments and the spoliation of their people? On this point the darkest pages of modern history are affirmatively conclusive. Britain's diplomacy has been a more effective agent of conquest than her navy and army. Space will permit me to refer to but few of its victims. Her first treaty with Turkey bears date 1579. The Turks were then famed for their industry, skill and social order. They worked in iron, steel, copper, cotton, wool, silk and tobacco, all of which their country produced, with corn and oil in profusion. No country of Europe is richer in native resources than the Turkish Empire, as it then existed. It was as potent in arms as it was rich in resources, yet we know it only as the "Sick Man of Europe." Arms did not overcome it, for less than twenty years before the date of the treaty with England Solyman the Magnificent had encamped his victorious armies before Vienna, and caused all western Europe to tremble at their tread. Invincible in arms, he was vanquished and his country despoiled by diplomacy. The treaty of 1579 stipulated that the duty on British goods imported into Turkey should be fixed at 3 per cent.; and that provision, by subjecting the industries of Turkey to unrestricted British competition, wrought the overthrow of the power that had just threatened the conquest of Europe. "Nature," says Henry C. Carey, "has done everything for the people of that country, and of all those of Europe the Turkish Rayah approaches in condition nearest to the slave."¹

After referring to the manner in which the power of the Ottoman Empire had been extinguished, a writer in the *Fortnightly Review* for July, 1874, says:

In the same way, and at the same time, we have everywhere obtained that our goods shall be imported into all these countries at duties of either 3 or 5 per cent. We are continuing to apply to Eastern nations this double system of tariffs and jurisdiction, of goods and judges. To attain those ends we use all sorts of means, from courteous invitations to bombardments. We prefer to employ mere eloquence, because it is cheap and easy; but, if talking fails, we follow it up by gunboats, and in that convincing way we induce hesitating "barbarians," not only to accept our two unvarying conditions, but also to pay the cost of the expedition by which their consent to these conditions was extorted from them. We tried patience and polite proposals with Tunis, Tripoli and Morocco. China was so unwilling to listen to our advice, so blind to the striking merits of our opium and our consuls, that we were obliged, with great regret, to resort to gentle force with her. Japan presents the most curious example of the series; it is made up of ignorance circumvented and of indignation frightened. Indeed, if we had space for it, the story of the Japan treaties would be worth telling, because it is a very special one, because it is the newest triumph of our justice abroad, and because it may be taken as indicative of our present "manner," as painters say.

¹ Slave Trade, p. 120.

It was British diplomacy that enslaved Ireland. It was the act of Union by which the development of her mineral resources was arrested and her flourishing manufactories extirpated. He who would read a condensed statement of the effect of England's free trade upon Ireland will find it in Carey's "Slave Trade,"¹ or in "Why Ireland is Poor," a recent pamphlet by John F. Scanlan of Chicago. So used are we to hear Ireland spoken of as "Green Erin," that most of us regard the island as a mere pasture field, in favored spots of which due industry may produce potatoes. And few will be prepared to hear that during the last year the iron makers of the United States imported 10,640 tons of iron ore from Ireland. Her native resources are undeveloped; her people have been decimated by famine; her chosen representatives, having only discontent to represent, have come to be regarded as dangerous, and are untried and unindicted prisoners in the jails of their native country. These blessings she owes to the fact that the articles of union between Ireland and Great Britain, executed by Castlereagh and other Irish traitors, inflicted upon her that system of British free trade which is vindicated by the science based on assumptions.

So, too, with India. Less than a century and a half has elapsed since the civilized world looked to what is now British India for its cotton goods, chintzes and calicoes. I know of a bedspread and set of curtains which have been in the possession and use of a family of my friends for more than a century. The designs, which are floral, are exquisite in their perfection; and the blue in which they appear is as bright as though it had been imparted but yesterday. Orme, in his Historical Fragments, says: "On the coast of Coromandel and in the Province of Bengal, when at some distance from a high road or principal town, it is difficult to find a village in which every man, woman and child is not employed in making a piece of cloth. At present much the greater part of the whole province is employed in this single manufacture. Its progress includes no less than a description of the lives of half the inhabitants of Indostan."²

Under the system of national economy taught by List and Carey, Ireland's extensive deposits of coal and iron and her other mineral resources would be developed, her textile manufactories would revive, her agriculture would be diversified, and her population would increase as do the descendants of her expatriated children in other lands. The assertion that the island could, under this system,

¹ Chap. xiii.

² Carey's "Slave Trade," page 132.

maintain 20,000,000 liberal consumers of each other's productions is largely within the bounds of moderation. In 1841 her people numbered 8,175,124; in 1851 the number had shrunk to 6,552,385, and by 1881 to but 5,159,839. No language can proclaim the misery of Ireland more forcibly than do these diminishing figures. They relieve from the charge of exaggeration Thomas Francis Meagher who, addressing his countrymen in 1848, when the failure of the potato crop of 1845, 1846 and 1847, had caused the death of a million of their fellow subjects by starvation and diseases engendered by hunger, said :

The cotton manufacture of Dublin, which employed 14,000 operatives, has been destroyed; the stuff and serge manufactures, which employed 1,490 operatives, have been destroyed; the calico looms of Balbriggan have been destroyed; the flannel manufacture of Rathdrum has been destroyed; the blanket manufacture of Kilkenny has been destroyed; the camlet trade of Bandon, which produced £100,000 a year, has been destroyed; the worsted and stuff manufactures of Waterford have been destroyed; the rateen and frieze manufactures of Carrick on Suir have been destroyed; one business alone thrives and flourishes, and dreads no bankruptcy. That fortunate business which the Union act has stood by; which the absentee drain has not slackened but has stimulated; which the drainage acts and navigation acts of the imperial senate have not deadened but invigorated; that favored, and privileged, and patronized business is the Irish coffin-maker's.

But the story of Irish wrong and suffering is as a fairy tale compared with that of India. There British law and arms govern more than 300,000,000 of people. Space will not permit me to do more than allude to the change that British government has wrought in the condition of this immense population; and I again refer my readers to "Carey's Slave Trade," and beg them to catch from its pages glimpses of the horrors which British government has inflicted upon the people of India in order to open markets for the productions of Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield. The story of the Indian famine of 1838, as told by the late George Thompson, M.P., and other eye-witnesses including Bishop Heber, is one of indescribable wrong and suffering. Many horrible incidents of the famine of 1866, which decimated Orissa and adjoining districts, must be fresh in the memory of many readers of the "International." Orissa is one of the most fertile districts of British India. It is a wheat-growing district. Its rivers abound in fish, which the people cure for their winter's sustenance. In order to open the markets of India to British goods, all impost duties, save one of from 3 to 5 per cent. on cotton goods, had been repealed, and the enormous revenues demanded by the alien Government were derived from internal taxes. The inhuman burdens imposed by some of these taxes may be inferred from the fact that the

tax on native salt added over 500 per cent. to its cost to consumers. The provision which had always been made by native governments for famine years had not been maintained by the British Government, and, when the crop of 1866 failed, death by starvation overtook more than 1,000,000 of the people of Orissa. The usual supply of fish was taken by the natives, but they could not purchase salt with which to cure them, by reason of the tax of 500 per cent. demanded by the Government. Consequently, the fish on which they had hoped to live during the winter decayed upon the banks of the river and filled the air with a hitherto unknown cause of death.

Remembering that England is a Christian nation, one might conclude that such incidents would mitigate the rigor of her laws toward a voiceless people; but that conclusion would be *a priori* and delusive. Devotion neither to Christianity nor to the science based on assumptions has induced the British people or Government to make any serious effort to alleviate the condition of the hundreds of millions of people of Her Majesty's Indian Empire. On the contrary, so late as August, 1875, when trade in Manchester was peculiarly depressed, the British Viceroy, in the face of a vote of his council against the destructive measure, abolished the slight duty remaining on cotton goods and by the same edict imposed an import duty of 5 per cent. on long staple cotton (a vital element of their manufactures) imported into India. The Calcutta *Englishman*, of August 5 of that year, said:

The new Tariff bill is about as infamous a measure as ever a subservient Legislature sought to impose upon a voiceless people. An import duty on raw material is, under any circumstances, one of the worst modes of raising revenue that can be devised; but the duty which the Government is about to impose on a particular quality of her cotton imported into this country is nicely calculated to produce the greatest amount of injury that could possibly be inflicted by such an impost. The present Viceroy is too acute an economist not to know what the effect of such a measure must be; and it is impossible to resist the conviction that it is for the sake of the injury it will inflict on India that the measure is proposed. The Manchester men have been sharp enough to foresee that they would lose more than they gained by a reduction of the duty on coarse goods unless measures were at the same time taken to prevent the Indian mills from shifting their competition to the finer classes. The Government of India, too, no doubt foresaw that, if they went on abolishing the import duty upon one class of cotton goods after another, this item of revenue would gradually be extinguished. They have therefore hit upon a device as effectual as it is wicked—we can apply no milder term to it—a device which will at once increase their revenue and protect the Manchester manufacturer. They have put a prohibitive duty on the raw material necessary to enable the Indian mills to spin the finer counts of yarn and weave the finer makes of cloths, and thus secure to Manchester a continuance of her present monopoly of these classes of goods. None but an alien Government, or a despotic and ignorant Government bent on filling its coffers for the nonce at any cost, would have adopted such a course as this. No free people would have thus drawn the knife across their own throats.¹

¹ Symes' "Industrial Science," text and notes, pp. 70-77.

The Bombay *Gazette* of the 10th of the same month denounced the measure with equal severity. The Indian Chambers of Commerce appealed to the Viceroy, but appealed in vain. The modern cotton mills of India were doomed. I challenge history and literature for a parallel to the grim irony involved in professions of devotion to the freedom of trade by the English Government and people, who are responsible for the condition of India and Ireland.

But the wrongs of India are interwoven with those England is daily inflicting upon China. The British Indian Government having confiscated more than 600,000 acres of the most fertile land of India, devotes this immense territory to the cultivation of the poppy. It converts the poppies into opium. For this opium it must find or make a market; and, as it could find none, it made one by force. It had at various times obtained footing for its trade on the Chinese coast. Among the hundreds of millions of Chinese it believed a market might be created for the opium reluctantly produced by the people of British India. The Chinese Government, discovering that this terrible drug was being largely smuggled into the country, made formal protests against its further importation. These protests the British Government disregarded. Finding that its appeals were vain, the Chinese Government caused the opium in store to be seized, buried in a trench, and so covered with quicklime as to effectually secure its destruction. Hence the Chinese war, the battering down by the British navy of Chinese towns and cities, and the collection, under threats of further destruction, of a penalty of \$12,000,000 as indemnity for the trouble to which the contumacious Chinese had put England by opposing its efforts to force British *free* trade upon an unwilling people.

Free trade England is the Ishmaelite of nations. Against her aggressive spirit Manchester's science based on assumptions offers no protection. To promote her own trade she subverts the weak, circumvents the ignorant and credulous, and betrays her equals. In witness of these assertions I appeal to the story of her dealings with Turkey, India, Egypt, Japan and Ireland; with Portugal, whose wool husbandry and wool and worsted industry were destroyed by the treaty of Methuen; with China, upon whom she forces the opium trade; and to her treatment of her American colonists, and the people of the United States, whenever accepting the faith she professes but by which she is not governed they have adopted a tariff for revenue only.

WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

EMBRYO STATES.

THE area of the national domain containing its States in embryo, which was over 1,500,000 square miles in extent in 1850, is now embraced within the 900,000 included in the combined areas of Utah, New Mexico, Washington, Dakota, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and Indian Territories, exclusive of the unsurveyed lands of Alaska.

The soil of the Indian Territory, by solemn compact, has been made sacred to the use of the aboriginal inhabitants. When it will become available for the formation of a new State, is a question the solution of which must depend upon the efforts of the philanthropists, who are patiently endeavoring to prepare the Indian for the exercise of the rights of citizenship; or upon the repetition of the often repeated process of encroachment, war and conquest, as the result of which the unfortunate red man will be forced to again resign his reserved domain to the occupancy of those who justify their ruthless aggressions under the unctuous plea of "the interests of civilization." Meantime, the inhabitants of this Territory are showing a commendable disposition to avail themselves of the first really favorable opportunity ever offered them for bettering their condition; have begun in many instances to lead settled lives as agriculturists and herdsmen; are earnestly begging Congress to give them the opportunity of acquiring title to houses and lands by ownership of the soil in severalty, and have even dared to belie their established reputation for untamable savagery by sending to the few schools open for their instruction some hundreds of children, who are found to be as tractable, well behaved and teachable as children generally. In view of these facts, it is to be hoped that the theories of the much abused philanthropists composed of "Quakers, ministers and women," as we are told, may have a fair trial before the final adoption of a policy, whose basis is expressed in the opinion of a certain military authority, that "Indians are vermin, fit only for extermination." To the credit of the army be it said that this sentiment is not universal among its officers, one of the bravest of whom, from fighting the Indians on the plains, has come to be at the head of an Indian school, which has already proven the capacity of the race for education and civilization, while other officers of high rank are in full sympathy with his ideas and plans. Having suffered wrong through a century, it will be but tardy justice

if Congress shall now grant to the remnant of the red race the opportunity asked on their behalf of a thorough trial of the experiment of education, as a means of preparing them for useful lives as civilized men, if not as citizens. Under any circumstances, no change in the political status of the Indian Territory is to be immediately expected.

Alaska, with its unattractive climate, notwithstanding the value of its fur trade, its fisheries and the wealth of its mines, may also be regarded as practically out of consideration in enumerating the Territories which are to form our future States. The petition for the boon of Territorial government, preferred by the few white inhabitants who are led by commercial interests to brave its rigorous climate, is now before Congress; but, considering the fact that its total population, according to the last enumeration, was only about 30,000, of which but a small portion can be regarded as permanent, and the fact that many of its people are of Russian nativity and unfamiliar with republican usages, the expediency of substituting a representative government for that now existing in this Territory may well be questioned.

The formation and admission of new States is a question which can be presented in the immediate future only in connection with the eight remaining Territories, and the inhabitants of six of these have already petitioned Congress for permission to organize State governments. The condition of these Territories, or States in embryo, with reference to their admission to the Union, is, under the circumstances, a question of importance.

Utah¹ is now, as when its first petition was presented, debarred from admittance by its anomalous condition as a government controlled by those who maintain, in defiance of law and public opinion, a social system the revolting character of which is too well known to need description. Should the inhabitants of this Territory place themselves in a condition which would not be antagonistic to the laws of the Union, there can be no question that its right to become a State would be at once recognized. Originally settled by its present inhabitants in 1846-47, it was organized as a Territory and provided with a Territorial government by act of September 9, 1850. For a considerable period prior to this act, however, there had been in force in the Territory a semi-ecclesiastical government administered by the Mormon leaders, under the name of the "State of Deseret." The government provided by Congress was intended to

¹ For interesting information concerning Utah and its present condition, see preceding number of this magazine.

extinguish that of this pseudo State, but the people of the Territory cunningly framed, under its provisions, a constitution and laws which did not interfere with the essential features of the abrogated code of "Deseret," and was at the same time acceptable to Congress. The result of the change, instead of weakening the power of the Mormon leaders, really strengthened it, by enabling them, under statutes approved by Congress, to exercise from that time until now permanent and supreme executive, legislative and judicial control throughout the Territory. While it is difficult to say in what manner such a result could have been prevented under the provisions of a representative Territorial government, it is undoubtedly true that the development of Mormonism as a system, the defiant attitude of its adherents, and the resultant difficulties to which reference will be made elsewhere, are chiefly due to the long tenure of absolute civil authority upon which its leaders entered in 1850.

The area of this Territory exceeds that of thirty-three of the present States. Its acreage in cereals, according to the report of the census of 1880, was 95,998 in excess of that of the State of Nevada, and a trifle more than that of Colorado; and the product in bushels was 1,203,849 more than that of Nevada, and 671,205 less than that of Colorado. Her agricultural resources, barely suggested by these figures, are shown in her vast area of fertile soil suited to all of the purposes of husbandry. The value of her gold and silver mines is sufficiently indicated by the fact that their products are exceeded by those of only two States and Territories. To this exhibit of her resources and thrift is to be added the fact that her iron mines have already developed a respectable industry, and that the spindles of at least one cotton mill add to the hum of her manufactures.

The increase in the number of inhabitants from 11,380 in 1850 to 143,963 in 1880 shows a marvelous growth in population, in view of the difficulties until very recently attending immigration. A progress which places her on a favorable footing, as compared with adjacent States and Territories, is also shown in the building of railroads, in the construction of highways, and in the establishment of schools. As shown in the tables accompanying this article, whatever may be said of the obnoxious principles of those under whose direction such growth has been fostered, the statistics of her schools present an array of facts which must be regarded as remarkable. The peculiar conditions which bar her claim, otherwise indisputable, to full enfranchisement need no description. Polygamy is the scarlet letter upon the

brow of this fair young commonwealth which proclaims her deep shame and forbids her entrance into the sisterhood of States. How to remove the curse which holds in degradation what might otherwise be an honored State, is a problem.

The "let alone" policy recommended by Mr. Sedgwick, in a late number of *Scribner's Monthly*, is too evidently responsible for the present Jeshurun-like condition of the Utah adulterists to be regarded as worthy of consideration. The suggestion of Senator Edmunds as to the partition of the Territory, made in a recent number of *Harper's Magazine*, does not seem feasible for topographical reasons. Its division into nearly equal parts by the Wasatch range, and the annexation of one portion to Nevada and the other to Colorado would, since the population lies almost wholly west of this range, place Nevada in danger of falling under Mormon control, while Colorado would receive a scanty increase in population, and an undesirable addition to its area. Aside from these objections to measures which thus seek to deal with the Utah problem by inaction, or'indirection, all such plans will justly be construed by the recalcitrant people of the Territory as a confession on the part of the General Government of its inability to compel their submission to law, and justly subject it to the charge of cowardice in the eyes of the world.

The present polygamous population, as shown by inquiries carefully conducted in conjunction with the census of religious organizations,¹ is 120,283, while the known non-polygamists, or law-abiding citizens, number about 22,000.² President Taylor, at a recent conference of the polygamist branch of the Mormon Church, stated that its actual membership was composed of 55,676 adults and 34,701 children, or a total of 90,377. Thus, on the highest Mormon authority, the total population of Utah not within that organization is 53,586, leaving the number of 31,622 to be added, in part at least, to the inhabitants of the Territory known to be non-polygamists. These statements would seem to indicate that, in order to place the control of the Territory in proper hands, requires an addition to its law-abiding population of less than 40,000. To secure the addition of such a population would seem to be one of the most direct and effective methods of striking at Mormonism. In the ordinary course of immigration, however, an addition to the population of the character desired can hardly be

¹ Information submitted to Judicial Committee of Congress, from reports of Dr. H. R. Waite, Special Agent Census.

² The anti-polygamous branch of the Mormon Church numbers in Utah between 1,000 and 2,000 members.

expected. The arable lands of the Territory are practically under Mormon control, and the agricultural classes who do not come to this country as Mormons will naturally turn to more inviting fields.

But in its vast undeveloped mineral resources may possibly be found an easy key to the difficult problem which has so long perplexed the nation. If, by suitable legislation, special inducements can be offered to those entering the Territory for the purpose of engaging in mining industries, a hardy, intelligent and thrifty population could be at once added to that already opposed to it, and the Utah abomination in a brief time would be effectively stamped out.

Disfranchisement of women, a matter not to be overlooked, would lessen its vote and gradually weaken the Mormon power, but would not immediately alter affairs. The total disfranchisement of polygamists would doubtless be effective, but is it practicable? To disfranchise requires proof of polygamy, and how is this proof to be secured? If by evidence of cohabitation, what testimony outside of Mormon households will be sufficient? And if the testimony depended upon is to be that of Mormons, will they not continue to commit perjury, with the acquired facility of a past experience in that art? To attempt the impossible, and its natural sequence of failure, involves an experience with which the General Government is not unfamiliar, and which is too humiliating to bear repetition.

The relegation of the Territory to the status of Alaska, with a provisional government, under direction of Congress, is preferable to the plan last mentioned, since it would accomplish at one stroke all that could be expected from the successful operation of the former method alone. But to the latter policy can be urged the perhaps insuperable objection that, to cure one ill, however grievous, manifold wrong would follow, in depriving thousands of law-abiding citizens of their constitutional right of suffrage. In this connection, as having an indirect bearing upon the whole question, certain features of the public schools of Utah demand attention.

Exclusively under Mormon control, with an attendance practically confined to Mormon children, and instruction almost wholly confided to Mormon teachers, the public schools of the Territory are made use of, as attested by trustworthy information, for the inculcation of Mormon tenets, among the text-books continually in use being those which set forth the peculiar doctrines of the Mormon Church. That the public school system is used in the interests of Mormonism is also evident from the fact that the "moral character" qualification

of a teacher means the acceptance of the Mormon faith; and that the children of other than Mormons are practically denied the privileges of attendance. In the consideration of the affairs of this Territory, if Congress shall do no more than to adopt measures by which the direction of its public schools shall be taken out of Mormon hands, and committed to the direction of a capable, fearless and just superintendent, who shall act under its authority, an incalculable benefit would follow. Under such management the anti-republican and anomalous condition which now exists, by which adhesion to a religious faith is made an essential in the qualification of a teacher in schools fostered by national grants and supported by the taxation of people of every faith, would cease to exist; and the youth of the Territory, thus left free to receive instruction unmixed with the vile leaven of Mormonism, and at liberty to choose their associates, would soon learn to regard the accursed system with loathing.

The interests of civilization and justice, as well as the honor of the nation, and the future well-being of what must become, sooner or later, a great and populous State, certainly demand the immediate action of Congress in regard to affairs in Utah.

The Territory whose claims for admission as a State are next in order of consideration is New Mexico. The lands comprised within its original area were acquired from Mexico, at the conclusion of the war with that country, by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, and by act of September 9, 1850, a Territorial government was organized. By treaty of December 30, 1853, the region south of the Gila River—the Gadsden purchase, so called—was ceded by Mexico, and by act of August 4, 1854, added to the Territory, which at that time included within its limits the present Territory of Arizona. Chafing under the ineffective provisions of its Territorial government, by which its people were left at the mercy of ravaging hordes of Mexicans and Indians, the inhabitants of the Territory in 1858, after certain preliminary steps, formed and ratified a constitution, elected a Governor, vice-Governor and members of a Legislature, and put in operation a State government, which immediately entered upon the enacting of laws to meet the necessities which seemed to the people to justify this irregular action. September 12, of the same year, Mr. Seward submitted to Congress a memorial from this self-constituted government to the effect that, "as Congress had not secured to them the rights promised under the treaty of cession, including protection of property, and having twice appealed to that body without redress, the citizens

TABLE I.

<i>Selected Statistics.</i>	<i>Utah.</i>	<i>N. Mexico.</i>	<i>Wyoming.</i>	<i>Arizona.</i>	<i>Dakota.</i>	<i>Idaho.</i>	<i>Montana.</i>	<i>Wyoming.</i>
Per cent. of increase in population, 1870-1880 ¹	65.8 ^t	28.9 ^t	213.5 ^b	853.24	318.7 ^t	117.4 ^t	90.1 ^t	127.9 ^t
Population in 1870 ²	11,380	61,547	None.	None	None till 6 ^c	None till 6^{c}	None till 6^{c}	None till 6^{c}
Male population, census of 1880.....	74,500	64,496	45,973	82,296	28,202	28,181	28,177	14,152
Vote for Territorial Delegate, 1880 ^d	19,925	20,397	15,823	28,426	7,701	6,617	7,667	6,017
Vote for Territorial Delegate, 1879 ^e.....	.....	18,846	12,647	18,948	4,461	5,939	9,442	1,069
Acreage in cereals, 1880 ^f	116,495	104,481	136,937	453,338	23,377	44,477	43,925	26,664
Product of cereals in bushels, 1880 ^g	1,976,768	1,547,247	4,108,170	7,453,589	416,788	1,298,324	14,170,809	2,070,000
Value of product in precious metals, 1880 ^h	\$444,500	1,120,000	85,000	2,820,000	2,940,000	2,240,000	5,080,000	.....
Value of total product in precious metals ⁱ	\$9,432,090	3,790,926	268,950	7,255,234	4,373,459	24,804,712	53,060,392	72,760
Internal Revenue receipts, 1875 ^j	31,890	22,866	21,147	10,263	10,940	19,136	23,666	11,942
Internal Revenue receipts, 1880 ^k	\$74,352	31,831	27,018	41,053	26,984	22,665	33,714	15,948
Miles of railroad in 1880 ^l	640	.....	28,836,985	71,422,144	183	.....	.....	.....
Unsurveyed lands, 1880, in acres ^m	67,924,990	.....	67,098,303	67,739,368	80,651,676	53,391,485	.....	.....
Assessed value of real and personal estate, 1880 ⁿ	\$24,985,072	.....	20,759,282	.....	4,520,800	12,777,029	11,835,564	.....
Number of daily newspapers, 1880 ^o	5	3	4	9	6	.....	4	3
Number of weekly newspapers, 1880.....	10	15	24	57	11	7	14	7
Total circulation of above newspapers.....	31,600	8,835	17,041	37,843	14,350	5,000	21,227	5,686
Percentage of total white population who cannot write, 1880 ^p	* 390	5,711	2,452	3,133	1,372	2,70	1,78	1,92
Total number of public schools.....	* 25,609	† 5,151	† 118	† 330	101	139	† 132	† 36
Total number of attendants.....	* \$189,089	† 25,473	† 114,032	10,309	4,212	5,835	† 3,999	† 2,910
Total expenditure for public schools.....	.....	1,220,495	1,114,379	1,060,877	61,172	37,854	67,734	22,121
Total value of public school property.....	.....	† 393,985	† 14,975	† 13,952	113,974	30,700	199,345	61,675

⁵ Report of Commissioner of Internal Revenue.⁶ Poor's Manual for 1880.⁷ General Land Office Report.⁸ Report of S. N. D. North, Special Agent Census.^{*} Report of Dr. H. R. Waite, Special Agent Census.[†] Report of Commissioner of Education, 1879, for N. M. Rep., 1875.^t Extra Census Bulletin.⁴ Report of Director United States Mint.

have felt compelled to take steps necessary for self-protection; that they have formed and ratified a constitution, and organized a State government, whose Legislature is now in session," and calling upon Congress to indorse their action. The government thus formed was not, of course, recognized, although measures were taken to mitigate the evils complained of.¹

The affairs of the Territory were again brought to the serious attention of Congress March 16, 1874, by the presentation of a bill to enable its people to form a constitution and State government. The bill was presented in an able speech by Mr. Elkins, then Delegate from the Territory, and had the warm support of many members. A bill to admit was also introduced in the Senate, and passed that body February 25, 1875, by a vote of thirty-two to eleven, two of the present members of that body, Messrs. Ingalls and Windom, being among its supporters. The matter of admission came up for final action in the House at the same session, just prior to adjournment, and a motion to suspend the rules, in order to put it upon its final passage, was lost by a vote of one hundred and fifty-four to eighty-seven, and the earnest efforts to secure the admission of New Mexico were thus defeated. A bill for its admission is now again before Congress, and it is a matter of interest to note the representations as to the condition of the Territory then made, and the facts as they now exist. It has, according to the census of 1880, a population of 119,565. It had in 1870 a population of 91,874. It was claimed by the more moderate advocates of the bill in 1875 that its population then numbered 135,000 (15,435 more than at present), while others placed it as high as 145,000. Of this population, 45,000 were said to be of American and European descent. It was stated by Senator Hoar, one of the opponents of the bill, that, out of an illiterate population of 52,220, by far the larger part were native inhabitants of Mexican or Spanish origin, who could not speak the English language. This statement seems to be in large degree confirmed by the census of 1880, which shows a total native white population of 108,721, of whom, as nearly as can be ascertained, upward of 80 per cent. are not only illiterates of Mexican and Spanish extraction, but, as in 1870, speaking a foreign language. The vote for Mr. Elkins, Territorial Delegate in 1875, was reported as being about 17,000. The total vote in 1878 was 18,806, and in 1880, 20,397, showing a comparatively insignificant increase from 1875 to 1880.

¹ Meantime, by an act of February 24, 1863, the present Territory of Arizona was set off from New Mexico, and provided with a separate Territorial government.

In respect to agricultural development, the Territory has made little progress, a fact due to the character of much of its soil, to the lack of water, to deficient means of transportation, and, more than all, to the thriftless character of its native inhabitants. The product of cereals in 1870 was 1,547,247 bushels, or much less than that of any of the Territories save those recently organized.

The yield of precious metals for the year 1880¹ was less than one-half the product of Arizona, Dakota, Idaho and Utah. The gold and silver product, from the earliest development of its mines until June 30, 1880, as reported by the Director of the United States Mint, was over half a million dollars less than that of the recently organized mining industries of Arizona, a little more than one-half that of Dakota, less than one-seventeenth of that of Montana, and a little more than one-third that of Utah.

The inferior exhibit thus made is believed, however, to be due not so much to a lack of valuable mineral resources, as to local circumstances, including the unsettled condition of its affairs, the want of proper protection to life and property, lack of enterprise on the part of its inhabitants, the difficulty in many instances of obtaining water for placer mining, and to other local causes.

Many parts of the Territory are believed to possess mineral deposits of the highest value, which it needs only favorable circumstances to make available. Prior to the year 1872 the Territory had practically made no provision for education, and as recently as 1865 its people refused by vote to establish a common school system. That this indifference as to educational interests has not materially changed, is shown by the fact that in 1875 the total expenditures of the Territory for public schools did not exceed \$19,000, and the attendance of children, out of a total school population in that year of 29,312, was only 5,151. No school reports have since been obtainable, the census statistics of schools for 1880 being not yet available, owing to the great difficulty experienced in obtaining information of any character from the various counties of the Territory.

By far the larger part of such schools as exist are taught in the Spanish language, and in many instances by teachers whose qualifications are of the most inferior character. The exhibit thus made is doubtless in some measure due to a lack of proper Territorial school supervision, and this, in turn, is due to the fact that Congress, in New Mexico, as in other Territories, has made no adequate provision for

¹ See tables accompanying this article.

meeting this most pressing want. The abuses which are suffered to exist unchecked by the Territorial Government may be illustrated by the statement, made upon creditable authority, that in many instances native rancheros, acting as school officers, employ the services of putative teachers, who are paid out of the limited school funds of the Territory for services really rendered as herders upon their ranches. A serious obstacle to the proper organization of a common school system arises from the opposition of the Spanish-speaking priests of the Roman Catholic Church, who are unwilling to permit the establishment of schools not absolutely under their control.

The above brief review of the present condition of New Mexico seems to justify and make applicable to the present time the assertion of Mr. Hoar, made in opposition to its admission as a State in 1875, that "the condition of the Territory is not such as to entitle its people to the fuller exercise of the privileges of self-government." As claimed by the opponents to its admission at that time, it may well be doubted whether its people, by far the greater portion of whom speak a foreign language, to which is added the disqualification of gross illiteracy, are in a condition properly to make use of the extended rights of suffrage and the attendant responsibilities. The removal of the dense ignorance, which is the chief obstacle in the way of its progress and development, and its preparation for admission to the Union, can hardly be expected under existing conditions. Provisions for the proper organization of common schools in the several counties of the Territory and the appointment of a Territorial superintendent, under whose direction such provisions would be put in successful operation, would greatly hasten the preparation of the people of New Mexico for the enjoyment of the complete enfranchisement which they seek.

The Territory of Washington was constituted out of Oregon, and organized as a Territory by act of March 2, 1853. Its population by the census of 1880 was 75,116, an increase from 23,955 in 1870. Of this total, 59,313 are of native and 15,803 of foreign nativity. Its total white population in the census year was 67,119; Chinese, 3,186; Indian, 4,105; colored, 326, and its total present population is probably not far from 95,000. Its yield of precious metals in 1880, and for the entire period since its development, while showing resources full of promise, has been much less than that of any of the other organized Territories. Its total vote for Territorial Delegate in 1880, while exceeding that of the Territories of Arizona, Idaho and Wyoming, was but 15,823. Its promise of agricultural

development is assured by a vast area of rich soil, suitable for grazing purposes or for the raising of cereals and other crops, but this development has as yet not progressed to such an extent as to enable it to make a showing which will compare favorably with that of several of the adjacent Territories.¹ The Territorial Legislature has displayed commendable enterprise in its provisions for the education of the youth of the Territory, and the statistics of education present a reasonably satisfactory exhibit, 14,032 out of the 24,223 children of school age in the Territory, according to the last reports, being in attendance upon some one of its 330 schools. Provisions for the more efficient organization of its school system are needed in this, as in the other Territories, and such provisions would result in corresponding benefits. While her claims for admission to the Union are earnestly pressed and favorably considered by many in Congress, it is a matter of doubt as to whether they are sufficiently evident to warrant her enrollment as a State at the present session of Congress.

Dakota, one of the most prosperous and important of the Territories, was organized by act of March 2, 1861, by division of the Territory of Minnesota, from which the larger part of its area was secured, with the addition of the northern part of the Territory of Nebraska. Its present boundaries date from the year 1868, when it surrendered 89,665 square miles for the formation of the Territory of Wyoming. Colonization commenced in 1859, and its first Legislature met in 1862. Its marvelous growth is illustrated by the increase of its population from 14,181 in 1870 to 135,180 in 1880, a percentage of growth far larger than that of any of its sister Territories. The rapid development of the internal resources of the Territory is indicated by the fact that, while its population in 1870 was confined to fifteen counties, it was distributed in 1880 among eighty-eight out of a total of ninety-one. This extraordinary growth in population is explained by the exceptional richness of the soil throughout the Territory, which is well watered, and found to be adapted to the cultivation of a wide range of products; by its wonderful mineral resources, the value of its timber lands, the salubrity of its climate, and by the great enterprise shown in the building of railroads and other highways.

The area of the Territory, with the exception of a small portion drained by the Red and Minnesota Rivers, belongs to the basin of the Missouri, which enters as a navigable river in the northwest part, and

¹ See tables.

passes one thousand miles or more across it in a southwesterly direction, receiving in its course nine large and a great number of small tributaries. The Dakota, one of these tributaries, passes through nearly the entire length of the Territory in a southerly direction. With the exception of the region known as the Black Hills, the mountainous area of the Territory is small. In the southwest portion is its largest area of barren land, in the district known as the *Mauvaises Terres*. According to the report of General Custer in 1874, a large portion of the surface consists of open prairie land especially adapted to stock raising, and in its numerous river valleys is found a vast extent of arable land suitable for the cultivation of cereals and a great variety of vegetables and fruits. Valuable coal deposits are also known to exist in different parts of the Territory. The development of its resources has kept pace with the increase of its population. As shown by the tables accompanying this article, its acreage in cereals for the year 1880 was nearly three times that of Utah, New Mexico and Washington, nearly ten times that of Idaho and Montana, and nearly twenty times that of Arizona, while its products were in corresponding ratio. Although, as indicated by this exhibit, it must be regarded as preëminently an agricultural Territory, its yield of precious metals for the same year places it fourth in rank among the gold and silver producing Territories. The best indication as to the stable character of its population, and the best promise of its future, are found in the large and constantly increasing number of homestead and preëmption entries, the total for the year ending June 30, 1881, having been 8,873, the preëmption entries equalling one-third of the entire number in the United States, covering 274,206 acres. The entries under the Timber act for the same period cover 1,763,799 acres, or about one-half of the whole number in the entire country. These enormous entries, made since the census of 1880, on the basis of the increase of population following previous entries, warrant the belief that the population of the Territory has been increased by upward of 40,000 since the census. The provisions for public school instruction made by the Territorial Government have resulted in the establishment of a school system whose results, under the efficient direction of Superintendent W. H. H. Beadle, have been in keeping with the material growth of the Territory. The future of its educational interests is insured by the most generous provisions. The land grants for schools and universities amount to a total of 8,554,560 acres, added to which are the Congressional grants on

account of agricultural colleges, making a total of 8,679,964 acres thus set apart for purposes of education, or an area more than equivalent to that of the States of Connecticut and Massachusetts combined. The magnificence of the endowment thus provided can only be appreciated by taking into consideration the superior value of these lands, which are widely distributed in the most fertile portions of the Territory.

The proposition of Senator McMillan, which meets with the approval of many of the citizens of the Territory, is to divide the Territory into two parts—that lying south of the forty-sixth parallel to be admitted as a State under the name of Dakota, and that north of the parallel to be formed into a separate Territory. Were such a division to be made, the portion designated for admission as a State would, by a careful estimate, contain upward of 100,000 inhabitants. It is urged in favor of this method of division that the northern and southern portions have different water basins, with a belt of barren land lying between them, thus making a natural division; also that means of communication between the two portions are difficult, and must be so for at least many years to come. Among the arguments which may be adduced in opposition to the proposed division are the serious objections to the multiplication of States, and the consequent increase in the membership of the National Legislature. In favor of its immediate admission it may be urged that the population of the Territory is at this time larger than eight of the original States when the Union was formed. Estimating the population of the Territory in round numbers at 175,000, it will be seen that it is in excess of that of twenty of the present States when admitted to the Union, exclusive of the original thirteen; and, should the Territory be divided, the population of that portion of it out of which it is proposed to form a State, supposing it to be, as seems probable, 100,000, would still be in excess of sixteen States as above. In view of all of the facts, it would seem that this Territory presents claims for immediate admission to the Union, which cannot be lightly set aside.

The Territory of Arizona, organized out of a portion of New Mexico, and provided with a territorial government in 1863, contains about 5,000,000 acres less than the Territory of New Mexico, or an acreage exceeded by that of only five States and Territories. Its total population in 1870 was 9,658, and in 1880, 40,440, 35,160 of whom were whites. Of its total population in the census year, 24,391 were of native and 16,049 of foreign birth, the number of

Indians, Chinese and colored being somewhat in excess of 5,000. Subsequent to its organization as a Territory the northwestern corner was ceded to Nevada. The mineral resources of this Territory, by which its present population has been chiefly attracted, are believed to be of exceeding value. Their development, which may be said to have just commenced, resulted in a total yield in 1880 of about \$3,000,000.

A considerable portion of the area of the Territory lies in the basin of the Colorado and Gila Rivers. It possesses a large proportion of arable soil capable of producing, under cultivation, the various cereals, grapes, figs, oranges, lemons, tobacco, and other valuable products; and it is claimed that much of the land may be made to produce two crops in the year. Its mineral resources are chiefly in the mountains in the south and centre of the Territory, and include gold, silver, copper and lead. It is impossible to present trustworthy statistics as to its present agricultural development; but with its extended area of arable soil, its large acreage of rich grazing lands, and its valuable mineral wealth, coupled with the energetic character of the population recently added by immigration, it is safe to prophesy a rapid addition to the present number of its inhabitants, and a corresponding growth in the development of its many resources. While Arizona does not seem to be entitled, either on the ground of population or expediency, to the recognition of its claims for admission to the Union at the present time, it seems safe to predict that its title to admission at the end of another decade, will be unquestioned.

Next among the claimants for a position on the roll of States is the Territory of Idaho, which was originally a part of Oregon, from which it was separated and provided with a territorial government by act of March 3, 1863. It embraces in its area a little more than 55,000,000 acres, and had in 1880 a total population of 32,610, being an increase from 14,999 in 1870. Of this population, 22,636 are of native and 9,974 of foreign birth; 29,013 of the total inhabitants are white, 3,379 Chinese, and 218 Indians and colored. In the yield of precious metals for the year 1880 its rank is fifth among the Territories, while in the product from the opening of its mines until June 30, 1880, it ranks second. Although, as will be seen from the above statement, the production of its mines has been steadily decreasing, gold and silver are still found in many parts of the Territory, both in vein and placer deposits, and in such paying quantities as to attract a steadily increasing population to its mining districts. The proportion of land

available for agricultural purposes is comparatively small, and the chief development in this direction is now found in the valleys of the south, which are largely inhabited by Mormons, and where abundant crops of cereals are secured with the aid of irrigation. In the valleys of other parts of the territory cereals are also cultivated with some degree of success. In cereal products in 1880 it stands sixth among the Territories, only two—Arizona and Wyoming—showing a smaller product. Aside from its rich mineral resources, the principal attraction of the Territory at the present time is in its extensive and valuable grazing lands, the area covered by useful grasses being upward of 20,000 square miles. Part of this area is exceedingly well adapted to the breeding of stock, an occupation which is found to be very profitable, and is rapidly growing in importance. The development of the resources of the Territory bids fair to be greatly hastened by the completion of the Utah & Northern Railroad, which passes through its southeastern portion from Utah to Montana. In respect to educational affairs, the inhabitants of the Territory show a commendable degree of enterprise, the expenditures for public schools and the school attendance comparing favorably with those of its sister Territories. The claims of this Territory for admission to the Union, in view of its present population and development, and of the rules and precedents which have governed the admission of States hitherto, cannot be regarded as worthy of serious consideration at this time.

The Territory of Montana, organized by act of May 26, 1864, contains an acreage larger than that of any other Territory save Dakota. While it seems to be inferior in cereal producing capacity, in its area of valuable grazing lands it equals, if it does not excel, Idaho. The chief prosperity of the Territory, and that which promises for it a future of growing importance, lies in its extraordinary mineral wealth, the productions of its mines in the year 1880 having been nearly twice that of any other Territory, with a corresponding excess in its total production, which had reached, on June 30, 1880, the enormous total of over \$53,000,000. Its mining industries represent in the aggregate very large invested capital, and the increasing products, with the development of new mines, are attracting constant additions to its population, which in 1880 showed an increase, as compared with 1870, of over 90 per cent. In educational affairs the general intelligence and public spirit of its citizens is attested by the provisions made for the fostering of school interests, which are in a satisfactory and promising condition. Its title to consideration as a candidate for a

position among the States cannot, however, be said to be better than that of Idaho.

Wyoming, the next of the Territories, and the fifth in area, was constituted out of the Territory of Dakota, and provided with Territorial government July 25, 1868. Lying between Colorado and Montana, and adjoining Dakota and Nebraska on the east, it partakes of the natural characteristics of these States and Territories, having a fair portion of land suitable for cultivation, a large area suitable for grazing purposes, and a wealth in mineral resources whose development, although of recent beginning, has already resulted in an encouraging yield in precious metals. While its varied resources give promise of a speedy growth in population and other respects, it cannot be ranked among the present applicants for enrollment as States.

Having thus briefly reviewed the condition of the several Territories, with respect to their titles to stateship, from the standpoint of material prosperity, miscellaneous resources and intelligence, it may be well, in conclusion, to present a brief summary of the considerations which have governed the admission of States in the past. The States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Michigan and Wisconsin were formed out of territory belonging to the original thirteen States; and the terms of their admission to the Union were largely determined by the provisions of the act of July 13, 1787, and of various compacts between the United States and the several State Governments based upon the terms of the that ordinance, as the result of which the territory out of which they were severally constituted was relinquished to the General Government.

The ordinance referred to provided for the formation of the Territory, which should become the common possession of the Union, into States, to be laid out in accordance with the terms of the act, and to be admitted whenever they should have a free population of 60,000, or before their population reached this number, if deemed expedient by Congress. Among other notable features of this act were provisions for the establishment of two grades of Territorial government, the first to be under the administration of executive and judicial officers appointed by the President, and intended to continue until the condition of the Territory was such as to warrant the establishment of the second grade, which was provided for when the free male inhabitants should reach the number of 5,000, and was to be established by the election of a legislative assembly chosen by the qualified voters of the Territory. The terms of this ordinance were made applicable,

TABLE II.

States.	Date when admitted.	Area in square miles at time of admission.	Population nearest census to date of admission.	
			Population.	Year.
[First thirteen admitted on ratifying Constitution, all others admitted by Acts of Congress.]				
Delaware	December 7, 1787	2,050	59,096	1790
Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	45,215	434,373	1790
New Jersey	December 18, 1787	7,815	184,139	1790
Georgia	January 2, 1788	59,475	82,548	1790
Connecticut	January 9, 1788	4,990	237,496	1790
Massachusetts	February 6, 1788	8,315	378,787	1790
Maryland	April 28, 1788	12,210	319,728	1790
South Carolina	May 23, 1788	30,570	249,033	1790
New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	9,305	141,885	1790
Virginia	June 25, 1788	42,450	747,610	1790
New York	July 26, 1788	49,170	340,120	1790
North Carolina	November 21, 1789	52,250	393,751	1790
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	1,250	68,825	1790
Vermont	March 4, 1791	9,565	85,339	1791
Kentucky	June 1, 1792	49,400	73,077	1792
Tennessee	June 1, 1796	42,050	77,202	1796
Ohio	November 29, 1802	41,060	41,915	1802
Louisiana	April 30, 1812	48,720	70,550	1812
Indiana	December 11, 1816	36,350	63,805	1816
Mississippi	December 10, 1817	46,810	75,512	1817
Illinois	December 3, 1818	56,650	34,620	1818
Alabama	December 14, 1819	52,250	127,901	1820
Maine	March 15, 1820	33,040	298,269	1820
Missouri	August 19, 1821	89,415	66,586	1821
Arkansas	June 15, 1836	53,850	52,240	1836
Michigan	January 26, 1837	58,915	212,267	1840
Florida	March 3, 1845	58,680	54,477	1845
Iowa	December 28, 1846	56,025	81,920	1846
Texas	December 29, 1845	265,780	212,592	1850
Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	56,040	305,391	1850
California	September 9, 1850	158,360	92,597	1850
Minnesota	May 11, 1858	83,365	172,023	1860
Oregon	February 14, 1859	96,030	52,465	1859
Kansas	January 29, 1861	82,080	107,206	1860
West Virginia	June 19, 1863	24,780	442,014	1870
Nevada	October 31, 1864	110,700	40,000	1864
Nebraska	March 1, 1867	76,855	60,000	1867
Colorado	August 1, 1876	103,925	150,000	1876
Territories.	Dates of organization.	Present area, square miles.	Population.	Census of
Utah	September 9, 1850	82,090	143,963	1880
New Mexico	September 9, 1850	122,580	119,565	1880
Washington	March 2, 1853	69,180	75,116	1880
Dakota	March 2, 1861	149,100	135,177	1880
Arizona	February 24, 1863	113,020	40,440	1880
Idaho	March 3, 1863	84,800	32,610	1880
Montana	May 26, 1864	146,080	39,159	1880
Wyoming	July 25, 1868	97,890	20,789	1880
Indian		64,690	-----	-----
Alaska		Unsurveyed.	-----	-----

Basis for apportionment of Representatives in Congress—1789, 1 to 30,000 of population; 1793, 1 to 33,000; 1803, 1 to 33,000; 1813, 1 to 35,000; 1823, 1 to 40,000; 1833, 1 to 47,700; 1843, 1 to 70,680; 1853, 1 to 93,423; 1863, 1 to 127,381; 1873, 1 to 131,425; 1883 (on supposed basis of 320 Representatives), 1 to 154,285.

in the absence of any subsequent provisions of a like or different nature, to the formation of States in the Territory of Louisiana, afterward acquired by treaty with France, out of which have been constituted the States of Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, Nebraska, and part of Colorado; the Territory of

Florida, acquired by treaty with Spain, out of which was formed the State of Florida¹ and the territory acquired by treaties with Mexico,² out of which have been formed the States of California and Nevada and the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona and part of Colorado. The conditions and steps essential to the formation of new States, according to the terms of the ordinance of 1787, of the compacts with the various States relinquishing territory to the Union, of the treaty stipulations by which purchased territory was acquired, and of the laws of Congress passed in conformity with the articles of the Constitution adopted in 1787, may be briefly stated as follows: 1st. The determination of boundaries; 2d. Proof that the population equals the number required by the ordinance of 1787, or the number necessary, at the time, to entitle the State seeking admission to a representative in Congress, upon the basis of representation then existing; 3d. Authority for the formation of a constitution and State government in accordance with provisions made by Congress under so-called Enabling acts; 4th. The ratification of the constitution adopted in pursuance of the above provisions, by vote of the qualified citizens of the Territory; 5th. An act of Congress approving the steps taken under the Enabling act, and formally recognizing the newly formed government as a State.

While the validity and expediency of these conditions have been recognized, they were almost wholly disregarded in the case of Tennessee, the Territory first admitted after the adoption of the ordinance of July 13, 1787, which came fully under its provisions; and, while some of the rules noted have been enforced, others have been equally ignored in connection with the admission of nearly all of the Territories subsequently formed into States. The people of Tennessee, whose Territory had formerly been under the jurisdiction of North Carolina, and whose boundaries were already defined, adopted a constitution and formed a State government in 1795, without authority of Congress, and in the following year, through its representatives, this self-constituted State demanded admission to the Union. Its claims were strenuously opposed by a minority in Congress, who demanded that, prior to the consideration of its claims for admission, it should be required to comply with the terms of the ordinance of 1787, and contended that to admit it at that time would be in disregard of the authority of Congress, and calculated to establish a

¹ The remainder of this Territory was added to the States of Alabama and Mississippi.

² Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, and treaty of 1853.

dangerous precedent. These advocates of the maintenance of Congressional authority as alone competent for determining the conditions under which Territories shall be entitled to seek admission to the Union were overruled, having among their opponents Madison, Macon, Gallatin, and other eminent men. Mr. Dayton, one of the chief opponents of the bill, claimed that its enactment would be equivalent to an utter disregard of existing provisions, and as a renunciation by Congress of any right to deliberate as to the title of a Territory to admission. Mr. Madison said that the inhabitants of the Territory were at present in a degraded situation, deprived of rights essential to free men—among others, that of representation in Congress; and that an exterior power had authority over their laws, something which could only be justified on the ground of obvious and imperious necessity. Mr. Macon, in answer to the objection that the State had been established in contravention of the provisions intended to govern the formation of new States, replied that but two conditions were essential. Was its Government republican in form? and had it the necessary number of inhabitants? If so, its right to admission was indisputable.

Mr. Gallatin said that the people of the Territory became *ipso facto* a State the moment the population reached 60,000 free inhabitants, and that it became the duty of Congress to recognize their title to admission whenever it had satisfactory proof of this fact. The views of Mr. Madison, Mr. Macon and Mr. Gallatin prevailed, and the precedent, so deprecated by Mr. Dayton, of admitting a Territory in disregard of the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, was established. That the ill results feared by this eminent statesman have not followed, has been the result of fortunate circumstances rather than the wisdom of the measures which he so ably opposed. While but one Territory has been subsequently admitted under conditions altogether similar to those existing in the case of Tennessee, in the case of nearly all other Territories this precedent, as regards some one of the rules applicable under the law of 1787, or provided by subsequent measures, has been ignored. These departures from the original intent of Congress have been especially evident as regards population. At the date of the acts enabling them to form State governments, I find that, of the Territories constituted into free States, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Oregon, Nevada and Nebraska had a population less than 60,000; and, of those constituted as slave States, not one had then a free population in excess of the required number, the total population, free

and slave, of Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and Missouri being but a little above it, and that of Arkansas and Florida considerably below it. Of the above named States, at the time of their final admission to the Union, Ohio, Illinois, Oregon and Nevada, of the free States, were still below the required population; and in none of the slave States, including Tennessee, admitted without the formality of an enabling act, was the free population sufficient, while in Arkansas and Florida the total, including slaves, was still less than 60,000.

It will be thus seen that eleven States organized from Territories, when authorized to form State governments, and the same number when admitted to the Union, had free populations of less than 60,000, and that of the slave States included in this number, seven in all, not one had the required number of free inhabitants, either when authorized to take the first steps toward admission or when finally admitted; and that both of these steps were taken by two of the latter States with a total population, free and slave, below the required number. Why so many States have been authorized to form State governments, and have been subsequently admitted to the Union with populations so far below the requirements of the ordinance of 1787, and the accepted rules for subsequent action, may be briefly explained as follows: 1st, by the ground for the use of a wide discretion afforded in the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, for the admission of States, when deemed expedient, before their population should equal the required number; and 2d, by the equally wide discretion given by the Constitution in the words, "New States may be admitted by Congress into this Union,"¹ the only provision of the Constitution bearing specifically upon this subject. Efforts have been made at various times to secure the strict enforcement of the original rules, with the modification resulting from the increase in the population of the Union, which provided that the number of free inhabitants in a Territory seeking admission should equal the number established as the basis of representation in the apportionment of Representatives in Congress, as determined by the preceding census. How little success the efforts made in this direction have met, may be seen by a comparison of the number of inhabitants forming the basis of representation, as established by the different censuses, and the free population of the Territories admitted at corresponding periods.²

At this late date, it is hardly to be expected that rules so long

¹ First clause. sec. 3, art. 4.

² See table II.

disregarded, will be made applicable to the admission of the States to be organized from the existing Territories. There is, nevertheless, a growing disposition on the part of Congress to look with disfavor upon the formation of States whose population, and the development of whose resources, render the expediency of their admission questionable; and an increasing doubt as to the propriety of so dividing the existing Territories as to multiply to an unnecessary extent the number of States, with the attendant increase in the number of Representatives in the National Legislature.

To recapitulate the facts as to the present condition of the Territories with reference to their admission as States, it may be said that only Dakota, Utah, New Mexico and Washington are in possession of the necessary population according to the rule requiring 60,000; that only the three first named conform to the rule demanding a population equal to the present basis of representation; that only Dakota, Utah and Washington give evidence of that intelligence on the part of their inhabitants which is essential to the proper exercise, under favorable conditions, of the extended rights of citizenship, and of that progress in the development of their resources which makes self-government essential, safe, or in any way desirable; and that only Dakota can be said, unquestionably, to possess all of the requirements which, by the dictates of a sound policy, should be demanded of a Territory at this time seeking admission to the Union.

Whatever the response to the Territorial messengers now waiting at the doors of Congress, a few years, at most, will bring an answer to their prayers. The stars of a dozen proud and prosperous States will soon be added to those already blazoned upon the blue field of the Union, and the term Territory, save as applied to the frozen regions of Alaska, will disappear from the map of the United States.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE.

SOME RECENT POETRY.

Love Poems and Sonnets. By Owen Innsly. Boston: A. Williams & Co., Old Corner Bookstore, 1881.

A FAMILY of children, brought up in the English fashion, were taught each day after dinner to fold their hands and say, softly, "Thank God for a good dinner!" One day, owing to some domestic

stress of weather, the little ones were confronted, on reaching table, with a large dish of boiled rice, off which they were forced for the nonce to make their meal. At the close the elder child looked up and said, "Mamma, is boiled rice a good dinner?" "Yes, my child, and there are plenty of people who do not have even that." "Well, then" (and here a sigh), "Thank—God—for a—good dinner."

Sometimes, when our editorial board is spread with a feast of modern poetry, we recall this story, and gulping down our natural resentment, thank the gods for such as they send. The truth, we take it, is that most of the poetry produced nowadays cannot be, in one sense, fairly judged, if the reader insists on measuring it by the standard of the great writers. It is true that, if a man has passed all his life in constant companionship with the best writers, he cannot cast them clean out of his mind, and judge the new-comer by the white light reflected from the walls of an empty room. Still, he must try to do something like this, or the books subjected to him will have no chance at all of salvation. He must avoid comparisons, if possible; must seek to find out what the writer was aiming at, and how far he or she—happy if, in these days of masquerade, he can make out if it be he or she—has come up to the standard set by the book itself. The result of such an effort would, no doubt, be more satisfactory to the writers reviewed. Whether criticism would be the gainer by it, is another question.

The poems of Owen Innsly would seem to have struck a responsive chord in the public breast, for they have been accorded a welcome such as seldom greets the work of an unknown writer. In this case, not only was the writer's name heard for the first time, but it was doubtful for a few weeks whether the singer was a man or a woman. How a doubt on the subject could have survived the reading of the poems themselves, it is not easy to understand. They are feminine in all their lineaments. And since, as soon as inquiry was made, the secret was revealed that the author is a woman, it is difficult to see why any secret was ever made about the matter.

Surely, the secrecy was unnecessary, for, if these poems be a first venture, they do the writer no discredit, and of a few of them even more may without flattery be said. The writer is evidently a cultivated person, who has enjoyed all the advantages that come from books, studies, the society of educated people, and from a considerable sojourn in foreign countries, chiefly, we should suppose, in Italy. The English verses of which her book is made up are interspersed with

others written in German, French and Italian, and though it would not be generous to say that we are of purpose made to feel that, so far as culture is concerned, the author is no common person, there is no doubt that the faults of the book are an air of pedantry and a want of spontaneity, both in thought and in expression. This want of spontaneity is none the less felt because the author has evidently a great facility at verse making; the impression made is not of a fountain leaping to the light, but of a faucet set running. There is abundant evidence of feeling, of sympathy with high ideas, of an enjoyment of nature; the author has a correct, if not a sensitive, ear for rhythm, and yet the effect of the book is not in the least stimulating, either to feeling, to intellectual sympathy or to our love of nature; while, so far as form is concerned, we get the impression, not of poetry, but of prose; nor is there in all these pages enough of pure poetical expression to furnish forth a single genuine poem.

There is nothing new in this; it is what we, here at home (and let other countries look to themselves if they also share the fault; we will bury our own dead), are well accustomed to. We have not yet learned the distinction between verses and poetry any more than we have learned the difference between mere painted canvas and pictures. Because there is a distinction, however, is no reason why we should not enjoy the verses, nor why we should not take our pleasure sadly in the so-called pictures. All we ask is that it be acknowledged there is a distinction. We then, here at home, have for several generations been producing, as a regular and marketable crop, books upon books of verses, by far the greater part of them smoothly, correctly written, well enough rhymed, and containing homely, honest thoughts about life, love, death, immortality and events of the day, and only in one case, so far as we know, has there been anything offered to our public that could not be read with impunity to our wives and daughters. Some of this work has been as good of its kind as can be found anywhere, and the general run has been of fair, washable quality, so that we have no reason to be ashamed of the manufacture. The people are content with it; and, so democratic is taste on this side the water, that even scholars and students of literature are not above offering the weight of their opinion, not so much in defense of the verses, which we are very sure they never waste their time in reading, as in crying down any one who may be doing something of a manlier and more native quality.

Owen Innsly's poems are only another contribution to the rhymed prose of which we have already our storehouses full. So purely negative is their quality that it is a hundred times easier to say what they are not than to say what they are. The love portion of the book is hard to make out. Owen Innsly is a woman, and yet in her capacity of lover she writes, or tries to write, like a man. Her Sacharissa's name is Helen, or Helena, as the name is sometimes spelled, and this personage is constantly appearing to us as a new avatar of Helen of Troy. The author has a way of writing about this Helen that adroitly simulates passion; but, whether it is because we know the facts, or whether it is that we weary of the iteration, there is to our ears no true note of passion in the book. Nor is what is said uttered in an individual way. The book is full of echoes, now of Tennyson, now of Mrs. Browning, now of Clough, and, as if it were not enough that we should be put out by these continually recurring resemblances, we are from time to time interrupted by the arrival of the polyglot muse who thrusts in now a French, now an Italian, now a German, exercise in prosody, with here and there a Greek title to serve as a *sauce piquante* to some verses with less savor of their own than the rest.

These poems are the issue of a morbid state of feeling that has been cossetted and encouraged in a purely artificial society. There is not from beginning to end of the book anything healthy, or that can please people with healthy minds. This is not because of its pervading mournfulness, but because the mournfulness seems not to spring naturally from any root. We do not charge that the author is sick of self-love, but her verses read as if she were sick of life because it is the fashion. There is a set of people in Boston who, long before Mr. Wilde and his crew appeared on the other side the water, put on precisely the airs that we are now laughing at in this good-natured young gentleman, who is posing for our entertainment at so much a head. It was, however, the Asphodel and Greek herbs in general that were the themes in the Boston circle, and not the lily and the sun-flower. On one occasion the pensive marigold was used in select circles to express a completely jaundiced state of mind. Then came "parlors," where people with nothing at all to say said it in the profoundest and most inverted style; then schools of philosophy where the only thing the managers were always out of when it was called for was philosophy, but where there was always a plentiful supply of shells from which other people had hatched chickens. Everything

that money, ease, comfort, books, pictures, travel, can do to assist intellectual life into being has been at the easy command of this society, and, so far as we can see, nothing has come of it but a more intense egotism and a more pertinacious determination to admire and hold on to one another to the bitter end. It is only in such a society that a book like this of Owen Innsly's could be produced, or, having been produced, could be encouraged to go on living. As we have said, we have plenty of healthy verse produced here, at home, and even where there is a predominance of the sad vein, there is often enough felt to be a strong and still vital life pulsing beneath. Our complaint of Owen Innsly is that her woes are so languidly bewailed, and with so much of elegant reserve, as to chill our sympathies, while in her deepest throes of language we always feel that she will never forget what Boston expects of her cultivated members of society. But, not to leave the reader with a too unfavorable verdict, take the following as a specimen of her work, the best we have been able to find:

ON THE PINCIAN.

Their dusky boughs the pine-trees lift
 Against the heaven's transcendent hue;
 Nor does the faintest cloudlet drift
 One film across the perfect blue.
 The world lies bathed in sunshine; hill
 And hollow, fountain, circling stream,
 Sparkle with light, and hushed and still
 The city, like a dream.

So smiles the Present, while the Past,
 Mysterious, dim, about it lies,
 Guarding the kingdoms wide and vast,
 Invisible to human eyes;
 But whispering to human ears,
 With speech more potent than our own,
 The story of the by-gone years
 In low, perpetual tone.

It tells how soon the race was o'er
 For others; how we soon shall be,
 With kings and emperors gone before,
 But shadows of reality;
 And how we pass that they may come
 Whom Time's swift courses bear along;
 How other lips, when ours are dumb,
 Shall blossom into song.

As now we sing beside their graves
Whose rhythmic laughter once made glad
The earth, whose gentle memory craves
From us more tender words than sad;
And as to-day o'er quick and dead
Extends the sky's unsullied space,
So ever o'er us all shall spread
The infinite embrace.

That change is not; that destiny
Rules with a calm, impartial sway;
That to all eyes is given to see
The generous beauty of the day.
And, last sweet comfort unto men—
The thought an armor 'gainst despair—
Since this world is so blest, shall, then,
A future be less fair?

With thoughts like these of peace and rest,
Amid the noon's effulgent light,
Is soothed, not terrified, the breast,
With shadows of the coming night;
And here within the soul's true home,
Beneath thy calm and tranquil sky,
While making life all joy, O Rome,
Thou teachest how to die.

CLARENCE COOK.

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POLITICAL RECOLLECTIONS AND NOTES.

THROUGH the influence of early associations I began my political life a Whig, casting my first presidential ballot for General Harrison, in 1840. I knew next to nothing of our party politics; but in the matter of attending mass meetings, singing Whig songs, and drinking hard cider, I played a considerable part in the memorable campaign of that year. So far as ideas entered into my support of the Whig candidate, I simply regarded him as a poor man, whose home was a log cabin, and who would in some way help the people through their scuffle with poverty and the "hard times"; while I was fully persuaded that Van Buren was not only a graceless aristocrat and a dandy, but a cunning conspirator, seeking the overthrow of his country's liberties by uniting the sword and the purse in his own clutches, as he was often painted on the party banners. In these impressions I was by no means singular. They filled the air, and seemed to be wafted on every breeze. Horace Greeley's famous campaign organ, *The Log Cabin*, only gave them voice and fitting pictorial effect, and he frankly admitted in later years that his Whig appeals, with his music and wood engravings of General Harrison's battle scenes, were more "vivid" than "sedately argumentative." No one will now seriously pretend that this was a campaign of ideas, or a struggle for political reform in any sense. It was a grand national frolic, in which the imprisoned mirth and fun of the people found such jubilant and uproarious expression that anything like calmness of judgment or real seriousness of purpose was out of the question in the Whig camp.

As regards party issues, General Harrison, singularly enough, was

not a Whig, but an old-fashioned State-Rights Democrat of the Jeffersonian school. His letters to Harmar Denny and Sherrod Williams committed him to none of the dogmas which defined a Whig. No authentic utterance of his could be produced in which he had ever expressed his agreement with the Whig party on the questions of a protective tariff, internal improvements, or a national bank. There was very high Whig authority for saying that the bank question was not an issue of the canvass, while Van Buren's great measure for separating the currency from the banks became a law pending the Presidential struggle. In fact, it was because no proof of General Garrison's party orthodoxy could be found that he was nominated, and the Whig managers of the Harrisburg Convention felt obliged to sacrifice Henry Clay, which they did through the basest double-dealing and treachery, for the reason that his right-angled character as a party leader would make him unavailable as a candidate. As to John Tyler, he was not a Whig in any sense. It is true that he had opposed the removal of the deposits, and voted against Benton's expunging resolutions, but on all the regular and recognized party issues he was fully committed as a Democrat, and was, moreover, a nullifier. The sole proof of his Whiggery was the apocryphal statement that he wept when Clay failed to receive the nomination, while his political position was perfectly understood by the men who nominated him. There was one policy only on which they were perfectly agreed, and that was the policy of avowing no principles whatever; and they tendered but one issue, and that was a change of the national administration. On this issue they were perfectly united and thoroughly in earnest, and it was idle to deny that on their own showing the spoils alone divided them from the Democrats and inspired their zeal.

The demand of the Whigs for a change was well-founded. Samuel Swartwout, the New York Collector of Customs, had disgraced the government by his defalcations; and, although he was a legacy of Mr. Van Buren's "illustrious predecessor," and had been "vindicated" by a Senate committee composed chiefly of his political opponents, he was unquestionably a public swindler, and had found shelter under Mr. Van Buren's administration. He was the most conspicuous public rascal of his time, but was far from being alone in his odious notoriety. The system of public plunder inaugurated by Jackson was in full blast, and an organized effort to reform it was the real need of the hour; but here was the weak point of the Whigs. They proceeded

upon the perfectly gratuitous assumption that the shameless abuses against which they clamored would be thoroughly reformed should they come into power. They took it for granted that a change would be equivalent to a cure, and that the people would follow them in thus begging the very question on which some satisfactory assurance was reasonably required. They seemed totally unconscious of the fact that human nature is essentially the same in all parties, and that a mere change of men without any change of system would be fruitless. They laid down no programme looking to the reform of the civil service. They did not condemn it, and their sole panacea for the startling frauds and defalcations of Van Buren's administration was the imagined superior virtue and patriotism of the Whigs. In the light of this fact alone, it is impossible to account for the perfectly unbounded and irrepressible enthusiasm which swept over the land during the campaign, and so signally routed the forces of Democracy. Something more than empty promises and windy declamation was necessary, and that something, in an evil hour, was supplied by the Democrats themselves.

General Harrison was a man of Revolutionary blood. He commanded the confidence of the Chief Fathers of the Republic. He was a man of undoubted bravery, and had made a most honorable record, both as a soldier and a civilian, upon ample trial in both capacities. He was unquestionably honest and patriotic, and the fact that he was a poor man, and a plain farmer of the West, could properly form no objection to his character or his fitness for the Presidency. But the Democratic orators and newspapers assailed him as an "imbecile." They called him a "dotard" and a "granny." They said he had distinguished himself in war by running from the enemy. One Democratic journalist spoke of him, contemptuously, as a man who should be content with a log cabin and a barrel of hard cider, without aspiring to the Presidency. The efforts to belittle his merits and defile his good name became systematic, and degenerated into the most unpardonable personal abuse and political defamation. This was exactly what the Whigs needed to supplement their lack of principles. It worked like a charm. It rallied the Whig masses like a grand battle cry. Mass meetings of the people, such as had never been dreamed of before, became the order of the day. The people took the work of politics into their own keeping, and the leaders became followers. The first monster meeting I attended was held on the Tippecanoe battle ground, on the 29th and 30th of May. In order to attend it I

rode on horseback through the mud and swamps one hundred and fifty miles; but I considered myself amply compensated for the journey in what I saw and enjoyed. The gathering was simply immense; and I remember that James Brooks, since conspicuous in our national politics, tried to address the multitude from the top of a huge log cabin. Large shipments of hard cider had been sent up the Wabash by steamer, and it was liberally dealt out to the people in gourds, as more appropriate and old-fashioned than glasses. The people seemed to be supremely happy, and their faces were so uniformly radiant with smiles that a man who was detected with a serious countenance was at once suspected as an unrepentant "Locofoco." But by far the largest meeting of the campaign was that held at Dayton, on the 12th of September, where General Harrison spoke at length. He was the first "great man" I had seen, and I succeeded in getting quite near him; and, while gazing into his face with an awe which I have never since felt for any mortal, I was suddenly recalled from my wrapt condition by the exit of my pocketbook. The number in attendance at this meeting was estimated at two hundred thousand, and I think it could not have been far out of the way. I am sure I have never seen it equaled, although I have witnessed many great meetings within the past forty years. The marked peculiarity of all the gatherings of this campaign was a certain grotesque pomp and extravagance of representation suggestive of a grand carnival. The banners, devices and pictures were innumerable, while huge wagons were mounted with log cabins, cider barrels, canoes, miniature ships, and raccoons.

But the most distinguishing feature of the campaign was its music. The spirit of song was everywhere, and made the whole land vocal. The campaign was set to music, and the song seriously threatened to drown the stump speech. Whiggery was translated into a tune, and poured itself forth in doggerel rhymes which seemed to be born of the hour, and exactly suited to the crisis. I give a few specimens, partly from memory and partly from "The Harrison and Log Cabin Song Book" of 1840, a copy of which is before me:

What has caused the great commotion, motion, motion,
Our country through?
It is the ball a-rolling on, on,
For Tippecanoe and Tyler too—Tippecanoe and Tyler too;
And with them we'll beat little Van, Van, Van;
Van is a used up man;
And with them we'll beat little Van.

Like the rushing of mighty waters, waters, waters,
 On it will go,
 And in its course will clear the way
 For Tippecanoe and Tyler too—Tippecanoe and Tyler too;
 And with them we 'll beat little Van, Van, Van;
 Van is a used up man;
 And with them we 'll beat little Van.

This song was a great favorite. The following, sung to the tune of "Old Rosin the Bow," was quite as popular :

Come ye who, whatever betide her,
 To Freedom have sworn to be true,
 Prime up with a cup of hard cider,
 And drink to old Tippecanoe.
 Parched corn men can't stand it much longer,
 Enough is as much as we 'll bear;
 With Tip at our head, in October,
 We 'll tumble Van out of the chair.
 Then ho! for March fourth, forty-one, boys,
 We 'll shout till the heavens' arched blue
 Shall echo hard cider and fun, boys,
 Drink, drink to old Tippecanoe.

We give the following verses of one of the best, which used to be sung with tremendous effect :

The times are bad, and want curing;
 They are getting past all enduring;
 Let us turn out Martin Van Buren
 And put in Old Tippecanoe.
 The best thing we can do
 Is to put in Old Tippecanoe.
 It's a business we all can take part in,
 So let us give notice to Martin
 That he must get ready for startin',
 For we 'll put in Old Tippecanoe.
 The best thing we can do
 Is to put in Old Tippecanoe.

The following verses are perfectly characteristic :

See the farmer to his meal,
 Joyfully repair;
 Crackers, cheese, and cider too,
 A hard but homely fare.
 Martin to his breakfast comes
 At the hour of noon;
 Sipping from a china cup,
 With a golden spoon.
 Martin's steeds impatient wait
 At the palace door;
 Outriders behind the coach
 And lackeys on before.

Such was this most remarkable Whig campaign, with its monster meetings and music, its infinite drolleries, its rollicking fun, and its strong flavor of political lunacy. As to the canvass of the Democrats, the story is soon told. In all points it was the reverse of a success. The attempt to manufacture enthusiasm failed signally. They had neither fun nor music in their service, and the attempt to secure them would have been completely overwhelmed by the flood on the other side. It was a melancholy struggle, and constantly made more so by the provoking enthusiasm and unbounded good humor of the Whigs. It ended as a campaign of despair, while its humiliating catastrophe must have awakened inexpressible disappointment and disgust both among the leaders and masses of the party.

This picture of party politics, nearly forty-two years ago, is not very flattering to our American pride, but it simply shows the working of democratic institutions in dealing with the "raw material" of society and life at that time. The movement of 1840 was necessarily transient and provisional, while underneath its clatter and nonsense was a real issue. It was unrecognized by both parties, but it made its advent, and the men who pointed its way quietly served notice upon the country of their ulterior purposes. As long ago as the year 1817, Charles Osborn had established an anti-slavery newspaper in Ohio, entitled *The Philanthropist*, which was followed in 1821 by the publication of Benjamin Lundy's "Genius of Universal Emancipation." In 1831 the uprising of slaves in Southampton county, Va., under the lead of Nat. Turner, had startled the country and invited attention to the question of slavery. In the same year Garrison had established *The Liberator*, and in 1835 was mobbed in Boston and dragged through its streets with a rope about his neck. In 1837 Lovejoy had been murdered in Alton, Ill., and his assassins compared by the Mayor of Boston to the patriots of the Revolution. In 1838 a pro-slavery mob had set fire to Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, and defied the city authorities in this service of slavery. President Jackson and Amos Kendall, his Postmaster-General, had openly set the Constitution at defiance by justifying the rifling of the mails and the suppression of the circulation of anti-slavery newspapers in the South. The gag resolutions had been introduced in the House of Representatives in 1836, which provoked the splendid fight of Adams, Giddings and Slade for the right of petition and the freedom of speech. Dr. Channing had published his prophetic letter to Henry Clay on the annexation of Texas, in 1837, and awakened a profound

interest in the slavery question on both sides of the Atlantic. We had been disgraced by two Florida wars, caused by the unconstitutional espousal of slavery by the General Government. President Van Buren had dishonored his administration and defied the moral sense of the civilized world by his efforts to prostitute the foreign policy to the service of slavery and the slave trade. In February, 1839, Henry Clay had made his famous speech on "Abolitionism," and thus recognized the bearing of the slavery question upon the presidential election of the following year. The Abolitionists had laid siege to the conscience and humanity of the people, and their moral appeals were to be a well-spring of life to the nation in its final struggle for self-preservation; but as yet they had agreed upon no organized plan of action against the aggressions of an institution which threatened the overthrow of the Union and the end of republican government. But now they were divided into two camps, the larger of which favored political action, organized as a party, and nominated James G. Birney as its candidate for President, who received nearly seven thousand votes.

This was a small beginning, but it was the beginning of the end. That slavery was to be put down without political action in a government carried on by the ballot was never a tenable proposition, and the inevitable work was at last inaugurated. It was done opportunely. Harrison and Van Buren were alike objectionable to anti-slavery men who understood their record. To choose between them was to betray the cause. Van Buren had attempted to shelter the slave trade under the national flag. He had allied himself to the enemies of the right of petition and the freedom of debate as the means of conciliating the South. He had taken sides with Jackson in his lawless interference with the mails at the bidding of slave-holders. In a word, he had fairly earned the description of "a Northern man with Southern principles." General Harrison, on the other hand, was a pro-slavery Virginian. While Governor of Indiana Territory he had repeatedly sought the introduction of slavery into that region through the suspension of the ordinance of 1787, which had forever dedicated it to freedom. He had taken sides with the South in 1820 on the Missouri question. He had no sympathy with the struggle of Adams and his associates against the gag and in favor of the right of petition, and regarded the discussion of the slavery question as unconstitutional. The first draft of his inaugural was so wantonly offensive to the anti-slavery Whigs who had aided in his

election that even Mr. Clay condemned it and prevailed on the General to modify it. He had declared that "the schemes of the abolitionists were fraught with horrors upon which an incarnate devil only could look with approbation." With such candidates the hour had fairly struck for anti-slavery men who believed in the use of the ballot to launch the grand movement which was finally to triumph over all opposition.

From this time forward anti-slavery progress was more marked. The struggle over the right of petition in Congress continued, and was characterized by a constantly increasing measure of fierceness on the part of the South. This is vividly depicted in a passage from the diary of Mr. Adams, in March, 1841, in which he declares that "the world, the flesh and all the devils in hell are arrayed against any man who now, in this North American Union, shall dare to join the standard of Almighty God to put down the African slave trade; and what can I, upon the verge of my seventy-fourth birthday, with a shaking hand, a darkening eye, a drowsy brain, and with all my faculties dropping from me one by one, as the teeth are dropping from my head, what can I do for the cause of God and man, for the progress of human emancipation, for the suppression of the African slave trade? Yet my conscience presses me on; let me but die upon the breach." The celebrated trial of Mr. Adams, the following year, for presenting a petition from the citizens of Haverhill, requesting Congress to take steps toward a peaceable dissolution of the Union, was a great national event, and his triumph gave a new impulse to the cause of freedom. The censure of Mr. Giddings, which followed, for offering resolutions in the House embodying the simplest truisms respecting the relations of the General Government to slavery, and the elaborate State paper of Mr. Webster, which provoked these resolutions, in which he attempted to commit the Government to the protection of slavery on the high seas, in accordance with the theories of Mr. Calhoun, still further kept alive the anti-slavery agitation and awakened the interest of Northern men. A kindred aid, unwittingly rendered the anti-slavery cause, was the infamous diplomacy of General Cass, our Ambassador to France in 1842, in connection with the Quintuple Treaty for the suppression of the African slave trade. His monstrous effort to shield that trade under the flag of the United States was characterized by Mr. Adams as "a compound of Yankee cunning, of Italian perfidy and of French *légéreté*, cemented by shameless profligacy, unparalleled in American diplomacy." In

October, 1842, Henry Clay himself became an anti-slavery agitator through his famous "Mendenhall Speech," at Richmond, Ind. In response to a petition asking him to emancipate his slaves, he told the people "that whatever the law secures as property *is* property," and described his slaves as "well fed and clad" and as looking "sleek and hearty." "Go home, Mr. Mendenhall," said he, "and mind your own business, and leave other people to take care of theirs." Mr. Mendenhall was an anti-slavery Quaker, but Mr. Clay, while rebuking him severely, took pains to compliment the society itself on its practically pro-slavery attitude, and thus stung into redoubled earnestness and zeal the men who had recently been driven out of it on account of their "abolitionism." On the day following this speech, which was the Sabbath, he was escorted to the yearly meeting by Elijah Coffin, its clerk, seated in a very conspicuous place, honored by every mark of the most obsequious deference, and thus made the instrument of widening the breach already formed in the society, while feeding the anti-slavery fires which he was so anxious to assuage. The work of agitation was still further kept alive by conflicts between the Northern and Southern States respecting the reclamation of fugitives from crime. Virginia had demanded of New York the surrender of three colored sailors who were charged with having aided a slave to escape. Governor Seward refused to deliver them up, for the reason that the Constitutional provision on the subject must be so understood that the States would only be required to surrender fugitives accused of an offense considered a crime in the State called upon to make the surrender as well as in the State asking for it. Similar controversies occurred between other States, in all of which the South failed in her purpose. The anti-slavery spirit found further expression in 1843 in Massachusetts, whose Legislature resolved to move, through the Representatives of the State in Congress, an amendment to the Constitution basing representation on the free population only of the States, which proposition gave rise to a most memorable debate in the National House of Representatives. It was in August of the same year that the voting Abolitionists held a National Convention in Buffalo, in which all the free States except New Hampshire were represented, while in the following year the Methodist Episcopal Church was rent in twain by the same unmanageable question which had previously divided other ecclesiastical communions.

In the meanwhile, the question of Texan annexation had been

steadily advancing to the political front, and stirring the blood of the people, both North and South. This "robbery of a realm," as Dr. Channing had styled it, was the unalterable purpose and unquenchable desire of the slaveholding interest, and its accomplishment was to be secured by openly espousing the principle that the end justifies the means, and setting all consequences at defiance. This is exactly what the Government did. The diplomacy through which the plot was prosecuted was marked by a cunning, audacity and perfidy which in these particulars leave the administration of John Tyler unrivaled in its ugly preëminence, and form one of the blackest pages in the history of the Republic. The momentous question was now upon us, and on the dawning of the year 1844 all parties saw that it was destined to be the overshadowing issue in the ensuing presidential campaign.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

SPECULATIVE SCIENCE.¹

A QUESTION which frequently meets us is: How far is it possible for one not actually engaged in scientific work to write correctly and instructively upon the general principles of scientific method? That nearly every one engaged in the study of philosophy in any of its forms feels fully qualified to discuss any scientific principles we have abundant evidence. Nor is a claim of this sort, at first sight, at all unreasonable or improbable. What the question concerns itself with is, not the special details of science, but the general character of its concepts, the logical method which it follows in reaching conclusions, and the true meaning and bearing of its results. To treat such subjects understandingly would not seem to require any knowledge of minute details. On the contrary, the very fact that one is spending a large part of the energies of his life in such details might disqualify him from grasping the wider relations of the subject.

There is, however, another side to the question. The concepts of science are matters of slow growth in the mind, which can reach their fully developed maturity only by a regular course of special training and in a peculiarly genial soil. To take an example, it is as much an impossibility to convey to an ordinary mind the complete conceptions

¹The Concepts and Theories of Modern Physics. By J. B. Stallo. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1882.

involved in the doctrine of the conservation of energy as it is to give an idea of the differential and integral calculus to one who has never studied mathematics. Indeed, the conditions for comprehending the two subjects are quite similar. The person who is really to understand the calculus in such a way and to such an extent as to be able to use it, to criticise its methods and to show where these methods fail, must have a talent for mathematics to begin with, and must commence while yet young the study of elementary algebra, carrying the subject along for many years, and going through a complete course of mathematics. This is the only road to the goal. A person who has not gone through the course may read a book on the calculus, work out some of the formulæ, think he understands them and express his opinions upon the validity and logical character of the process, but, unless he be an extraordinary mathematical genius, his opinions on the subject will be worthless.

One of the first things which the scientific student who commences to study and investigate on his own account finds out is that there is a large amount of scientific literature the authors of which totally misunderstand the subjects on which they are writing. When he first meets with productions of the class in question he tries, in the benevolence of his young heart, to point out to the authors the character of their errors, and perhaps to criticise them in print. But he soon discovers the utter hopelessness of such a task. The author whom he attempts to combat fights him with a vigor which he never anticipated, and not only adheres to his error in every particular, but attempts to demonstrate that the poor student himself, and every one who thinks like him, are narrow minded and ignorant. Even were he successful in the contest, he finds such publications to pour upon him in numbers so great that were he to attempt even to review them all he would have little time for anything else.

We believe that the late Mr. De Morgan was noted for the energy with which he pursued scientific "paradoxers." Probably few of the charlatans who were held up to ridicule in the volume which he devoted to exposing their fallacies were able to make much of a stir in replying to him. There was, however, one amusing exception in which the mathematician found an opponent whose logical contortions defied every effort to grasp them. The "paradoxer" was one James Smith, a wealthy Liverpool merchant, who wrote an elaborate discussion to prove that the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter was exactly $3\frac{1}{8}$. He went before the British Association

and bade it defiance; corresponded with the Astronomer Royal, and refused to be silenced by him. Finally he met Mr. De Morgan, and, after a long contest with him, printed a sumptuous volume containing his several essays and his correspondence with scientific societies and learned men on the subject. To the casual reader he had the appearance of coming out even, and perhaps even being victorious, in the unequal contest. He answered all Mr. De Morgan's arguments in a manner which would have been satisfactory to one who did not understand the question. And yet his argument, when stripped of all verbiage and reduced to its logical framework, amounted to this:

The ratio of every circumference of a circle to its diameter is the same.

Now, draw a circle of diameter unity and circumference $3\frac{1}{8}$.

The ratio of the circumference of *that* circle to its diameter is $3\frac{1}{8}$.

Therefore, on the admitted major premise, the ratio of every circle to its diameter is $3\frac{1}{8}$.

The difficulty in meeting him was to show that his assumptions of diameter unity and circumference $3\frac{1}{8}$ were really independent; because, of course, he disconnected the two terms in such a way, and mixed them up with so much verbiage, that it was almost impossible to disentangle them and show up his process in its true shape. Mr. Smith, no doubt, gave his volume to the world with the feeling that he had triumphed over all his opponents.

The general policy which the scientific critic has to pursue in such cases is to let the writers severely alone; for, if he once begins, he will never know where to stop. There is generally a certain style on the very title-page which belongs only to the pretender, and which the expert soon learns to recognize. It is not, however, possible to draw the line between what is worth refuting and what is not. We should certainly have considered Judge Stallo's book, which lies before us, as one not demanding any critical attention were it not for the company in which it appears. The International Scientific Series was arranged for the purpose of making the general public acquainted with the latest and highest results of scientific research. Most of its works have been prepared by authors of such eminence that both readers and reviewers have come to look upon everything it contains as authoritative expressions of scientific opinion. If, then, a grave mistake should be made by the introduction into this series of a work which can have no other result than that of misleading its readers, it

becomes almost a public duty, in the interests of truth, to point out its defects. Such we believe to be the case, and such the duty in the present instance.

In considering the author's work in detail, we begin with the subject of transcendental geometry, or hyper-geometry, as it is sometimes called. We do this because his criticisms are so readily disposed of. He speaks of the "new geometrical faith;" of the dispute between the "disciples" of the transcendental or pan-geometrical school and the "adherents" of the old geometrical faith; of the "champions" of the old geometrical creed; of the "doctrine" of hyper-space. To the refutation of these supposed erroneous doctrines he devotes no less than sixty-two pages. Now, all his criticism is founded on an utter misapprehension of the scope and meaning of what he is criticising. We make bold to say that no mathematician has ever pretended to have the slightest evidence that space has four dimensions, or was in any way different from what is taught in our familiar system of geometry. He has not been an adherent or champion, or held any doctrine on the subject. Now and then it is barely possible that a physicist might be found—Zollner, for instance—suggesting such a thing in a moment of aberration. But the great mass of men in their senses remain unaffected by any such idea. What, then, it may be asked, mean the propositions respecting hyper-space, of which we read in mathematical literature? We answer that the foundation of the whole reasoning is avowedly hypothetical. The most natural way in which such an hypothesis is reached is this. When we study geometry we find that it begins with plane geometry, or geometry of two dimensions. Many of the propositions are true only when the figures are confined to a single plane. But, turning to the latter part of the book, we find a geometry of three dimensions, in which many of the propositions of plane geometry are modified or extended, and of which plane geometry is the basis. With geometry of three dimensions the book ends. "Now," asks the curious mathematician, "I see no reason, apart from experience, why geometrical reasoning should be confined to three dimensions. Suppose, therefore, that we had a space of four dimensions, bearing the same relations to three-dimensional space that solid geometry does to plane; what kind of geometry and what kind of figures would we then have?" All research about geometry of four dimensions is confined to answering the questions thus arising.

Again, besides plane geometry we have a spherical geometry,

in which the figures are supposed to be drawn on the surface of a sphere, but which is, nevertheless, a geometry of two dimensions. Now, suppose we had a geometry of three dimensions bearing the same relation to the ordinary solid geometry that that of a sphere does to that of a plane, what would then be the relations of bodies in space?

Whatever we may say of the utility of such investigations, one thing is certain—they are perfectly harmless. At the very worst, they can do no more injury to scientific conceptions than the careless author of an elementary algebra will do his pupil by loading a hypothetical baker's wagon with more loaves of bread than the baker could get into it. If Judge Stallo had taken up a book on algebra, found a problem the answer to which required five thousand loaves of bread to be carried by a single baker, and had devoted sixty-two pages to an elaborate statistical and mechanical proof that no wagon could possibly hold that number of loaves, his criticisms would have been as valuable and pertinent as those which he devotes to his imaginary school of pan-geometry.

To correct some current misapprehensions, we remark in passing that the investigations alluded to have been extremely useful. They have thrown a flood of light on the origin and meaning of the geometrical axioms, and have settled the old discussion on the validity of the doctrine of parallels. They have also assisted in perfecting certain algebraic theories.

Returning now to the beginning of the work, we find a preliminary statement of certain first principles of the mechanical theory of the universe. This chapter is principally valuable as showing the author's total misconception of the ideas and methods of modern science. The word *mass*, for instance, as commonly used in physics, is an abstract noun like *length*; but he uses it as a concrete term, and in nearly the same sense as we commonly use the word matter. He speaks of the conservation of both mass and motion in a way which shows entire unconsciousness of the fact that this expression has no meaning at all. To give it a meaning we must first define the method in which mass and motion are to be measured, and then, in so many ways as we choose to make this measurement, just so many meanings may the expression have. A bar of metal, for instance, may be measured by its length, its breadth, its solid contents, or its weight. A pile of such bars may be measured by putting them end to end or piling in various ways, and measuring the length of the pile in as many ways as we

choose. So, in measuring the motion of a system of bodies, we may adopt almost an infinity of different ways which will give different results. The very first necessity of any exact scientific proposition is a definition, without ambiguity, of a precise method in which every quantitative measure brought in shall be understood. The conclusions are then valid, assuming that particular method of measurement, but they are not valid on any other method.

Passing through a series of propositions in which we can trace neither coherence nor sense, and to which, for the reason just stated, we can assign no definite meaning, we reach what the author considers the foundation of the atomo-mechanical theory of matter.

Firstly, *the elementary units of mass, being simple, are in all respects equal.* This may well be true; but it is a proposition to which science would admit of no proof except from the facts. An attempt to prove it *à priori*, as the author does, belongs entirely to a past age of thought.

Secondly, *the elementary units of mass are absolutely hard and inelastic*, a necessary consequence of their simplicity, which precludes all motion of parts, and, therefore, all change of figure.

To this we reply that we cannot predicate such qualities as hardness or elasticity of the ultimate atoms of matter. All our conceptions of hardness and elasticity are derived from the qualities of sensible masses which may be supposed to arise from the arrangement of their atoms and from the properties of such atoms. We call a body hard when we cannot compress it, and elastic when it rebounds on being struck. But an isolated atom could not indicate either the presence or absence of any such property, and we might almost as well talk about the color of virtue as the hardness of an atom.

Thirdly, *the elementary units of mass are absolutely inert, and therefore passive.* Hence there can be no mutual action between them other than mutual displacement caused by impulses from without.

We can see no correct meaning to this proposition. Such words as "active" and "passive" have no application in the case, and they serve no purpose except to produce confusion in the mind of the reader. Scientific investigation is concerned only with the effects produced by matter under different conditions, or perhaps we might speak more accurately by saying that it is concerned only with the effects which follow when matter is placed under certain conditions. This being accurately determined, the scientist leaves to others the question whether the matter was active or passive in producing the

effect. We know very well that a stone falls to the ground; but whether the stone is an active agent or a passive object in falling, we will not even stop to discuss after the fact of its falling is once admitted.

Passing over the fourth proposition as not even worth quoting, the scientific reader will probably find most amusement in the author's attack on the kinetic theory of gases. For the benefit of the non-scientific reader, we may say that there is no theory of modern physics, the processes supposed by which are invisible to direct vision, which is more thoroughly established than this. It explains with the utmost simplicity, and without introducing any but the best known properties of molecules, a great number of diverse phenomena, seemingly incapable of explanation in any other way. The only objection of the author which we can completely understand is that the theory in question seems to him incompatible with his own favorite doctrine that molecules are inelastic. Should he have any hesitation in pitting his *à priori* idea against so widely received a theory, it should relieve him to know that the supposed antagonism arises only from his own misapprehension. No elasticity is assigned the molecules in the kinetic theory, but only an insuperable repulsive force which causes the molecules to repel each other when they are brought sufficiently near together. The reader who has any interest in following the author in his attempt to show that Maxwell and his collaborators were guilty of a long series of flagrant fallacies and errors in attempting to prove the theory in question may read the chapter, as an abstract is impossible. For the present purpose it is sufficient to quote the terms in which he characterizes the kinetic fallacy and the explanation it offers of the elasticity of gases:

Manifestly, the explanation offered by the kinetic hypothesis, in so far as its second assumption lands us in the very phenomenon from which it starts, the phenomenon of resilience, is (like the explanation of impenetrability, or of the combination of elements in indefinite proportions by the atomic theory) simply the illustration of *idem per idem* and the very reverse of a scientific procedure. It is a mere *versatio in loco*—movement without progress. It is utterly vain; or rather, inasmuch as it complicates the phenomenon which it professes to explicate, it is worse than vain—a complete inversion of the order of intelligence, a resolution of identity into difference, a dispersion of one into the many, an unraveling of the simple into the complex, an interpretation of the known in terms of the unknown, an elucidation of the evident by the mysterious, a reduction of an ostensible and real fact to a baseless and shadowy phantom.

The most curious feature of the book we have not yet touched upon. In so far as it relates to the subject named in its title, its sole object seems to be that of showing that the supposed concepts and

theories of physics are entirely illusory. The author's criticism is wholly destructive; where he constructs, it is only to destroy. It is true that his first chapter on the atomo-mechanical theory lays down certain propositions, already mentioned, which he seems to hold as true. He makes use of them to destroy the whole fabric of modern physics, and show physical investigators generally to be the subjects of miserable delusions. But his last chapter is devoted to showing that this theory is itself a failure, so that, when he takes his leave, we have nothing left to contemplate but a mass of ruins. We fail to see what object the book can serve except that of showing the possible aberrations of an evidently learned and able author.

S. NEWCOMB.

THE WEALTH OF ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES AND OF AMERICAN COLLEGES.

PREVIOUS to the appointment of the English Universities Commission, ten years ago, the amount of the property and the income of Oxford and of Cambridge was unknown to the public. Founded as early as the fifteenth, the fourteenth, or even the thirteenth century, the colleges were jealous of any interference in rights and privileges which time had rendered sacred. Endowed with property that was certainly large, they managed their lands and securities and expended their income, responsible only to themselves. The Royal Commission, appointed on the 5th of January, 1872, and whose report was published in 1874, revealed for the first time in their long history the financial standing of the universities and of the associated colleges. It is worthy of mention, in passing, that this report has in England received much less attention than its authors had a right to expect, and in this country it has been scarcely noticed even by those interested in university questions.

But even with the tables of this report, voluminous and exact as they indeed are, it is impossible to form an estimate entirely satisfactory of the value of the university and college property. The property is of various kinds, being classified by the commissioners under six heads—"lands," "house property," "tithe rent charges,"

"other rent charges, such as fee farm rents and fixed charges," "stocks, shares and other securities of a similar kind," and "other properties, such as fines and other profits from copyholds of inheritance, minerals, timber, etc." Its money value it is, therefore, difficult to fix. The quantity of land, however, held by the universities and colleges is known with exactness. It comprises 319,718 acres, exclusive of "copyholds of inheritance." Of this amount 7,683 acres belong to the University of Oxford, and 184,764 acres to its colleges and halls; 2,445 acres to the University of Cambridge, and 124,826 acres to its colleges. With the exception of a small quantity of woodland, the entire amount is leased. It is distributed throughout England and Wales, but the larger proportion is found in the southern counties. To Oxford University it yields an annual income of about £12,000; to its colleges and halls, £171,000; to Cambridge University, £3,100, and to its colleges, £132,000.

The worth of the property, however, of the institutions can be more exactly judged by their incomes than by any approximation of its mere amount. During the last year for which the data can be obtained the income from lands and other properties was as follows:

	<i>University of Oxford.</i>	<i>University of Cambridge.</i>	<i>Colleges and Halls of Ox- ford.</i>	<i>Colleges of Cambridge.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Lands	£ 12,083 0 4	£ 3,148 19 8	£ 170,990 11 7½	£ 132,670 0 6	£ 318,893 12 1½
Houses	1,162 14 2	156 10 0	26,833 6 3	25,993 8 2	54,142 18 7
Tithe rent charges.....	490 19 7	1,784 14 5	34,152 15 8	54,286 1 1	90,714 10 9
Other rent charges	872 6 0	333 16 6	4,092 14 10	3,943 2 2	9,242 0 3
Stocks, shares, etc.....	12,939 6 9	7,648 9 0	24,242 7 10½	16,508 7 5	61,338 11 0½
Other properties.....	1,494 16 2	844 19 2	13,574 14 3	20,365 8 8½	36,279 18 3½
Special endowment.....	.....	.....	6,289 0 6	1,764 9 10	8,053 10 4
Loans .....	.....	.....	27,194 6 2	.....	27,194 6 2
Total	29,943 3 9	13,917 8 9	307,369 17 2	264,256 17 10½	614,587 7 6½

The universities and colleges have a second source of income. It embraces the various fees paid by students. The tuition fees at Oxford are £21 a year, and at Cambridge £18. In addition to them, the charges for the rent of rooms and other small payments constitute the entire internal income. The following tables exhibit the total amount of both the internal and the external income; under the

external income is included that derived from lands, securities and other property:

	<i>External income.</i>	<i>Internal income.</i>	<i>Total corpo- rate (external and internal) income.</i>	<i>Income from trust funds.</i>	<i>Tuition fees paid by under- graduates.</i>
University of Oxford.....	£ 13,605 4 6	£ 18,545 16 6	£ 32,151 10	£ 15,437 19 3	.....
Colleges and Halls of Oxford	271,932 17 0	58,883 19 1	330,836 16 1	35,417 0 2	30,761 3 4
Total	285,538 1 6	77,429 15 7	362,987 17 1	50,854 19 5	30,761 3 4
University of Cambridge....	3,509 10 11	20,133 8 6	23,642 19 5	10,407 17 10	.....
Colleges of Cambridge.....	229,621 0 2½	42,254 13 6	278,970 13 8½	27,540 17 8	26,413 15 0
Total	233,130 11 1½	62,388 2 0	302,613 13 1½	37,948 15 6	26,413 15 0

We now turn to consider the property and the income of American colleges. According to the last report of the United States Commissioner of Education, the value of the grounds, buildings and apparatus of three hundred and sixty-four colleges is \$37,209,354, and the amount of productive funds \$40,258,937. The income of these funds is \$2,684,077, and the income derived from tuition fees \$1,929,060. The total income drawn from these two sources slightly exceeds \$4,500,000. The income of the universities and colleges of Oxford and of Cambridge aggregates \$3,500,000. But, while about two-fifths of the income of the American institutions are drawn from tuition fees, the English institutions depend upon the same source for only about one-tenth of their income. Thus the property held by these universities and their thirty-six allied colleges furnishes a much larger proportion of this income than the lands and funds of American colleges provide for their income. The comparison, however, of the income of several of the *wealthier* American colleges with the income of the colleges of Oxford and of Cambridge indicates that the American institutions possess the larger revenue. The University of California has an income of \$100,000 from invested funds, and of \$200 from tuition fees; University College, Oxford, has an income from external sources of \$45,000, and of nearly \$10,000 from tuition fees. Yale College receives about \$80,000 a year from productive funds, and \$110,000 from tuition fees; but the five colleges of Balliol, Lincoln, Trinity, Pembroke and Worcester, have a total income not exceeding \$200,000. Cornell University enjoys an income of about \$125,000, an amount exceeded by only three of the Oxford colleges.

Columbia College is reported as possessing an income of \$261,000, which exceeds by a few thousand the revenue of the wealthiest college—Christ Church. Eight colleges of Cambridge possess an annual income of about \$600,000, a sum that is only \$100,000 larger than the combined incomes of Columbia and of Harvard. Trinity College, Cambridge, is the wealthiest of all the colleges of the two universities, enjoying a revenue of about \$300,000, but this is only \$40,000 more than Columbia's income. The receipts for all the departments of Harvard University for the year 1879–80 were \$600,000, and for the college \$236,000. The former amount is double that received by any Oxford or Cambridge college. Yet, though the income of the richer American colleges is larger than the revenue of the English, many colleges on these shores are much poorer than the poorest of the English. Scores of institutions which afford students a respectable education, and whose graduates are numbered by hundreds, receive an income of less than \$10,000 each year. They are to be found in nearly every State of the Union.

The expenditures of the institutions of the two countries show as striking a difference in respect to amount and character as their incomes. In the English, about one-third of the total revenue is consumed by the salaries of the Fellows, about one-tenth by the salaries of the heads of the colleges, and still another tenth by payments made to the "scholars and exhibitioners." The remainder, one-half of the entire amount, is devoted to no less than eighteen different purposes. A portion forms an allowance to residents, a portion is credited to the salaries of the university professors, a portion is allotted to the chapel, a portion goes to the library, and a portion is used in paying rates and taxes.

In American colleges more than one-half the income is spent in the salaries of professors and instructors. Few colleges make public reports of their financial standing, and it is therefore difficult to obtain the facts in reference to expenditures. The treasurer of Harvard, however, makes a full annual exhibit of his accounts. The total expenditures of Harvard College were, in 1879–80, \$212,542.22, of which somewhat more than one-half—\$133,991.87—was devoted to the salaries for instruction; \$24,025.27 was used in the payment of scholarships to undergraduates whose scholastic rank and pecuniary need entitled them to receive aid; the remaining \$54,000—about one-fourth of the entire expenditure—was employed in uses quite as various as those to which one-half of the revenue of the English

universities was devoted. Repairs on the college buildings, apparatus for laboratories, services of janitors, fuel, printing, and other objects equally diverse, consumed this balance.

The expenses for instruction are relative to the entire expenditure much greater in the American college. This is due to the private nature of a large proportion of the instruction in the English universities. The salaries of Oxford and of Cambridge professors vary as largely as the salaries of the professors in a hundred American colleges. The highest salary paid at either of the universities is that attached to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge. Its amount is £1,854 17s. 10d. The lowest salary appears to be that belonging to the Lord Almoner's Professorship of Arabic, which is £40 10s. At Oxford are only five professorships commanding more than £1,000, and at Cambridge only two. The fifty-one professors, readers and searchers of Oxford receive by an average an annual salary of £488, and the thirty-seven of Cambridge £457.

Although in the American college instructors of the same grade usually receive the same salary, in the different colleges salaries differ to nearly the extent found in the English universities. A full professor in Columbia College receives \$7,500, in Harvard \$4,500, and in most colleges, as Dartmouth, Amherst, Williams, Bowdoin, amounts varying from \$1,700 to \$2,500. There are many colleges in the Western States whose professors are obliged to be content with a pittance of \$1,000 a year.

The cost of educating students is much greater at the English university. Deducting from the entire annual expenditure of Oxford the amount paid the Fellows, the balance of about £250,000 is either directly or indirectly devoted to the education of about eighteen hundred students. The annual expenditure for each undergraduate is, therefore, about \$700. At Cambridge the expenditure is about \$100 less. Of the American colleges few, if any, spend a larger amount than Harvard. The annual cost to it of each student does not exceed \$300, and probably falls somewhat below. It is to be remembered, however, that the number of students in the college department of Harvard is about equal to one-half of those in the entire university of either Oxford or Cambridge, and it is well known that the greater the number of students the less is the relative cost of instruction of each.

By this review of the comparative financial showing of the two great English universities and of American colleges, it is made evident that the richer American institutions enjoy a larger income and make

larger expenditures than the ordinary college of either Oxford or Cambridge. When one considers that the oldest college on these shores has not attained one-half the age of several of the English, this comparative position becomes most creditable to the generosity and to the intelligence of the American people.

It is also made clear that the newer institutions possess a great advantage in the freedom from the necessity of maintaining an elaborate establishment. College officers and servants, subscriptions and pensions, the management of estates and the augmentation of benefices, consume a no small share of the income of the English institutions. The Fellowship system demands one-third of their revenue. In America the larger proportion of all the income is devoted directly to the payment of services of instruction.

CHARLES F. THWING.

THE STUDY OF THE POLITICAL SCIENCES IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

DURING the last half decade an awakening of interest in the study of the political sciences has manifested itself throughout the public at large, such as no previous generation since the beginning of our national existence has experienced. The conviction is now already deep and general that, unless a sounder political wisdom and a better political practice be attained, the republican system may become but a form, and republican institutions but a deception. It is then hardly a question any more as to whether we need a higher political education. The common consciousness of the nation is already beyond that point, and is now occupied with the invention of the means and methods of its realization. Of course, chief among these means should stand our institutions of superior learning—our colleges and universities. The nation has a right to expect of and demand from these that the youth whom they undertake to train and develop shall be furnished at least with the elements of the political sciences with their literature and with the methods of a sound political logic. Many of them have long endeavored to accomplish something of this, with varying success, while some of them have recently put forth more than ordinary

efforts to meet and fulfill in a higher degree this great public duty. In response to a most kindly and appreciative request from the editor of the "International," we have undertaken to describe briefly the system of investigation and instruction in this sphere which New York's oldest institution of learning—Columbia College—has established and is now essaying to perfect.

This system consists of four distinct and well-defined parts, viz.: The Undergraduate Department of History and Political Science, The School of Political Science, The Academy of the Political Sciences, and The Library of the Political Sciences.

I. The Undergraduate Department.

The key-note of our whole system is its historical groundwork and its historical method. It is in and through history that the State has taken its origin and passed through the different phases of its development down to its present form and relations. Therefore it is in and through a sound and comprehensive study of history alone that the foundations can be laid for a true and valuable public law and political science. Theory and speculation in politics must be regulated by historic fact—must be generalized most largely from historic fact; otherwise, they are always in danger of degenerating into the "will-o'-the-wisps" of individual fancy. We begin, therefore, with the study of history, and devote the two years assigned to the department in the undergraduate course to laying the historical groundwork. Here we employ the gymnastic method and seek the accomplishment of the gymnastic purpose, viz., the daily drill by recitation, question and answer from text-books of German, French and English history and of elementary political economy, with the purpose of fixing and classifying in the memory of the student the elements of political geography, the chronology and outward frame of historic events, the biographies of historic characters, and definitions of political and economic terms. The completion of the junior year in the undergraduate curriculum marks the close of gymnastic study and preparation. The senior year in all our colleges of the first rank has become a real university year, both in the character and method of the instruction there given and employed. We therefore draw the line in our system between the Gymnasium and the University at the termination of the junior year, making the senior year of the College in these studies to correspond with the first year in the School of Political Science, and admitting to this School as candidates for its degrees all persons who have completed successfully the work of the

first three years in any collegiate institution of the first rank in the United States, or an equivalent course in any foreign college, lyceum or gymnasium, or who can pass successfully examination upon all the studies of the undergraduate curriculum of this institution to the end of the junior year.

II. The School of Political Science.

This is the collective name which we give to the graduate or university courses in history, philosophy, economy, public law, jurisprudence, diplomacy and sociology. The time prescribed for the accomplishment of the work here assigned is three years, and the courses are so distributed over this period as to occupy the first year with the history of the development of the political institutions of continental Europe, the special constitutional history of England and of the United States, the history of the philosophic theories of the State, and the history of economic systems and theories; the second with the comparative constitutional law of the principal States of Europe and the United States and of the Commonwealths of the United States, and with the Roman law and the comparative jurisprudence of the modern codes derived therefrom; and the third with the comparative administrative law of the principal States of Europe and the United States and of the Commonwealths of the United States, the history of diplomacy, public international law, private international law, and economic, statistical and social science.

It will thus be seen that we begin again with the historical groundwork in the School of Political Science; but this time it is the history of *institutions*, the origin and development of the State through its several phases of *political organization* down to the modern constitutional form; that we then advance through history to the existing actual and legal relations of the State, and that we seek finally through comprehensive comparison to generalize the ultimate principles of our political philosophy, aiming thus to escape the dangers of a barren empiricism on the one side, and of a baseless speculation on the other. With the change from the Gymnasium to the University, the *method* of instruction changes as well as the subjects. The text-book, with its assigned lessons and daily drill upon the same, is discarded, as both cramping to the student and narrowing to the professor. We must get here nearer to sources and original material. We must go back of the treatises to the earliest documents, and learn to form from these our opinions, and to make from these our own hand-books. The professor must no longer act merely the part of the drill-master upon

a given text, but of the investigator gathering and classifying original evidence upon his subjects, and generalizing therefrom *his* view and system; and the student must no longer be the mere gymnast, carrying his library under his arm, but he must begin to learn and apply the processes of original study, and to compare authorities upon the points treated or suggested. In a word, the university professor must instruct for the most part by lecture, imparting the results of his own labor and experience, and developing his own view and system, and the university student must verify the statements and fill up the outline by constant and comprehensive reading in a great library which shall contain the principal sources of information upon all the subjects of the different courses of study to which his attention is directed. Individuality of view, independence of judgment, and comprehensive, all-sided knowledge are the ends here sought both for instructor and instructed. Lastly, the degree conferred upon the successful completion of the work assigned in this School is the university degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The examinations leading to the attainment of the same are two-fold. The first, at the close of the first year, does not differ in character from the usual college examination for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. If successfully passed, the candidate is made a Bachelor of Philosophy. The second, at the close of the third year, is, on the other hand, a matter of far more serious import. It consists of three parts: First, a direct oral examination of each candidate upon any or all the courses pursued in the presence of the entire Faculty and by each member of the same; second, two collateral examinations, one upon the Latin language and the other upon either the German or French languages, as the candidate may elect; and, third, the examination of an original dissertation prepared by the candidate upon a subject either assigned to him by the Faculty of the School or selected by himself under their approval at least six months before the date of the examination. The candidate must furnish each member of the Faculty with a copy of his dissertation at least one month before the date of the examination, and, at the time fixed, must appear before the assembled Faculty of the School and defend his facts, his reasoning and his conclusions against the criticisms of each member of the same. If he be fairly successful through all of these ordeals, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy will be conferred upon him. If he attain a high grade of excellence in all, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy *cum laude*, and, if the highest be reached, then the degree of Doctor of

Philosophy *magna cum laude*, the highest university distinction, will be accorded him.

III. The Academy of the Political Sciences.

This is a voluntary association composed of the President of the University, the Faculties of Law and Political Science, graduates of the School of Political Science and graduates of the School of Law, who have taken at least two years of the instruction in the School of Political Science or an equivalent course in some foreign university. It recruits itself annually from these same sources. Its purpose is the cultivation and development, in finest and most minute detail, of the different branches and topics of the political sciences. This organization is the central point of our whole system. Upon it depends for the most part the perpetuation and increasing usefulness of our work. Not being a transient body of students, who reach only a certain given point before they vanish from our control, but a permanent body of continually growing scholars, this association forms the productive, ever-advancing element in our system. Whatever we may be able to *add* to the existing stock of political knowledge will proceed from it. Each of its members assumes the obligation to produce at least one original work each year, and read the same before the association at its regular meetings, which production then becomes the property of the Academy, and may be published by it for the benefit of the public, provided a majority of the members deem it worthy of the same. From its labors the Library of the Political Sciences will receive its scientific classification by subjects, a journal of political science will be edited, and, above all, it will be the source of a true educational service, from which the Faculty of the Historical and Political Sciences may be recruited, thus providing for the continuity of our work in an ever-increasing degree of excellence, enabling us to perpetuate our own methods and traditions, to expand without limit our courses, and to diversify indefinitely our instruction without endangering its organic unity—in a word, to found a School of Political Thought in the truest and highest sense. This is the significance of the Academy—this is its office in our system.

IV. The Library of the Political Sciences.

A great library, scientifically classified and adequately served, is an indispensable part of a university. As well expect the architect merely with rule and pencil to rear a great structure as to demand of the scholar the production of literary monuments without this magazine

of material. Neither will a collection merely of hand-books, text-books, treatises and current literature suffice. These are necessary, indeed, as demonstrating how and how far authors have worked up original matter into logical form; the collection which stops there, however, may be a popular library indeed, or even a college library, but it is no university library. The prime purpose of the university library is, on the other hand, the assemblage and classification of original material in all branches of knowledge—such, for instance, in the domain of the political sciences, as the texts of constitutions, the statute books and ordinances of governments, the debates of legislative assemblies, the decisions of judicial bodies upon questions of public law, the papers of diplomatic intercourse, the texts of treaties, the reports of governmental commissions, statistical bureaus, chambers of commerce, boards of industry and agriculture and of the public health, the journals of international congresses, political conventions and academics and associations of political science, contemporary chronicles of historic facts, files of official gazettes, leading newspapers and magazines, etc., etc. It was this consideration which moved the trustees of this institution some four years since to authorize a special effort and a special appropriation of funds for the advancement of our Library of the Political Sciences. By their authority and with their aid exhaustive lists of original material in all the different branches of the political sciences were gathered from the leading publicists of the United States, England, France, Germany, Austria and Italy. A large portion of these works have already been placed within our Library, and we are steadily adding to the collection. It is with this material that we teach our students in the School of Political Science to acquaint themselves, and it is upon this material that the members of the Academy expend their labors, reducing it to scientific order and classification, and making it the basis of original work in the production of papers, monographs and treatises.

This, then, is the system of study in the political sciences at Columbia College which six years of reflection and experience have thus far matured; and, in giving this brief sketch of its main features to publication, those who have been most nearly concerned in its conception and development gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to make their most grateful acknowledgment for the support which they have felt from the sympathy of a generous and appreciative public.

JOHN W. BURGESS.

SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF POSITIVE POLITICAL ECONOMY.

First Paper.

THE OBJECTIVE POINT.

THIE greatest present need of the advocates of a positive political economy is a theoretical foundation for their views. The dominant system, since Adam Smith, has derived its chief strength from the rigidly logical theory upon which it rests. Its defenders assert that it is the only possible logical system, and pronounce the doctrines of those who would regulate industry, commerce and other social phenomena as mere practical makeshifts, capable only of temporarily benefiting a few at the expense of many, and as empirical and unscientific, and hence indefensible on any cosmopolitan or philosophical grounds.

Thus far the positive economists have scarcely done more than accept this impeachment, though without receding from their position; and it must be confessed that, when trying to defend it, they often employ arguments calculated to justify their opponents' claims.

The leading exponents of social science—those who, unlike many who make free use of that expression, know what science is—are for the most part ranged on what may be called the orthodox side of the question, and the effort is constantly being made to show that this is the side on which science itself and all true philosophy are also arrayed.

It is, therefore, time to subject the doctrines of positive economy to scientific tests, and to ascertain whether there exists any logical theory upon which they can be based. It is customary with men of business, whom these doctrines most concern, to smile at theory as a thing of no importance, and to value only that which is obviously practical. The unwisdom of this attitude is shown by the power which the prevailing theoretical system still wields, a power derived entirely from the consistency of its fundamental theory. The world cannot be prevented from reasoning, from philosophizing and theorizing, and the saying that "ideas rule the world" becomes more universally true the higher the degree of intellectual development in society at large.

It must not, however, be supposed that because a doctrine rests upon a logical theory the ultimate truth is therefore necessarily

reached. The history of science is strewn with abandoned hypotheses which were consistent with the state of knowledge in their day. Epicycles, caloric, phlogiston, electric fluids, cataclysms, all have gone, and given place to juster conceptions of the truths they dimly foreshadowed. In seeking after truth the mind very properly generalizes as soon as it possesses sufficient material out of which to construct a theory. Each such generalization is an adumbration of a truth; it is, in fact, a partial or relative truth. But there are ever-widening circles of truth, and any proposition is true relatively to the magnitude of the circle to which it applies. The world moves and human comprehension expands, life is amplified, and the theories of life must be enlarged to correspond with the growth and progress of civilization.

The papers which are to follow will aim to show that the highest generalization which the present state of science enables us to make fully sustains the theory of positive political economy, and, in so far as they are in conflict, condemns that of the negative political economy which has prevailed for the past hundred years, and that a true social science is as sterile without this, its legitimate application, as physical science would be in the absence of all application of its principles to the practical arts.

CLASSIFICATION OF PHENOMENA.

It is tautological to say that we know only phenomena. Phenomena are simply appearances or manifestations, and these can only exist in correlation with sense-perception. This is the starting point of all knowledge. Whatever comes within the range of perception is a manifestation to the sentient faculty; therefore, everything of which anything can be predicated is phenomenon. Feeling, knowing and thinking beings are placed in the midst of a universe of perceptible processes. These are not a part, but the whole, of their experience, and constitute, so far as the psychic faculty is concerned, their universe.

Phenomena consist entirely of changes—*i. e.*, of actual alterations of location in the objects which make up the universe. These alterations of location are called motions. Unless something moves, there can be no manifestation, no perception, no knowledge. The existence of phenomena, as testified to by consciousness, proves, with all the authority of consciousness, that objects both exist and move. All there is for mind to study is these moving objects. To say that phenomena are perceived is, therefore, a circular proposition, and would be quite useless but for the fact that it suggests an ulterior truth. This

truth is that objects in motion produce effects. Sensation is the primary effect, but perception and experience teach that similar effects are produced everywhere where contact occurs. The effects produced upon the sensitive organism, unless too violent, reveal the nature of the effects produced upon other objects, and the greater part of all knowledge consists of such indirect observations.

Ignoring, temporarily at least, the nature of the moving objects, it is a convenient, as well as a correct, view to regard the perceptible universe as made up of changes, which alone constitute the subject of intellectual contemplation, as well as the sole objects of possible conscient interest. This being the case, almost the first question which the normal mind will raise with regard to them will be: How are they caused? The causes of observed phenomena have always formed the first, and we may almost say, the only, problems of philosophy.

There are two modes of conceiving the occurrence of phenomena, and, as we shall presently see, these have a basis in fact, but their historical order is the reverse of that in which they appeal to the mind. According to one of these conceptions, material objects are acted upon by a power outside themselves; according to the other, they are automatic, or not so acted upon. The first of these conceptions is readily grasped as being based on the analogy of voluntary muscular action upon external objects; as to the second, though it might have been easily deduced from the supposed independence of the voluntary conscious agent, such was the distance which the early mind placed between the animate and the inanimate that this analogy appears not to have been perceived until so late that the absolute freedom of the former had begun to be called in question. It has thus happened that the idea of the independence of phenomena, as a conception of the mind, was a late development of scientific thought, and scarcely finds a place in any of the schemes of the Cosmos. Spontaneity—*i. e.*, the power of a body to originate its own motion from a state of rest, though really inconceivable and contrary to the laws of thought—has indeed been illogically assumed; but the only form in which either reason or science is willing to accept the notion of change not caused by an outside power is that which simply negatives the state of rest and recognizes absolute continuity of motion. But, though a late form of thought, this is now becoming an essential factor in the cosmology of science, and is regarded as the primary, and from one point of view the only, cause of all phenomena. *Transitive* changes, as the opposite class may be called, become subordinate to

these automatic changes, and are interpretable as special manifestations of force due to accidental impacts. These transitive phenomena have always been associated in the human mind with an anthropomorphic volition, and this is usually the part most particularly noted in their contemplation, so much so that it has generally been regarded sufficient to designate them as *teleological*, which denotes this quality only, without connoting the more essential one of extraneous power, as such. As the automatic conception gains ground the teleological one loses, and fears have been entertained lest the fullest concession of the former should be followed by the complete abnegation of the latter. But while it seems necessary, so far at least as science is concerned, to dismiss *in toto* the transitive along with the teleological conception as universal principles, nevertheless these conceptions must ever remain as legitimate representatives of objective phenomena within the more modest limits above specified, and we shall presently see to how large an extent existing phenomena, and particularly those of the highest class, as affecting the human race and society, partake of this character.

Yet, when dealing, as at present, with abstract principles and the highest cosmological generalizations, we are, as Kant has pointed out, absolutely compelled, if we would proceed at all, to assume the full truth of the first of the two theories above defined, and to admit that the phenomena of the universe are the result of material motions which have never been either more or less in amount than they now are, and which only manifest variety in consequence of the varied nature of the developed aggregates constituting the material world.

With this postulate there can be but two possible kinds of changes, viz., first, original movements of translation in bodies conceived as not at all affected by others; secondly, changes due to the influence exerted upon bodies by the motion and impact of other bodies. The first of these classes of changes, in view of the constant interaction of the matter of all space, is, so far as human experience goes, purely theoretical; but it nevertheless constitutes the essential condition to all observed phenomena. Of these intransitive, original motions of continuity we need not further speak here, as they do not directly concern the present discussion. The other, or transitive, class of changes may be further subdivided into *physical* or *direct*, and *psychical* or *indirect*; and, since the law of gravitation teaches us that all bodies are actually influenced by all bodies, all phenomena may be reduced to these two categories.

The physical and mechanical law of the impact of bodies is well understood, and has long been relegated to the domain of pure mechanics. It need, therefore, only be referred to here in order to contrast it with the other form of transitive causation, which we have denominated psychic. Physically produced changes are no less due to causes than psychically produced ones. The cause is in all cases the immediately antecedent changes and resultant impacts; but, as these are simply links in a literally endless chain of causation, and due to motions that belong to matter and are inseparable from it—having, therefore, never had any origin in time—it is a natural error of the mind to look upon them as spontaneous. Some who appear to conceive the nature of phenomena correctly employ this expression, but it is to be strongly condemned as implying the power of origination, and with it the fact of a beginning in the series of phenomena; conceptions opposed to the reality. What term to use for the adequate expression of this conception has been a serious difficulty in modern science. Numerous efforts have been made to resolve this perplexity, some of which have attained a partial success, but much remains still to be done. Of the many forms of expression which have been proposed as calculated to convey this particular notion, comparatively new to the human mind and absent from human vocabularies, the one which probably comes nearest to satisfying all possible cases is that which describes the entire class of physical phenomena as *genetic*. This word combines, better than any other, the idea of causation in all its delicate forms with that of continuance, without connoting either an *origin* or a *purpose*. It furnishes an adjective for the German *Werden*, which may itself be fairly translated by the Greek γένεσις, *genesis*.

Psychic phenomena, while it cannot now be doubted that they, too, are indirectly genetic in the sense that mind itself must have had a genesis, differ in many marked respects from those which are the immediate results of physical causes, and stand in wide contrast with them in all their principal characteristics. Formerly, a large part of the changes now known to belong to the genetic class were supposed to be of psychic origin; but the tendency of science has steadily been in the direction of limiting this class to those which are known to emanate from organized beings endowed with a nervous system and some form of animation. Whatever may be the fact in this regard, it is at least no longer safe to speculate upon the assumed psychic origin of any phenomena which cannot be shown to have proceeded from such

organic forms as possess in their organization the active principle of life called *protoplasm*, however slightly this substance may have been co-ordinated and integrated into a compound and complex organism. But, while there are various degrees in the manifestation of this power of apparently spontaneous causation, depending upon the degree of organization of the creature, some of which degrees are so wide as almost to constitute generically distinct forms of force, the psychic phenomena all agree in one essential particular, viz., in manifesting a *purpose*. As causes of change, mental efforts always represent *final causes*; psychic phenomena are always *teleological*.

There are, therefore, two principal classes of phenomena, according as they are genetically or teleologically produced; and it hence becomes important, before proceeding further, to examine somewhat closely the precise nature of each of these two antithetical forms of causation, and to emphasize the qualities by which they are distinguished. We will consider each of these classes separately.

GENETIC PHENOMENA.

We have already seen that all physical phenomena must be genetic. The only conceivable exception would be the movement of a free element independent of all others. This condition the actual multiplicity of things, so far as human observation can determine, completely negatives. It is true that objects move by virtue of inherent activities inseparable from them, and which in the aggregate are incapable of either increase or diminution, but such is the existing plexus of material elements that the particular forms of change actually produced are determined by the interaction of multiple influences, and each phenomenon is the resultant of all the forces in operation to produce it. The simplest form of a phenomenon is seen in the impact of two bodies, and the phenomenon itself will depend, according to known mechanical laws, upon the respective masses, velocities, directions and elasticities of the bodies. However complicated the phenomenon, the same laws operate with rigorous exactness, though this truth is veiled by their subtle interaction. The conception of *force* or *energy* can have no other basis of fact, and all effects of whatever kind flow from the immediate physical contact of moving objects.

This truth, clearly comprehended, contains the key to the nature of all genetic phenomena. Genesis is only another name for causation, and causation is the production of change through impact. The failure to grasp this principle has arisen chiefly from the fact that a

large proportion of the phenomena of the perceptible universe are *molecular*, and it has been difficult to regard molecules as identical with masses in all respects except that of magnitude. There has prevailed a species of mysticism respecting them not unlike that which savages feel in the presence of the invisible atmosphere. They have been reluctantly admitted into the category of things, and molecular physics has, in fact, been a sort of metaphysics. But the more we learn of molecular phenomena the more we find them to resemble molar phenomena, and we are justified experimentally, as we certainly are *à priori*, in pronouncing matter uniform in its laws.

A *causa efficiens*, which is the essence of the genetic process, is simply a direct and immediate cause—one in which there is neither interval nor indirection between the cause and the effect. This forms, too, the leading distinction between genetic and teleological phenomena. In the former the cause is always in immediate antecedent connection with the effect.

Another consideration must now be taken into account. Genetic phenomena are observed in most cases to occur in prolonged series. There is seen to be a tendency toward the recurrence of the same set of changes in a single direction. Observed at considerable intervals of time, the changes produced during one interval are seen to be continued through the next, and results effected are more or less permanent, to be carried further at each successive interval. These series may be ascending or descending, according as the products grow more or less complex, and an ascending series may be gradually converted into a descending one; but in nearly all cases some *progress* is constantly made in one direction or the other. So far as the history of our globe is known, the phenomena taking place upon it have presented a decided preponderance of ascending series from the remotest periods of which science furnishes any account, and such would also seem to be the case throughout the solar system at large, with exceptions only in the case of some of the smallest bodies, as of the earth's satellite. There has thus taken place a sort of *development* or *evolution*, which in the inorganic world proceeds from a more homogeneous and less differentiated state toward a more heterogeneous state, with greater concentration of parts. In organic nature organization increases, structure is complicated, and the physiological division of functional labor is combined with the integration of differentiated organs and their subordination to large complex organisms.

These are surface truths. A more recondite truth often escapes

detection. These perceptible effects represent only the resultant of multiple causes. Movement is in only one direction, but impact is in all directions. A law which has been called the "instability of the homogeneous" requires that motion shall take place in some one direction, and what that direction shall be must depend upon what, in our ignorance, we are compelled to call chance. The chief fact of interest, therefore, arising out of this dynamic state of nature is the one least observed and usually quite ignored; it is that the increment in the direction of motion, the algebraic sum of the forces of progression and regression, is, as compared with their arithmetical sum, excessively minute.

Neglecting, for the present, retrogressive tendencies, which presuppose prior progressive ones, and considering all phenomena as only undergoing the latter process, we first observe that the increments of this genetic progress are what may be called *differentials*; that the movement takes place by infinitesimal differences. This is phenomenal or concrete, as distinguished from mathematical or abstract, *differentiation*. The objects moving are in immediate contact with the objects moved; the latter yield only at the instant when the former impinge; the antecedent and consequent are contiguous, and the cause and effect are intimately bound up together.

It is scarcely necessary to state the corollary that in genetic progress the great preponderance of force actually exerted is lost in the work of so nearly maintaining the state of equilibrium. The energy expended in the retrogressive is nearly equal to that expended in the progressive direction. But this is not all. Every object in the universe is exposed to impacts from all sides. The direction of motion is simply the line of least resistance. If we contemplate a progressing body or system we must not only conceive its line of motion as simply that along which the antagonizing impacts are least in amount, but we must also conceive that upon all sides, except that immediately in front and that immediately behind, the impacts, however great, are absolutely equal. These lateral impacts, however, from this circumstance of exactly neutralizing each other, may be neglected, and attention fixed only on the directly impelling and retarding forces. All this is as true of a complicated train of phenomena, such as a sidereal system or a living organism or species, as of a single aggregate or body; and progress in structural development comes as strictly under the law as mere progress in space, since, in a manner, the former may be analyzed into elements of the latter. This law may be considered in every depart-

ment of natural phenomena, and naturally we follow the steps from the lowest inorganic to the highest organic stages.

The primary form of inorganic development of which we possess any knowledge is that of world systems. Nearly every one who allows himself to speculate at all now believes that such development has taken place, and that the earth and the solar system are products of dynamic tendencies in the universe. It is proper to call this process and all kindred ones *organization*, since this term merely expresses its true character. The term *evolution* has been applied to it, but in doing this very great confusion has been introduced. According to the laws of the redistribution of matter formulated by Mr. Herbert Spencer, there exist two great antagonistic tendencies, one of which he names Evolution, and the other Dissolution. The former consists in the integration of matter and the dissipation of motion, and the other in the absorption of motion and the disintegration of matter. [First Principles, § 97.] To the first of these he ascribes the formation of world systems and of solid forms of matter. The latter, he admits, is not manifested on a large scale in our quarter of the universe, but is seen on a small scale under the form of heat and its effects. He also attributes the origination and development of organic forms to evolution, and the periodical destruction of organisms to the opposite force. He thus fails to perceive the obvious inconsistency and contradiction which his definitions involve, since he agrees with the popular, but only partially correct, belief that all organic development is due to solar heat. But heat is the normal form which the forces of dissolution always assume, and its effect is always in the direction of disintegrating every form of concentrated matter, and of liberating motion, an effect precisely the reverse of what Mr. Spencer predicates of evolution. In his scheme, therefore, cosmic and organic evolution are due to diametrically opposite forms of force. It would seem that Mr. Spencer has failed to state, if not to grasp, one of the most important truths involved in his philosophy, viz., that the two antagonistic forces are always interacting, and that progress is due to an excess of the positive element, while retrogression is due to an excess of the negative element. Evolution and dissolution are not forces in themselves, but only the results of the conflict between forces. The true antagonistic forces are those of *gravitation* and *radiation*, and evolution proper, or organization, when it takes place, denotes a certain predominance of the former over the latter. When this principle is once grasped, the apparent inconsistency between cosmic and organic evolution no longer exists, and

we have only to admit, what is the incontestible truth notwithstanding the popular view to the contrary, that the gravitational forces on the globe more than counterbalance the dissolving influence of solar heat, and thus render organic development possible.¹

These principles have such an important bearing upon the entire law of genetic phenomena that the foregoing brief statement of them seemed not only justifiable, but necessary. In the light of them we may clearly see the nature of genetic progress in the universe of celestial bodies. The unchecked effect of gravitation alone would quickly bring all things to rest in a wholly unorganized state; that of heat, alone, would quickly dissipate all matter into gas, if not into interstellar ether. The preponderance of the latter would effectually prevent symmetrical forms from evolving, while too great excess of the former would rapidly condense the matter of space into heterogeneous and amorphous masses. It is the golden mean between them that secures the true evolution of the orbs of space.

Organic evolution proceeds according to the same general law. The development of any organism consists of a series of wholly inappreciable increments, due to the resultant force in the direction of progress. Here the individual must be wholly ignored, and the species alone considered. Heredity, however, can be relied upon to preserve the identity of all directly descended individuals, so that it is as though one individual were continuous. Minor variations occur during the lifetime of each individual, which are themselves transmitted, producing a steady progress in a given direction. Besides the direct variations due to the actual impacts upon the individual in the line of whose resultant progress goes on, there is also an indirect form of variation which is probably still more potent in producing change, and which Mr. Darwin has denominated "selection." This operates through heredity in the direction of advantage to the organism in the competition for existence. It is under the conjoint operation of these two laws, which Mr. Spencer respectively denominates direct and indirect equilibration, that all the present living organisms have been developed from the lowest forms, or plasson bodies, and these in turn from the inorganic elements. At the head of the organic series stands man, as representing the highest stage reached in the process of evolution.

As in passing from cosmic to organic evolution we saw the con-

¹ I have developed this view somewhat more at length in an article which appeared in the *Popular Science Monthly* for October, 1877, vol. xi, page 672.

tinued operation of the same uniform law, so in crossing the boundary which divides organic from superorganic phenomena, the animal from the social world, we are able to trace a single unbroken process. The human races, like living organisms, are some of them in the ascending and some in the descending series. The latter we may for the present disregard, and contemplate human society as, upon the whole, advancing. This advancement, like all forms of development below it, takes place differentially. It is, like the others, the mere resultant of slightly unequal impinging forces on all sides. Neglecting the lateral impacts which equilibrate each other, and considering only the constructive and destructive forces, we find that, while these are both in themselves enormous, the difference between them is very slight. In fact, so slight is it that it is not constantly in one direction. Even in periods of most rapid development, social progress takes place by rhythmical flows and ebbs. The latter prevail during parts of these periods, which implies that society at these times is losing ground—*i. e.*, that the destructive forces are actually part of the time in the ascendancy. Except in a limited sense, presently to be considered, this is the nature of all the social progress which has taken place thus far.

Such is the general character of genetic phenomena and genetic progress in all departments of nature; the dynamic condition is brought about through infinitesimal increments; the great bulk of the force expended is neutralized in so nearly maintaining the statical condition; there is incessant rhythm destroying at intervals most of the little that has been gained; the effect is in immediate contact with its cause, and exactly equal to it; there is no leverage or unequal advantage in the method of exerting influence, so that only the crudest and most direct results are capable of being reached. When correctly viewed, therefore, and thoroughly understood, the process of nature proves the least economic of all conceivable processes, a fact which the vastness of the scale on which it operates, and the absolute magnitude of the results actually accomplished by it, have in great measure concealed even from the most clear-sighted and thoughtful students of nature.

The bearing of all this upon the more practical problems of political economy, though it will become more apparent after we shall have considered the contrast presented by teleological phenomena, may nevertheless even now be clearly perceived.

The negative school of political economists insist upon nothing so

strongly as that the natural processes of society be left undisturbed. All attempts to influence the operation of these laws of nature, which they so greatly admire, are deprecated with a warmth which might make one doubt the sincerity of their avowed faith in their immutability. But these natural processes are neither more nor less than the form which genetic phenomena assume when seen in the superorganic world.

It was once supposed that nature's methods were the most economical ones conceivable, and constituted perfect patterns for men to copy from. It was while this view prevailed in all departments of science that political economy had its origin as such. Since then biologists have abundantly demonstrated the error of this belief, and had sociology been thoroughly grounded in biology, as Comte so justly insisted that it should be, it would have kept pace with the other sciences in rejecting this fundamental error. But this has not been the case, and we find social science writers still lauding the stern economy of nature's laws. That economy, however, consists only in this, that while no measure is adopted which does not at the time produce some result, however slight, the amount of energy expended in producing such result is wholly disregarded, and bears no proportion to the value of the result. Nature acts on the assumption that her resources are inexhaustible, and no amount of expenditure is too great to be made provided any good, however small, be thereby accomplished.

No system is maintained at greater expense than the reproductive; yet consider nature's prodigality in this. The octopus, in order to hold its own, must lay 50,000 eggs; a single sturgeon emitted 921,600 ova at one spawning, as counted by Dr. Buckland; the codfish hatches 1,000,000 young fish each year, that two may survive and the species not becomes extinct; the oyster spawns 2,000,000 embryos in a season, if all of which could reach maturity two or three individuals might supply the markets of the world. Professor Baird has estimated that an eel may contain at one time 9,000,000 eggs; a nematode was found to hold 60,000,000, and a tape-worm more than 1,000,000,000 ova. Similar facts confront us in the vegetable kingdom, but we need only mention that a single plant of the common mold, *Penicillium crustaceum*, was found to possess 3,200,000,000 spores.

The apparent peace which is supposed to reign in organic nature is highly illusory. Even the vegetation is at war, and the result of that strife is immensely to lower the possible standard of every living

species of plant.¹ In the animal kingdom the struggle is desperate and unceasing, and the result is not different from that in the vegetable. Not only is the waste of reproductive power enormous in proportion to the amount of life brought forth, but of the latter by far the greater part meets with premature destruction. Animals, as all know, prey upon each other, producing universal and indescribable suffering, and placing every living thing in a state of chronic terror in the midst of its countless enemies. But even this tells less heavily upon the vital energies than does the silent conflict which results from the competition for the means of subsistence. It is here that occurs the greatest waste, if the cost of producing and developing an organism is counted at anything.

That the same laws have operated in the superorganic as in the organic world is too clear for contradiction. Not only the progress out of barbarism into civilization, but the march of civilization itself, have been attended with the same incidents that characterize the development of a species or of an individual. The archæologist digs the remains of extinct civilizations out of the earth in much the same manner as the paleontologist does those of extinct animals and plants. Besides his wars with the elements and with wild beasts, man has been perpetually afflicted by wars with his own kind. *Homo hominis lupus*. And yet these wars of men with their surroundings, with wild beasts, and with one another, are the strict analogues of those of the lower forms of organized existence. Even the silent battle for subsistence has its counterpart in the competitive struggles of industry. The same wasteful methods prevail in society as in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The natural resources of the earth are squandered with a wanton disregard of the future. The forests are cut down to supply temporary wants, consumed by escaping camp fires, or purposely cleared for tillage, until the habitable portions of the earth are successively transformed into lifeless deserts. The soil is rapidly exhausted by the first occupants, who consider and know only the immediate present. *Après nous le déluge*. The wild animals useful to man are soon extinguished by the heartless destruction of the fertile females and helpless young. Population distributes itself to great disadvantage. Cities grow up with narrow, crooked streets, which must from time to time be widened and straightened at large absolute cost. Filth and disease-germs, due to dense, unregulated population, bring

¹ For the evidence of this statement, see my article on "The Local Distribution of Plants, etc., " in the *Popular Science Monthly* for October, 1876, vol. ix., page 676.

pestilence and sweep away at rhythmic intervals the excess. Famines come to scale down the ranks of such as have forced their way in during years of plenty. Bitter partisanship everywhere prevails throughout society, the nearly successful effort of each party being to undo what the other has done. Labor and capital, whose dependence upon each other is absolute, are constantly found in open hostility, which greatly reduces the productiveness of both. Exchange of products is largely carried on by redundant third parties, who, through no fault of their own, are allowed to absorb the largest share of the wealth produced. Trade consists to a great extent in unnecessary and duplicated transportation. Wealth is not only distributed unequally, but inequitably. In short, all the functions of society are performed in a sort of random, chance manner, which is precisely the reverse of economical, but wholly analogous to the natural processes of the lower organic world. Great results, it is true, are accomplished, even in society, by these unregulated natural forces. But are they the best possible? The optimistic view leads to stagnation by discouraging effort, while all true progress springs from that restless skepticism which dares even to question the methods of nature.

LESTER F. WARD.

STUDIES IN ETHNOLOGY—THE ANDAMANS, OR MINCOPIES.

UNDER the sky of the tropics, in the Indian Ocean, there are innumerable little bits of paradise to which the mind likes to wander. The group of the Andaman Islands, one of those spots where Nature lavishes her treasures, forms, with the Nicobar, a sort of continuation of Sumatra, which stretches up to the meeting of the delta of the Irawady, in a line parallel with Malacca, by means of a submarine chain of mountains, the peaks of which emerge in islands covering a space of about 450 kilometers. Their extent may be roughly estimated at half a million hectares (1,234,375 acres). The sea cuts into the shores, hollowing out gulfs here and there, and separating the principal islands into three sections. Further away from the shore the waters are sown with rocks and islets covered with luxuriant

vegetation, and resembling white lilies on the surface of a pond. To these delightful gardens banks of coral form reefs full of danger to navigators. There are also cruel cyclones in these seas; but, such obstacles once overcome, ships may find shelter in safe and sure ports. The principal geological formations are composed of rocks, serpentine, syenite and chlorite, and also of a gray limestone whose picturesque air originates scenery which has been compared with that of Swiss Saxony. In these primitive forests the magnificent is combined with the gigantic, the strange with the grandiose, the fauna rivals the flora in richness, the sky spreads itself in rays which are refracted in colors, diffused in chasing shadows, flash into flame, burst out in chromatic scales, and all unite in a superb symphony—a feast to the eye.

It would seem that so much beauty and splendor should be accompanied by intelligence—that here, where Nature has been so lavish of her charms, man should, at least, have added goodness! But no! Out of this earthly paradise civilized beings have made a convict prison. Backing up the guardhouse against the verdant forest, they have installed the jailer in the shade of the plantain; they have lodged the bulldogs in the thickets of mimosas and sensitive plants. They have made choice of this emerald island in an azure sea because the girdle made for it by the iridescent coral, fringed with snowy foam, takes the place of a fortress with its solid walls; because millions of sharks act as a police force on the outside, as well as on the inside; because the inclosure is bounded by a border of mangroves, which plunge their roots into fever-exhaling marshes; and, lastly, because the forest is haunted by savages who are said to be the most ferocious of their kind. It was not, then, for its flowers and its palms; it was not for its sanctuaries of sombre and mysterious green, broken by vistas of azure, by openings of sunlight, filled with dissolving views of fluttering and brilliant plumage, winged topazes, and flights of rubies, that suddenly a thousand unfortunate criminals are disembarked. They are brought, not to Eden, but to solitude. At the entrance is placed a sentinel with orders to fire upon the first who attempts to escape from this place of beauty. The red uniform, joined with fevers, sharks and cannibals, makes an excellent guard.

After the great Mahometan insurrection which broke out in India, and at one moment threatened to prove fatal to English sovereignty, the authorities of Calcutta sent to the Andamans a multitude of prisoners with whom they did not know what else to do. During the

first year the mortality rose to the frightful figure of 63 per cent., including those who came to their death by execution. Ten years later the statistics still showed a mortality of 10 per cent. At this rate the captives were not likely to prove costly guests. Soon cleaned out, they gave place to robbers, brigands and murderers, of whom the continent was purged. From 1868 to 1876 the mortality diminished from 10 to 4 per cent. In the course of eighteen years the Andamans had received 23,500 convicts, of whom 10,000 were transported in the single year of 1878, a thousand of the number being women.

From 1,200 to 1,500 soldiers and civilians guard and administer justice over this prison—the largest in the world, which has cost, according to the *Indian Budget*, an annual sum of £1,000,000. After a period of from eight to ten years, the prisoners who behave reasonably well receive a farm on hire, and later a piece of land, from which they are obliged to find support for themselves and their families.

The Mincopies, or natives, are sparsely scattered over the largest island of the group; as far as we are able to judge, they could easily be lodged in the penitentiary which has been established among them. In the year 1857 Dr. Mouat, President of the Governmental Commission, estimated the entire population at 5,000; but in 1867 it was only 3,000. In 1877 Major Birch thought this last figure exaggerated. Mr. Day speaks of a thousand natives only. The fact is that the island has never been explored. When the English authorities landed their first cargoes of prisoners, they had a bone to pick with the legal possessors of the soil, who received them with volleys of arrows; but the latter had cause to learn, as others had before them, that success is always on the side of the musket. Defending their rights by every means at their disposal, they made themselves extremely annoying, inflicting greater injury than they received, owing to the fact of being able to withdraw into the forest, an impregnable refuge. Always on the lookout, creeping in the grass, hiding in the bushes, the bow which inflicted such terrible wounds was ever invisible. Grubbing and cultivation were carried on with the greatest difficulty; the gardens were devastated, fish reservoirs pillaged, fishing tackle carried away. The English, understanding that the best policy would be to put an end to hostilities, concluded a treaty of peace with the natives, the first article of which was mutual forgetfulness of past injuries; the second, that twelve and a half francs (about two dollars and a half) should be paid for any

fugitive returned alive. This munificence enchanted the Mincopies, who, when they discovered in their woods one of the unfortunate captives, surrounded him in silence, crippled him with arrows and carried him off in triumph to the station, where they received the promised sum and a number of presents beside. Established on this foundation, the intercourse became more frequent from day to day. An intelligent and good man, Mr. Homfray, agent of the administration, seized every opportunity to enter into relations with the natives. He gained their confidence and familiarized himself with their language by accompanying them on frequent fishing and hunting expeditions. This "Master of Masters"—so they christened him—had small huts constructed, which he presented to them on condition that they should sell to the fort whatever fish and game they took. They also brought honey and wax, pigs and turtles, and were given in exchange knives, hatchets, iron, matches, besides being furnished with presents for neighboring hordes. They even had tobacco—yes, tobacco! Better, still, they were given rations of grog!

No savage has ever been known to resist such seductions; still less our Mincopies, who were great eaters, and accepted blindly this semi-servitude imposed upon them. Willing or not, the wild boar which has allowed himself to be captured takes the porridge always at hand, and which gradually transforms him into a domestic animal. Once accustomed to regular nourishment, our savages, who had at first made themselves so offensive, now gave no further trouble. The authorities wished to make gardeners of them. They had gardens marked out, which they hoed and planted. These operations, although watched with curiosity, lost their interest for the Mincopies when an attempt was made to make them dig, hoe and water in their turn. It became necessary to give up that idea.

They then directed their attention to the children, for whom they established a school where clergymen taught them a little reading, writing and religion. From this contact between the half free and the transports, a new dialect was created, a kind of pigeon English, a singular mixture of English, Hindostanee and Andaman. The seeds thus sown in young minds, it was reasonable to suppose, would bear fruit sooner or later. It was hoped by means of education to entirely transform the "young Andamans." But the little creatures enjoyed only moderately the intellectual and moral discipline to which they were subjected. Savage life, a school which admitted of perpetual truant playing—savage life, with its varied adventures, its ever-recur-

ring incidents of hunting and fishing, had for them very different attractions from the monotonous life of the school. How many times they ran off to wander about with their companions, or threw themselves into the water, swimming from island to island, knowing full well that their teacher would not pursue them across the arm of the sea! The victory of civilization over barbarism was declared certain when it was discovered that the Andaman reformed only by ceasing to exist. Thanks to the clothing in which they wrapped these miserable creatures, at the same time exposing them to excesses of every kind; thanks to the houses in which they sheltered them; thanks to the abundant nourishment dealt out daily to those hitherto accustomed to endure hunger, their constitutions became enfeebled, their temperaments weakened, and the tamed tribes melted and passed away. That the adults should die, astonished no one; but that the children should be swept off by disease—this is what disturbed all calculations and annihilated every hope. Dr. Day has seen three children of one family dead at the same time. The civil registers kept at the stations showed a proportion of 271 deaths to 100 births. These two figures have a fatal significance, and announce the total extinction of the race.

Since they are destined to disappear, let us take time to study the habits of this people. Our anthropologists have adopted, with a rare unanimity, the theory that they may be comprised in the ruins of a race supposed to have been traced from the Marian Islands to the foot of the Himalayas—and from Timor to Japan—a negro race which some naturalists declare once peopled a continent now covered with water, and which extended from Madagascar to the Easter Islands, and which comprised the Philippines, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Nicobar and our Andamans.

The great physiologist Owen places our Mincopies in the lowest rank of the human species. Many times they have been said to constitute the link between the man and the monkey. On this subject Madame Clémence Royer has written: "There is undoubtedly more difference to-day between the savage Bushman, or Mincolie, and the civilized European, founder of cities, inventor of the railroad and telegraph, man of letters, artist, savant, than there is between a dog and a sheep!"

Like the Laplanders, like the *ætas* of the Philippines, like the natives of Terra del Fuego, the Andamans belong to a race feeble in nature. The measurements of the skeleton have not led to any definite results, owing to the small number of subjects examined by

the savants; but all repeat that statement that it is a perfectly distinct type, not entering into any of those which the great continents present to us. Messrs. Man and Temple say they resemble the Australians more nearly than any other people. Mr. Flower, who has analyzed their osteology with care, gives them a very decidedly brachycephalic skull, and attributes to them hair crimped in elliptic sections. The color of the skin seems to vary from deep red to jet black, from No. 42 to No. 48, Broca scale. Eye-witnesses describe their skin as black and glossy, as if it were waxed, while others call it black and without lustre. The excellence of their sight, the delicacy of their sense of smell, the strength and suppleness of their bodies, are beyond question; they swim and dive to perfection, climb with agility up trees and over the highest and most difficult places.

The mountain chain which cuts in two the great Andaman Island forms between the two halves a line of separation which has thus far proved impassable. Between the inhabitants of the plain and those of the mountain there is no intercourse. They have a mutual fear of each other, talk a different dialect, an entirely distinct language. The coast tribes speak with scorn of those in the interior, although no European eye could distinguish between them. Those half savages, armed with lances with wooden points, run like cats through the jungle in pursuit of serpents, lizards and crocodiles. Like other degraded people, they are said to be endowed to a great degree with powers of magic.

If our anatomists and anthropologists have not been able to decide upon the physical type of the Andamans, notwithstanding the pains they have taken, how could they be expected to agree upon their moral type, which is so much more complicated?

Have the Andamans any habitations?

Mr. Dobson, who has lived with these savages, says that on the Grand Andaman he has not seen a single place where they lived for an indefinite length of time; but that, according to weather and circumstance, they take shelter under a jut of rocks or a cluster of bushes; dig out holes in which they live, weaving branches together in the form of a bee-hive. Their huts, if this is not too pretentious a name to apply to them, are nothing but palms badly put together. The bones which they have gnawed, the shells, heads and bones of the fish which they have eaten, are thrown in a pile at one side. When the odors emitted by so much decayed matter come to be a nuisance, they break up their camp and establish themselves elsewhere.

In the Lesser Andamans, and especially in the interior, Mr. Homfray found tolerably large huts, but of rude construction, like those built by the natives of Terra del Fuego. Three or four piles are driven in the ground and fastened together at the top, the intervening space being filled in with branches interlaced. They creep in through a hole at the bottom. The floor is covered with dried leaves. From the top are suspended in garlands skulls of pigs and of tortoises, daubed over with red, and the vertebræ of the large fish they have eaten.

With few or no local habitations, with but temporary shelters, with still less in the way of dress—truly, the Mincopies are entitled to the admiration of Diogenes himself for the manner in which they have cut themselves loose from superfluities. Fatigued even by the weight of hair, men and women alike shave themselves entirely bare with the exception of a band going from the occiput to the sinciput, after the manner of the crest of a helmet. Except for this ornamentation they allow themselves no beards, whiskers or mustaches, or even eyebrows. The care of their person even goes so far as the pulling out of eyelashes. The practice has its merits, as it insures them from insects, which would otherwise be a great torment, for the jungle abounds in vermin. Old women exercise the functions of cutting hair and shaving; formerly, the operation was performed but once in six months, and then with a sharp stone; nowadays, fragments of broken bottles are plenty, and they shave once in fifteen days.

The cords which at certain times the natives wind round their bodies have no other use than to hold weapons and small articles which they wish to avoid carrying in their hands.

Clothing is necessary as a protection against the pricks of thorns and insects, damp air and chill after perspiration. The Mincopies prefer to cover themselves instead with mud and other earthy substances, which they apply in thick layers and allow to harden. It is a sort of incrustation which proves both useful and healthy. It is not at all the same as painting the body, that being a work of art, having an intellectual and an artistic significance. The operation requires great care, and the men, recognizing the fact that their hands are not sufficiently delicate, confide the execution of it to women, on whom also devolve the duties of tattooing and shaving. Varying their processes according to the circumstances and the desires of their client, they employ as vehicles for the coloring matter water, milk and certain

fats, those of the pig and the tortoise being made into a sort of wax. For those who are especially fastidious, they have invented a preparation of almond oil, the concentration of everything elegant. The dandies have this reddish or indigo-colored pomade put on the tip of the nose and on the upper lip, so giving themselves the pleasure of smelling the same delightful odor they exhale. The dead have their flat faces smeared with a coating of bright red and sweet flowering oil—a last attention. The places where the ochres and colored oxides are procured they would not exchange for mines of gold. The precious pigments are carefully gathered in leaves made into packages, which are given as presents or in exchange for something else. It is thus that a system of trade and international relations begins. Our fine ladies and gentlemen take no greater pains in arranging their toilets for the ball than do the Andamans of both sexes in preparing themselves for a night of dancing. Dobson was very much amused at the performances of a handsome young fellow, a dandy in the tribe, who had one half of his body painted olive green, the other half red, adding festoons on the chest and belly, and a band running the length of his legs and arms. If he had been decked with gold braid and large bullion epaulets his vanity could not have been greater. As can easily be imagined, he is not indifferent to the design to be applied, and each color has its peculiar significance. Thus, our dandy set off his green with red; if he had been entirely olive of the same shade and without festoons, it would have been a sign that a recent grief filled his heart with mourning. Red signifies joy and contentment. The dancers of both sexes begrime themselves with spots of vermillion, young married people making theirs correspond with each other. Do not we also describe colors as grave and gay? Following out this idea, the Mincopies go further, and, concluding that each color must produce its own particular effect, they employ them as remedies and preservatives, and make use of them inside as well as out. Red, which everywhere is symbolic of flame, joy and health, serves to allay fevers in their early stages, as well as chills, coughs and curvatures; also the child-bearing women take it in times of weakness. They have recourse to blue, in cases of whitlow and ulcers, to purify the blood, soften acrid humors and cool the overheated system. As a preventive against headaches, they smear themselves with mud of an olive hue. The grayish white, with which they incrust themselves on the decease of a relative or a friend, possesses the same good qualities as blue, but to a higher degree, and

serves as an excellent anti-aphrodisiac. If any one should send them a troupe of gray sisters, the Andamans would take it as a signal to cover themselves with chalk and drink gypsum tea. Stripes of color conveniently take the place of bandages and lint. A marauder, busying himself in the gardens of the prison superintendent, received a discharge of shot in the fleshy part of his body. He ran immediately to be painted over with yellow and green. Hail, hail, humble beginnings of medicine!

We cannot be too much astonished in seeing what savages accomplish with instruments so clumsy that we should not be able to use them at all. They still make but very limited use of fire. For the most part, articles which they formerly made of flint they now work with fragments of broken glass fashioned into scrapers, razors, knives, pruning-knives and arrow-heads. Iron gathered from wrecks they straighten, sharpen, work while cold, flatten by blows of a heavy stone, grind against sandstone to make it thin, having no idea that by simply heating the metal they could work it without difficulty. With the tusks of the wild boar, such as they are, they beat, bore, pierce and engrave. It is from these sources they gather in prehistoric periods.

Shells, flint and teeth are used in making small articles. For larger pieces of work they would go even now to the fire obtained by the friction made by rubbing two pieces of wood together. If they had not been seen going through these processes we might pronounce them to be impossible, maintaining that they preserved the fire with such care only because, if it went out, they had no means of rekindling it. Nowadays, in the neighborhood of the colonies, they are provided with lucifer matches. If obliged to put faith in their traditions, we should be forced to believe that fire was originally brought to them from heaven by the Great Spirit—by Loar Tab himself—who, seeing them gathered together in a circle one day, descended into their midst, firebrand in hand.

Fire was one of the first, if not the first, possession common to all. In proportion as growing industries increased the means and facility of procuring it from lighted coals, the institution of collective fire lost its practical utility, and was transformed into a symbol more and more refined. The wood-shed where a number of tree trunks were gathered became an altar on which virgins chosen from among the most honored tended a sacred fire, emblem of national life, and ending in nothing more than the little lamp called the Holy Spirit's which

burns night and day in the sanctuaries of our cathedrals and Roman Catholic churches.

The Andamans have also their Temple of Vesta, in the form of an old dried tree! At a distance of rather more than six feet from the ground they dig in the trunk a hole, which the fire deepens little by little, until it makes a sort of stove. The accumulation of ashes preserving the cinders, develops a gentle heat, admirable for cooking fish and pigs' quarters. The Mincopies are unaccustomed to eating anything raw, even cooking the greater part of their fruit. It is quite the thing to fry a shrimp in the bowl of a pipe.

It did not require much time for the Andamans to discover how useful the English hatchet was, and how much time could be saved by using it in skinning and cutting up large animals. Carpenters revolutionized their industries. Thanks to the judicious use of nails and bands of sheet iron, their manufactures have been multiplied and improved so that boats formerly carrying but three or four men now hold as many as thirty or forty. Imperfect as their canoes are, without outrigger and without keel, the Andamans are perhaps the first oarsmen in the world. Mr. Mouat relates that on two occasions he assisted at a trial of speed between a Mincopic skiff and an English boat manned by trained sailors, victors in former regattas. After desperate efforts they had the mortification of seeing themselves beaten by these little negroes in their miserable nutshell of a boat, an ungovernable little shell in which any European would surely have been upset.

While some devote themselves to the construction of the canoe, shaping it, shaving it down to an incredible degree of thinness, and ornamenting it with dotted drawings, others follow the chase. Here begins the division of labor—here social solidarity.

The Andaman bow has the classical form of the weapon attributed to Cupid. It is hard wood and very tough, and the string is waxed to increase its stiffness. The end of the arrow, armed with one or more barbs, is not joined to the stem, but fastened by a fine cord, wound spirally. When driven into the body of the game, the struggles of the poor creature cause the arrow to shake and loosen, catching in the brushwood, thus giving the hunter time to come up before it is lost in the jungle.

One industry which is carried to a great degree of perfection is the manufacture of threads from woolen fibre; this they make into bags and other ornamental contrivances. The women are not ignorant of

the processes of basket weaving. The ceramic art seems to be practised in but one or two places, by women who keep their methods secret, although in islands near Nicobar, where this art is highly developed, they make no mystery of it. Too precious to be owned by a single individual, these pots, which ought to be included in the category of "national productions," belong to the whole horde.

They have no trade which is not connected in some way with nourishing the body; every one has to do with either eating or drinking. The history of the Mincopies, in such annals as they have left, is limited to a knowledge of the number of hillocks made of bones, shells and other débris connected with eating. When game and fish abound, when fruits and turtles are plenty, our Mincopies make it their business to eat as much as they can, gormandizing with the idea that the next day can take care of itself. It is not that they are entirely wanting in foresight; they make some provision for the rainy season, but not sufficient to prevent them from suffering the pangs of hunger.

Although the climate of the archipelago is most favorable to the growth of the cocoanut, it remained for the English to introduce this tree. The waves frequently wash the nuts ashore from the direction of Nicobar, where they abound. Mr. Earl relates that the natives, who are very fond of this fruit, keep watch and gather eagerly those cast on their shore; not one escapes their sight. Mr. Man, one of those persons who has not lived in vain, but left the world better than he found it, at first planted this fruit in several spots on the coast, but upon finding that the natives dug it up to eat it, even when half decayed, he substituted plants for the nuts. Animals and average men have the childish egotism and short sight not to be able to comprehend that, by denying themselves the momentary gratification of a wish, their sacrifice may be rewarded an hundredfold. The desire of personal and immediate enjoyment prevents all reflection and consideration of a higher order.

We try to measure scientifically the distance which separates the different races of human beings from each other. The power of foresight might be one of the tests to be established and applied. These measures would allow of instituting comparisons between the intelligence of certain human families and the instincts of certain determinate animal species. By this test our Mincopies would certainly prove inferior to foxes, rats and hamsters; to ants, which devote themselves to raising milk-giving aphides, and which sow and cultivate maize.

"To govern is to possess foresight," said some one; "statesmen are

valuable in proportion as they can look ahead." Very well; but this maxim, so good in political affairs, is applicable to the administration of all communities, whether animal or human. Foresight is the last synthesis of an infinite number of partial analyses—the conquest of Time. The creation of reason by means of perception—this is the introduction to cosmos; it is the first step of being in a world of eternal and mathematical laws—of intellect and morality.

Let us now consider the marital customs of the Mincopies—the family and social relations.

Youth enjoys entire liberty. From nine or ten years of age girls and boys run at freedom in the jungles. In the midst of ever-recurring incidents of fishing and hunting the little people learn to know each other. If some lasting affection is formed between a boy and a girl it is understood that eventually they will marry. As a general thing, however, the arrangement is made by the parents. No marriage is officially performed without being followed by tattooing, a prolonged mixture of operations, painful, costly in respect of blood, and which any one may be proud of having endured without flinching. Is this all? No, the chief of the tribe, guardian of girls, "uncle of marriageable daughters," organizes an expedition, to which he sends the fiancée and her companions, who for several days lead pretty gay lives.

The young man, poor fellow, is not so well off; he must pass through a noviciate of enforced abstinence and renunciation. For several successive days he is not allowed to speak a word or to eat more than just enough to stimulate his appetite.

At last the wedding-day arrives! Everybody smears himself with red, as a good augury; the men, armed with long bows and quivers, arrange themselves around a wood fire, the women, on their side, singing and dancing. The bride conceals herself in a neighboring thicket, from which, at the order of the chief, she is dragged out, in spite of her resistance, by vigorous young fellows, who throw her, palpitating, on a mat, in the presence of the whole assembly. On his side, the bridegroom also pretends to hide and defend himself; he, too, is dragged out and thrown on the mat; while the couple, brought together in such a violent manner, sob and groan, the women dance around them. This ceremony is repeated on several successive days; it is only on the third night that the newly-married pair accept the situation made for them, and disappear in the jungle to pass their honeymoon.

Marriage puts an end to the independence of the woman, who becomes the exclusive property of the man, to whom and to her children she must henceforth consecrate her life. Andaman women, when married, enjoy the consideration from their husbands which they are pleased to exact. It can hardly be said that they are not occasionally subjected to great brutality; but the woman sees the storm gathering, escapes at the right moment, and only appears again when the danger is over. They are killed sometimes, but never beaten. Invested with universal confidence, the housewives frequently interfere in political and outside quarrels. When they are present at discussions between tribes, whether friendly or hostile, no conflict takes place, no attack is menaced.

Parents show toward their children an affection as devoted as it is anxious. Infants nurse when quite large and able to run about and partake of other nourishment. When a nursing mother is indisposed, other mothers who have milk give the breast to the child as long as it is necessary. At the moment of its birth it is bathed in cold water, and then put before the fire, with the idea of hardening it, a method not attended with success, for the mortality is very large among the infant population. Few persons survive the quarantine. Fevers sweep off a great many, as well as diseases of the lungs. High winds, heavy rains and sunstrokes are fatal to the natives; as to the inhabitants of the jungles, they fear as much as the Europeans the miasmas rising from ground newly dug or put under cultivation.

The Andamans have several ways of getting rid of their dead—burning, burying or submerging them, according to the degree in which they wish to do honor to the deceased, according to the fear they still have of him, and according to the character of the malady to which he fell a victim.

Without troubling themselves further, they throw into the brush the body of the shipwrecked mariner found on their coast. The prisoner, whom they may have murdered in the forest, they cast into a hole. They burn the bodies of their enemies, this being the easiest way of getting rid of the soul of an ill-doer. The corpses formerly tenanted by particularly dangerous or wicked people are attached to heavy stones, placed in boats manned by four or five braves, who set off in any direction and row until the shore is lost from view, when they shove the bodies overboard. The ocean, whose waves conceal the tempest in its bosom, is also the recipient and rest-

ing place of evil spirits. "The sea is made of Typhoons," said the ancient Egyptians.

The great majority of the islanders are buried, however, first being rolled up and tied in a half-sitting posture; each one of the friends blows lightly on the forehead and face of the deceased, thus giving him a little of their souls. They cover him with earth, then with stones, and lay him in fagots which are fastened down. Leafy garlands are attached to the trees in the vicinity, the aerial dwelling place of the spirit. At the foot of the tree which shades the tomb, the companions place a pitcher full of water and a nautilus shell, while to the trunk are attached the bow and arrows of the hunter and the pipe which has been such a source of happiness to him. The Andamans cannot see the body of one near to them without being deeply moved. The places of sepulture inspire them with secret terror. These are always dug in low places, in remote spots; never on a hill or eminence where they would obtrude themselves on the view of passers-by.

The chiefs and important personages of the tribe are treated with much more distinction than ordinary mortals. The body is placed on a scaffolding about twenty feet high, from which it is easy for the soul to launch into the air. Underneath a fire is lighted to drive away bad spirits.

Mourning, which consists merely of a covering of mud, is worn from four to eight weeks, according to the degree of affection felt for the dead man. They groan, they lament, they eat only enough to save themselves from starvation, they abstain from favorite articles of food, during the entire period.

Whether the corpse be dried or buried, it is of great importance to gather the bones—the resisting part of the body. To this end, the particular friends scrape and clean the different parts of the skeleton, large and small bones alike. The deceased is then distributed in mementoes, precious relics, possessing great virtue, and which each one turns to his own profit. Every Andaman is transformed into a mine of relics. The most efficacious of all these amulets is necessarily the skull, which is spotted with vermillion and adorned with coquettish fringes. The widow has the sad privilege of possessing it, and only parts with it on the evening of the day on which she marries another. From this moment, if the skull is that of a distinguished man, it serves as a drinking cup, possessing the power of preserving whoever drinks from it in health and strength.

Those spirits to which are attributed every unusual event whose cause is not directly apparent, occasion maladies, and are associated with epidemics. Tempests rage because demons are struggling in their vortices. A certain wind which blows pernicious fevers and carries off a great many people proceeds from an impure and murderous spirit of a terrible and cruel description. When these winds signal their approach, when they begin to be felt, an effort is made to frighten them away by waving burning torches, to intimidate them by brandishing knives and making threatening gestures. Poor children, who think that they can drive away bad spirits as easily as that!

All magic comes from animism; is a development of the worship of the dead; of the dead, whose shades, envious and jealous, must be propitiated by presents, mollified by sacrifices. It is thus that friendly spirits rise up in the midst of a crowd of wicked genii. In proportion as the different races enlarge their intellectual horizon they increase their sky, they people it; in proportion as they acquire some ideas of physics they break loose from cosmogonies; in proportion as man emerges from the brute he transforms the Lares into creatures of the universe; demons hostile to his horde into enemies of the human race. From the conflict of tribes, each having its special divinity, rises a history of the gods; crude myths, coarse symbols, are brought to light. When thought has taken distinct shape and ideas of consistency, doctrines become fixed, religions are established.

The Mincopies believe in a wicked devil, Ram Tchangela, chief of devouring spirits which wander through the brush, doing harm by day and more by night. Laor Tab protects the Andaman as well as he can, and looks at him through the eyes of the stars. The moon, also, is favorable to the islanders. Out of respect for her they abstain from lighting any fire when she rises and until she is high in the heavens. The sea is considered as the great mother of us all. She gave birth to a stone which is the centre of the world—the point from which all creation starts. On this stone, as large as a boat, landed one day the goddess Tchana Hionadi. She was in labor, and gave birth to four little ones, of whom each one was double and hermaphrodite. With time the sexes were formed, the mixed creatures separated into brother and sister, husband and wife, from which came the Andamans, the first-born of humanity. Savage races never fail to claim this glory.

What has been said concerning their language, the highest manifestation of intelligence and its first instrument?

Mr. Man, who experimented on ten tribes, reports that they cannot understand each other, as they do not speak dialects, but have languages which bear no analogy to each other except that of being entirely agglutinant, and having the same construction. They resemble those of the Australians and the half-savage populations of Southern India. Sweet, sonorous, not guttural, the women whisper and murmur rather than speak. Often a European only perceives that conversation is going on near him by seeing the movement of lips on entirely impassive faces.

Poetry, the expression of the ideal, and perhaps also of truth, is not unheard of among our Andamans. Their tunes run on in a plaintive manner in melodies into which choruses are introduced. Like those of our peasants, the savage songs are full of sadness. Of all artistic effects the easiest to imitate is that of desolation; the simplest pleasure to reproduce, affliction. This admits of easy explanation. The first sensation of the animal fibre is painful; the infant cries long before it is able to smile; it weeps before it knows how to laugh; the first conscious, or semi-conscious, imitation is therefore that of suffering; every musical manifestation will begin by an appeal to sympathy.

The Andamans weep, cry out loud and sob when they are in grief and when they are not; when they wish to express any strong emotion, even that of joy. Enemies weep when they become reconciled; friends, when they meet after a long separation. It is not always a simple matter to distinguish between joy and sorrow, whose expressions are the more easily confused as their sources resemble each other. Their musical instrument is extremely simple, being merely a piece of wood hollowed out in the manner of a sounding-board. Men strike it with their feet, women beating time with their hands. Whatever it is, it puts them in the motion of dancing, an exercise to which they give themselves up passionately in their nocturnal fêtes, brandishing torches, shaking branches and garlands, striking their thighs noisily and touching their heels to their backs.

Affectionate? yes—the women greet you by taking your hand and blowing lightly upon it.

The more closely you study them, the more you perceive that they are not the scamps you at first supposed them to be; nor are they so stupid as you imagined. A traveler, Mr. Jagor by name, gives the following testimony: "The brave Mincopies took me entirely by surprise by their jovial frankness, and by the affectionate good nature which they manifested toward me. When I was obliged to come away,

they made the most cordial demonstrations, the children crowding around me; one little one of two or three years took his pipe from his mouth to give it to me—a distinguished favor."

The person who judged them the most favorably is also the one who did them the most good. Mr. Man planted their shores with cocoanut, citron, papaw and gogavier trees. He studied their language, and constituted himself their interpreter with the civilized world. He found them truthful and sincere, and filled with good intentions, but he deplores the fact that the convict guards are near this primitive people as official representatives of our justice and morality.

Poor Andamans! it is a pity that you are condemned to be gradually rooted out by our civilization before there has been sufficient time either for us to understand your manner of living or for you to understand all of our merits!

ELIE RECLUS.

“THE MELLOWING YEAR.”

IN “Lycidas,” which Milton wrote at the age of twenty-nine, the poet urges, as if in self-defense, that the necessity of grief compelled him to address the Muse before the “Mellowing Year.” He had already written the “Hymn on the Nativity,” “L’Allegro,” and “Il Penseroso,” “Comus” and other poems, but had not yet attained that “inward ripeness” to which he aspired.

Milton was a close student of himself, and placed a high, though just, estimate on his own genius. He knew from a boy that he was to be a great poet, and from his earliest youth watched with a sublime self-consciousness the unfolding of those powers which were to place him among the very few poetic “voices” of all time. This, then, is the man who, at twenty-nine, opens one of the finest poems in any language with an apology for attempting further literary composition in anticipation of the time when his mind should be so matured as to justify him in speaking to and for the world. And even as late as 1641, at thirty-three, he asks to be still further indulged in silence “for some few years,” that he may prepare himself, “by devout prayers * * *, industrious and select reading, steady observation, and insight into all seemly generous arts and affairs,” for that high vocation to which he felt himself called.

Milton's genius was unique ; but the anxiety to watch the unfolding of one's own mind is common to all who aspire to an intelligent life. We all want to know when our minds come of age. When is this “Mellowing Year”? Does it follow laws corresponding to those sequences of physical change which determine bodily age? What are the signs of its approach, presence and departure? Questions of this sort come to many a college undergraduate, ingenious apprentice, or ambitious clerk.

One line of reply is the biographical. We deduce laws from facts. Suppose, then, we select five hundred names from among those that “were not born to die,” and, when the choice has been made, find out, from reliable sources of information, at what age these persons impressed themselves upon the world as master spirits. No two lists would agree, no two persons would settle upon the same dates in all cases ; but in a list of this kind, honestly and carefully prepared, the errors and imperfections will about balance one another, and the result will be a fair statement.

For the purpose of convenience, the list prepared in the present case was restricted to males and to modern times, and certain classes were ignored. We dealt with men who achieved greatness, rather than those who, like kings, were born great, or by some accident had greatness thrust upon them. It would have been absurd, for instance, to have included in the roll a person like Simeon Stylites, who became great by sitting, like Patience, on a monument. It would have been equally unfair in another direction to have included a man like Tom Thumb, who is only great by being small ; or, to take still another class, it would have merely led to confusion to have admitted those incidentally great, like Theophilus Thistle, we will say, who achieved immortal celebrity by thrusting ten thousand thistles in the thick of his thumb. We omitted, therefore, those whose fame rests on works of mere perseverance, industry, or a happy conjunction of circumstances.

The next step was to determine, by means of standard books of reference, the age at which each one in the list might fairly be said to have become famous. The authorities sometimes differed, or gave only imperfect dates and particulars, and, where this discrepancy was serious enough to vitiate results, the knot was cut by dropping the name. This may explain the absence of some which would naturally be found in a list of this sort. With these prefatory remarks, let us proceed to the examination, in the hope that the facts themselves will best show the methods followed.

The average age at which the five hundred men became famous is thirty-four years and seven months. The most fertile single years were thirty, thirty-three, thirty-four and thirty-five. More than one-fourth of the entire list are credited to one of these four years.

Now, dividing the list by professions, we find interesting results. Thirty-five names are those of musicians. The average age at which these masters of musical expressions were recognized by the world is twenty-eight years and seven months. This is the lowest average of any profession, and indicates that the musical faculty is the earliest to develop. Several of the famous composers were childish wonders before they took their place among the men of their generation. Of such musicians as Handel, Liszt and Mozart, it might almost be said that music was their first language. Mendelssohn wrote the music of "Midsummer Night's Dream" while still a boy, and Spohr, Cherubini and Rossini were famous before they reached their majority. A very few years later sufficed to bring Bellini, Purcell, Schubert and others of equal reputation into general notice. But others flowered later. Balfe brought out the "Bohemian Girl" at thirty-six, though his "Siege of Corinth" had been "rapturously received" at Drury Lane nine years before. Auber, after many failures, established his reputation at thirty-eight with "Bergère Châtelaine." Gounod waited for fame until forty-one, when it came in a sudden glory with the production of "Faust," and Ambrose Thomas toiled on unrewarded until the patience and industry of genius won its crown in "Mignon" at fifty-five.

The artists show the next youngest average—twenty-nine years and six months. Thirty-seven names are recorded, all but four of whom became famous not later than their thirty-fifth year. Among those notable for precocity are Durer, Delacroix, Ingres, Thorwaldsen, Landseer, Rubens, Turner, Rembrandt, Rafael, Leyden and Van Dyke, all of whom were well established in fame at the age of twenty-five, and the last three by the time they reached their majority.

The literary list was divided, on what may perhaps seem an arbitrary and awkward plan, into the two classes of pure and applied literature. This division, however, is almost necessary. Writers like Coke, Horace Greeley, Locke, Schleiermacher and Thiers should not be considered authors in the sense in which that word is used when applied to Alfieri, Congreve, Dickens or Walter Scott. We must discriminate between those who used literature as a vehicle whereby to inculcate morals or impart information and those who are literary

artists. In the former class stand historians, theologians and political economists; in the latter the poets, dramatists, novelists and other writers in the field of imagination.

The list comprises one hundred and seven names of those who have excelled in what we have designated as pure literature. The average age at which they won distinction is thirty-three years and six months.

The poets came to fame earlier than writers of prose, their list, taken by itself, showing an average of about thirty-two years. The most precocious in the roll is Bryant, who published "Thanatopsis" at nineteen. Campbell was a favorite British poet at twenty-one. Disraeli wrote "Vivian Grey" at twenty-two. Bulwer was the author of "Pelham" at twenty-three, and between that age and twenty-five we find the names of Congreve, Petrarch, Burns, Dickens, Ben Johnson, Keats, Klopstock, Pope, Ruskin, Sheridan, Isaac Disraeli, Alexander Dumas *père*, Goethe, Alfred de Musset, St. Beuve and Shelley. On the other hand, those who rose to eminence later in life were Ariosto, Rousseau, Camoëns, Lamb, Hawthorne, Sterne, Fontaine, Montague, Boswell, Bunyan and Samuel Butler, who are credited to the decade from forty to fifty; and Richardson, Cowper, Cervantes and Young, who had passed their half century.

Among those designated as useful writers, as distinguished from authors of works of the imagination, success comes later. Their compositions required long study and the exercise of a ripened judgment. In many cases, however, we find youth linked to eminence. Thus Coke, Renan, Strauss, Schelling and Tholuck were widely known before the age of thirty. Horace Greeley had a national reputation as the editor of the *Tribune* at thirty, and by this age Sir William Jones, Sir James McIntosh, Richter and Tocqueville had distinguished themselves. If we add a very few years more to the limit, it includes the names of Comte, Diderot, Fichte, Montesquieu, Pascal, Spinoza and others. In the majority of cases, however, writers of this class developed later. Thus we find Hallam and Hume credited to forty-one, Motley forty-two, Dr. Butler and Descrates, Grote, Paley and Hegel a few years later, while Reid, Adam Smith and Locke go to fifty or above. The average age of the sixty-eight selected names is thirty-six years and eleven months.

It is a rather difficult matter to decide on the exact dates at which men famous for their political services may be said to have established their reputation, as eminence in the state is generally a growth, springing from a fortunate union of many causes. It is found, however, that

the same general average is observable here as elsewhere; that is, that statesmen who became famous at all have generally already become so when at the age of thirty-five. In this roll we are confined to those who have risen from the people. It would manifestly be unfair to have it include those who inherited station and political power. Such a man, for instance, is Francis I. of France, or his rival, Charles V. One of the most familiar examples of precocity was the younger Pitt, who was ruling the destinies of Great Britain at an age when most young men are at college. He, however, made his mark only a little earlier than several others who did not possess his advantages. Gladstone, a familiar example, matured early, and at thirty-three, taking a conservative date, was recognized as one of the master spirits of the age.

The most precocious of all perhaps was Fox, who was delighting the House of Commons by his oratory before in this country he could have voted. The elder Pitt, Lord Chatham, was well known at twenty-seven, and by naming Emmet, Erskine, O'Connell, Palmerston, as examples of English statesmen who gained a solid reputation before, and in some instances long before, they were thirty, we see what an important part youth has played in the politics of Great Britain. The French Revolution, as might be imagined, was given direction largely by young men. Danton, Mirabeau and Robespierre had all attracted notice and risen to leadership while scarcely more than thirty. Gambetta, to come down to contemporaneous politics, is credited at thirty-two years, which is the age at which Blaine entered the House of Representatives. These two men, whose characters have much in common, had an even start in life. To notice more particularly the facts of our own political history, it may be said, by way of partial digression and as the result of an independent inquiry, that all but two or three of our Presidents won their distinction early. Several of them had no political experience until called to the executive chair, and one or two of those who were politicians did not go to the White House through the halls of Congress, but nearly all of the Presidents who went to Congress went early. An illustration which will occur to every one is that of Garfield, who was elected a Representative at twenty-nine, and entered Congress as its youngest member. The average age at which our Presidents became famous is put at thirty-one years and seven months. The age at which the Vice-Presidents became famous is thirty-three years and ten months. They started a little later, and did

not get so high. The average age at which those who subsequently became Speakers of the House of Representatives entered Congress is thirty-five years, and only five of the whole list entered the House of Representatives over thirty-eight, while seven were thirty or under. The average age of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was forty-four years and seven months. On the contrary, the age of the present House of Representatives, which is supposed to be a popular body, representing the progressive ideas of “Young America,” is a trifle over fifty years. No wonder the country suffers from legislative paralysis, when this “popular body” can appropriately be dubbed the House of Grandfathers. If any business is to be done, the need of the time is not new rules, but new rulers.

To return to the list. Calhoun and Clay entered Congress at twenty-nine. Webster was a little later, appearing in the Senate at thirty-four. Benjamin Franklin was known as a writer at twenty-six; when the Revolution directed his mind to politics, he was already a man of advanced years. Alexander Hamilton was in national celebrity at twenty-five. Patrick Henry had made his great speeches at thirty. Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence at thirty-three; Madison’s name was a household word at twenty-eight, and George Washington had rendered those military services which turned all eyes toward him as the natural leader of the colonial forces at twenty-six. Two of the leading spirits of the Revolution of 1640 were older men, Cromwell and Hampton, but both had been well-known leaders in Parliament for from ten to fifteen years prior to the Long Parliament. Kossuth at fifty showed the fire of youth, and the great political services of Bismarck must be credited to the triumphs of age. Seventy-three names appear in this division of the list, and the average age at which political distinction is won is found to be thirty-four years and seven months, a result coincident with the general average.

The explorers make an interesting list. These men often show, not merely physical courage and endurance, but the finest gifts of the mind and the most admirable moral character. In the higher walks of geographical exploration, not only are physical courage and vigor necessary, but imagination, fortitude and hopefulness. We find the average age of the most famous explorers that which combines a spirit of adventure and the greatest bodily health. The great majority of distinguished navigators and travelers did their characteristic work in the prime of life, between thirty and forty years of age. Of twenty-

one names selected, only four attained fame before thirty, and only three beyond forty. The largest portion are credited to the first few years of their fourth decade. Here we find Baffin, Vasco de Gama, Doctor Kane, Livingston, Perry, Raleigh and Stanley. A little later come Cortez, Drake and Sir John Franklin.

One of the most precocious of sailors was Sebastian Cabot, who commanded a fleet of discovery, and was the hero of the adventurous spirits of his age, almost before he became a man. On the other hand, two of the greatest discoverers are the oldest, namely, Magellan and Columbus, both of whom made their famous voyages at an advanced age. The average is very nearly thirty-five years.

The vast and expanding domain of science outstretches the scope of a summary inquiry such as that now attempted. But eighty-four names appear on the list to represent this field of effort in all its various divisions. The list cannot be regarded, therefore, as more than representative or illustrative; nevertheless, it sheds light on an important phase of the subject. The average age of the eighty-four names is thirty-six years and five months, or slightly higher than the general average. Youth has her fair quota, however, and claims some of the most distinguished of the list. Among those who were already famous at thirty years of age we find Arago, Berzelius, Bichat, Edison, Erard, Faraday, Galileo, Gay-Lussac, Halley, Elias Howe, Humboldt, Huyghens, K. Jacobi, Jussieu, Klaporth, Leibnitz, Liebig, Linnæus, Johann, Newton, Tycho-Brahe, Vesalius, Wren, Watt and Eli Whitney. On the other hand, we find numerous instances where a long life of patient study has been rewarded by brilliant success coming almost too late to be enjoyed. Audubon is a good illustration of this slow-growing and tardy fame. His ornithological works did not win him reputation till he had approached his sixtieth year. Daguerre, Darwin, Harvey and Volta had completed their first half century before they secured their niches in the Pantheon. Morse, with his telegraph, was fifty-two, and Hahnemann fifty-five. Jacquard and Palissy, two of the greatest benefactors of civilization, won recognition only at forty-nine. It should be remembered—and the names just mentioned will assist the memory—that what appears as a perfected and accepted contribution to pure or applied science may have existed, and as an historical fact frequently did exist, in the mind and workshop many years before recognition came. To many it never came. How many struggled on to the grave begging that the world should listen and be blest, only to meet

with hostility and rejection. So stoned they the prophets and preferred Barrabas to the Son of God.

Great religious movements and moral reforms have been headed, for the most part, by men who have added to the zeal of youth the judgment of middle age. But some of the youngest names in the category are the most illustrious—such as Calvin, Clarkson, Melancthon, Whitfield and Wilberforce. The founder of the Mormon Church had, at twenty-seven, taken his place as leader of one of the most singular movements of the time. Whitfield and Melancthon were moving the consciences of nations at an age when Pitt was controlling their political destinies. Luther, Wesley and Xavier gained their great fame early in the thirties. Among those who came later are John Knox, Zwingli, John Eliot, Vincent De Paul, Robert Owen, Zinzendorf, Fox, Howard, Romilly and Ignatius Loyola. Swedenborg did not have his celestial visions until old age. The average of the class is thirty-seven years and two months.

Military distinction, as a rule, comes comparatively late. The average of fame in my list is thirty-seven years and seven months, being the latest, as the musicians are the earliest, of all. One, and perhaps the chief, reason is to be found in the rules of military promotion, which rarely afford the soldier an opportunity to display his powers in warfare until middle life. The iron rule of seniority is seldom relaxed even to reward the most promising genius. In spite of every obstacle, however, we find twelve of the forty-four names already recognized in the first rank at or before the age of thirty. The great name of Napoleon Bonaparte occurs to every one at once as a crowning illustration of precocious and all-compelling military genius. Condé and Gustavus Adolphus anticipate him, however, in youthful exploits, both of these chieftains having demonstrated their splendid military prowess at an age when Napoleon was an obscure subaltern. Nor was he swifter in the race for fame, or a greater favorite of nature, than the two glorious names which are joined to his in that magnificent tomb under the dome of the Invalides—Turenne and Vauban—both of whom were national celebrities at the age which Napoleon celebrated by crossing the Alps. And our own Washington saved Braddock's army when a still younger man than the youthful conqueror of Italy. Nor was Napoleon's greatest adversary scarcely less rapid in his forward progress. Born in the same year with the hero of France, Wellington was widely known at the age of thirty as one of the most promising British officers in India. It was not, however, until he

had supplemented his career in the East by the Peninsula campaigns that he was put forward as his country's champion against the enemy of Europe. When the giants met for the death struggle on the field of Waterloo, they were both forty-six years of age. Many soldiers, however, waited for fame until the decline of life. We find Grant, Marlborough and Wallenstein credited to forty. Several came into general notice much later. Blake fought his sea battles when past fifty, and Farragut and Andrea Doria performed their memorable actions when nearly ten years older still. Blücher was not made a major-general until after fifty, and Napier and Von Moltke waited for fame through a generation of faithful service, until it finally came with the white hairs of threescore.

If we should arrange the list by years we would find that above forty the pyramid tapers rapidly, and so few names appear from forty-five onward that one is justified in considering the establishment of a great reputation at that age exceptional. The golden time for works of the imagination is the decade from twenty-five to thirty-five. One is startled to see, not only how many great men began their career within this period, but how large a share of the best work of the world has been done in these ten years. When the limit has been extended to forty-five, we have comprehended the bulk of the best work done by the best men.

If, now, we restrict our list, we shall find that the statistics are still more favorable to youth. I prepared a supplementary list of one hundred and twenty names, limited to the most illustrious men of modern times. In this table I find that the average age at which the men became famous was a trifle over thirty-three years. The list begins with the precocious Mozart. The most prolific single years are twenty-six, twenty-seven, thirty, thirty-two, thirty-four and thirty-five, but the largest number of all falls to thirty-four. Of the one hundred and twenty, only twenty-six attained fame over forty years of age, and but sixteen over forty-five. Genius, however, can surmount every obstacle, even that of age, so that we see among the fifties the distinguished names of Morse, Columbus, Locke and Von Moltke.

One is tempted to "moralize this spectacle" in many ways, but I shall permit myself, in closing, only a single reflection. In the light of these facts, is it not worth while to consider if we of to-day do not extend too far into the precious twenties the term of pupilage? Are not our schoolmasters disposed to make a career out of what is designed to be a preparation? If any one will study the biography

of the great and even the merely prosperous, he will be instructed to find how usually it has been the case that they have entered on an independent intellectual life at an early age. "Nobly begin" is an aphorism of a great and wise author. In this world of keen competition a good start is half the battle, and what an advantage is his who is loosed from leading strings at twenty-one or twenty-two, instead of twenty-six or twenty-seven. Those five years are the most precious of his life; on the disposition he makes of them generally depends his success or failure. Shall they be spent over text-books or in the face of nature? Any time after twenty-three, and certainly twenty-five, subtracted from life for preparation for living, is taken at a great risk and sacrifice. Study should not stop then or ever, but masters, save the truth, should be outgrown. For my part, I prefer of the two that a boy face the world at twenty than wait till twenty-seven. The younger may blunder, but he has seven years for blundering, and for thereby acquiring the priceless education we get from mistakes and failures, and from them alone. As a consequence, one at twenty-seven is a man, the other is a boy; so that, with equal mental powers, one may be the pet of tutors and the other their envy.

HENRY R. ELLIOT.

THE JURISDICTIONAL QUESTION IN GUITEAU'S CASE.

IT is a right of the most atrocious criminal to be tried "according to the law of the land." Guiteau's conviction by a court not having legal authority to try him would not be "according to the law of the land." It would be a mere nullity, and his execution under it would be a judicial murder, for which judge, sheriff and hangman would all be criminally responsible.

He has been tried and convicted in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. There are grave doubts whether that court had jurisdiction of the offense. The weight of authority appears, *prima facie*, to be against it. It is certainly a fact of serious import that the only adjudication heretofore made in a similar case in that District is against the jurisdiction. In that case the mortal blow was

struck in the District, and the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia (the predecessor of the present Supreme Court) decided in full bench that, the victim having died in Maryland, it had no jurisdiction, and so reversed the judgment.¹

Under these circumstances, it will be marvelous if Guiteau should not carry the question of jurisdiction, if defeated on it in full bench of the court that tried him, to the court of last resort, the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is claimed that, should his conviction in the court of the District be set aside for want of jurisdiction, he would be liable in New Jersey under a statute of that State making special provision for precisely such a case.

Thus arise two questions: First, Was Guiteau legally triable in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia?

Second, If not, would he be legally triable in New Jersey?

I.

I propose to answer the second question first; and I think it will clearly appear that, whether Guiteau's conviction in the District was valid or not, he cannot be legally tried in New Jersey.

The case, briefly stated, is this: Guiteau, not a citizen or resident of New Jersey, and owing no allegiance to that State, shoots President Garfield in the District of Columbia, and his victim dies of the wound in New Jersey.

Under the New Jersey statute,² when any person has been feloniously stricken in any place out of the State, and dies of the injury within the State, the assailant may be tried and punished by the courts of New Jersey. This statute has been held to apply to cases of murder, but not of manslaughter.³

Such a statute, if construed as applying to a murder in another State by one not a citizen of the State and owing no allegiance to it, is invalid, as being beyond the scope of legislative power. In this particular case it could confer no jurisdiction over Guiteau or his crime.

Let us first view the matter in the light of common sense. It was the shooting, and the shooting only, that constituted the criminal act. That act was not against the peace of New Jersey. It was not done within her borders, nor by one owing obedience to her laws; and as

¹ *The United States vs. Bladen*, 1 Cranch, Circuit Court Rep., 548.

² Revision of New Jersey, p. 282, § 78.

³ Dutcher Rep., 499, *State vs. Carter*.

to the President's dying there, that, certainly, was no offense against the peace or against the laws of New Jersey.

It is often argued in the discussion of this question in previous cases that murder consists of two elements—the mortal stroke, and the death; that the offense is not complete until the victim's death. But, if this suffices to give the State where the victim died jurisdiction both of the death and of the blow, one absurd consequence would be that when a homicide is committed it can never be known until the victim dies by what law the offender may be tried, whether by that of the place where the act was done, or by that of some other State or country.

Another common argument seems equally absurd. It is said that the State where the victim died has jurisdiction because the death was the necessary *consequence* of the murderous assault. But, were such a principle admitted, if one New Yorker beats another in the city of Albany, and the person beaten should suffer from the injuries caused by the beating in New Jersey, afterward in Delaware, and afterward in Maryland, this would suffice to authorize the assailant's punishment for the assault in New York in each of those States respectively.

Another absurd consequence from this sort of jurisdiction. A constable in Maine, in attempting to arrest a felon under a lawful warrant, is compelled by his resistance to give him a blow. The felon escapes to New Jersey, where he dies from the effects of the blow. Under the statute in question, the Governor of New Jersey would be entitled to demand the extradition of the Maine constable in order to be tried by the New Jersey courts; and, if such a statute be valid to give the jurisdiction, the Governor of Maine would be compellable to deliver up his constable to the New Jersey authorities. But would such a pretense for one moment be listened to?

In support of similar statutes it has been urged that a statutory power to punish as larceny the mere bringing into a State of goods stolen in another State has been often exercised and has never been questioned. This is true; but there is no resemblance between the two cases. The Legislature of a State has an undoubted right to declare any act whatever done within its borders a crime, and the bringing of stolen goods into a State is an act done within the State. But a mortal blow given without the State is not an act done within it.

And this leads us to consider another class of cases confidently appealed to as authority for the extraordinary kind of jurisdiction now

claimed for New Jersey. John Doe in New Jersey writes letters to Richard Roe in New York, making false representations, or sends him forged drafts, by means whereof Richard Roe is defrauded of a sum of money or other property; or sends him by mail, or through some innocent agent, a dose of poison, which he is induced to take, and which kills him. It is true that in these cases, as in other similar ones, it is well settled that the courts of New York could take cognizance of the crime of false pretenses, or of poisoning, though committed without the State, in the same manner as if the offense had been committed within it.

But the jurisdiction now claimed under the New Jersey statute can derive no support from these cases. It will be observed, in the first place, that in all of them there has been an offense committed against the laws of the State where the act took effect. But, when Guiteau shot President Garfield in the District of Columbia, he committed no offense against the laws of New Jersey, his victim not being in that State or under the protection of its laws.

In the second place, in all the cases supposed, the law regards the offender as really present in the State where he intended his act to take effect, and where it did take effect; and this by no mere legal fiction. To illustrate: John Doe stands in New Jersey, just within its eastern boundary line, and Richard Roe in New York, just within its western boundary line, and within reach of John Doe's arm. John Doe fells him to the ground with a blow of his fist and kills him. Could it be truly said that, because John Doe's feet stood upon New Jersey soil, he did not commit the homicide in New York? Certainly not; and yet his presence in New York was not a literal, but a constructive, one. The case would be the same were the parties standing further apart and the killing was done by a long spear. Again, the case would be substantially the same were both parties standing at a considerable distance from each other within their respective boundary lines, say, at musket shot or at cannon shot distance, and the killing were done by a musket or a cannon ball.

Accordingly, in a case where a gun was fired from an American ship, the shot taking effect and killing a man on board a foreign schooner, Judge Story decided that it was the Government to which the schooner belonged that had jurisdiction of the crime. "The act," he said, "was in contemplation of law where the shot took effect."¹

The common sense principle is that an offense is committed, not

¹ 2 Sumner Rep., 485, *U. S. vs. Davis.*

always where the offender personally stands, but where his act is intended to take effect and does take effect. It is on this principle that courts have based the doctrine of constructive presence in the commissions of crimes, and adhere to it the more firmly, perhaps, in consideration of the fact that, without such recognition of a constructive presence, certain offenses could never be punished at all.

That the New Jersey statute is invalid to confer jurisdiction on its courts in Guiteau's case, is clearly shown by the following authorities:

First, as to the point of extra-territorial jurisdiction.

The municipal laws of a nation have no operation beyond its own territory, except as regards its own citizens.—9 Wheaton Rep., 362; *The Apollo*.

No State has a right to punish by its own laws a citizen of another State for an offense committed in a place over which it has no jurisdiction. This assumed jurisdiction is doubly reprehensible—first, as being an usurpation of the rights of another State; secondly, as being a violation of a ruling maxim of all constitutional States that no man can be withdrawn from the tribunal to which he is naturally and legally subject, and compelled to plead before another.—I Phillimore, International Law (CCCXXXV).

The guilty party cannot be tried and punished by any other jurisdiction than the one whose laws have been violated.—I Kent Comm., 37.

Though a State may punish its own citizens for offenses committed within the territory of a foreign State, "it is evident that a State cannot punish an offense against its municipal laws committed within the territory of another State, unless by its own citizens."—Lawrence's Wheaton, Part II., ch. 2. § 13, "Rights of Civil and Criminal Legislation."

The only class of exceptions to this rule has been already adverted to.

The common law considers crimes as altogether local, and cognizable and punishable exclusively in the country where they are committed. No other nation has any right to punish them.—Story, Conflict of Laws, § 620.

The rule is the same in the United States.—*Ib.*, § 621.

The defendant, who was not an English subject, beat another on board an American ship on the high seas. Death from the beating ensued at Liverpool. Held, that no English court had jurisdiction; that the English Legislature had no right to make what was done by

foreigners on board of a foreign ship a crime against English laws.—
7 Cox, Crown Cases, 277, *Regina vs. Lewis*.

The legislation of every country is territorial. Beyond its own territory it can only affect its own subjects and citizens.—(Per Marshall, Chief Justice) 4 Cranch Rep., 241, *Rose vs. Himely*.

By treaty with China, the English Supreme Court at Hong Kong was bound to deliver up to China murderers and certain other offenders against Chinese laws. Defendant had murdered a Frenchman on board a French ship. Held, that even were it proved that defendant was a Chinese subject, there was no proof of a law of China for punishing its own subjects for a murder committed on foreign territory. Defendant discharged.—5 Law Rep., Privy Council, 198; Appeal Cases.—*Attorney-General vs. Kwok-a-Sing*.

By the common law of England, which has been adopted in this respect by the United States, criminal offenses are considered as altogether local, and are justiciable only by the courts of that country where the offense is committed.—Wheaton, International Law, § 113.

Indictment for illegal voting by a soldier of a Pennsylvania regiment, during the civil war, at a State election in 1862, in the District of Columbia. The defendant not being shown to be a citizen of Pennsylvania, it was held that the Pennsylvania courts had no jurisdiction. The court said:

We have no more power to legislate over a sister State, or the District of Columbia, than we would have to legislate for France or England. * * * At common law the jurisdiction of crimes is *local*, and punishable exclusively within the jurisdiction where they were committed, subject to the exception only that extra-territorial sovereignty *over its own citizens* follows them everywhere, and the Legislature, therefore, can punish a crime committed out of the State *by them*.—41 Penn. State Rep., 429, *Commonwealth vs. Kunzmann*.

Trial for manslaughter before special commissioners under 33 Henry VIII., ch. 23, which includes "any person or persons" guilty of treasons, murders, etc., committed in or out of England. Held, that defendant was not liable, because he was never an English subject, and the blow was given at Canton, though the person killed was an Englishman, and the death occurred on board an English ship.—1 Taunton Rep., 17, 26, 30-31, *Rex vs. Depardo*.

In the next place, Parliament, in all its supposed omnipotence, never assumed such a jurisdiction as purports to be given by the New Jersey statute in question.

Parliament cannot do anything out of the limits of its jurisdiction.—Comyn's Digest "Parliament" K.

No English statute exists authorizing the exercise of criminal jurisdiction over a foreign vessel not in one of our ports or inland waters.—Law Rep. 2, Exchequer Division, 63 (A. D. 1876), *Regina vs. Keyn*.

For instance, the 6 and 7 Vict., ch. 94, the 17 and 18 Vict., ch. 104, and the 41 and 42 Vict., ch. 67, give jurisdiction to courts in England of certain crimes committed "by British subjects," "whether within the Queen's dominions or without."

And the 24 and 25 Vict., ch. 100, § 9, for the punishment of murder or manslaughter "committed on land out of the United Kingdom, whether within the Queen's dominions or without, and whether the person killed were a subject of her Majesty or not," goes on to provide that any such offense "committed by any subject of her Majesty," may be dealt with, etc., in any place in England or Ireland where such person shall be apprehended.

In the next place, it is at least doubtful whether the New Jersey statute is not invalid, as being in conflict with the law of nations.

That this law is obligatory, both in England and in the United States, is well settled by the high authorities cited below,¹ including Lord Mansfield, Lord Hardwicke and Chief Justice Holt, in England, and Chief Justice Marshall, Chancellor Kent and the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in this country.

Said Marshall, Ch. J., in *Rose vs. Himely*, "The law of nations is the law of all tribunals in the society of nations, and is supposed to be understood by all." "The legislature of every country is territorial; beyond its own territory it can only affect its own subjects or citizens."

Says Bluntschli, "Comme le droit international est obligatoire pour toutes les nations, aucun état n'a le droit de s'y soustraire en faisant des lois qui en violent les principes."²

Moreover, there is strong ground for asserting that the New Jersey statute is void, as being unconstitutional.

It is clearly so unless the State Constitution empowered the Legislature to pass laws in contravention of the law of nations.

The grant of legislative power in the Constitution of New Jersey is in these few words: "The legislative power shall be vested in a Senate

¹ 3 Burrows Rep., 147, *Triquet vs. Bath*; *ib.*, 2015, *Heathfield vs. Chilton*; 4 Cranch Rep., 241, *Rose vs. Himely*; 1 Kent Comm., 1, note a; 1 Dallas Rep., 116, 117, *Respub-lica vs. De Longchamps*.

² *Le Droit International Codifié*, 847.

and General Assembly."¹ The question is whether this "legislative power" was intended to be unlimited except by the arbitrary discretion of the legislators; whether, for instance, it was meant that the State Legislature, if it saw fit, might empower the State courts to take cognizance of offenses committed in California, in England, or anywhere else in the civilized world, by persons who were never citizens of New Jersey or subject to her laws?

Suppose the New Jersey act, beside authorizing the State courts to try a citizen of New York for an offense committed by him in New York, had gone one step further, and had authorized the arrest of the offender on the soil of that State by a New Jersey constable. Is there any doubt that such a law would be pronounced simply null and void, as beyond the scope of the legislative power of the State? But (apart from the Federal Constitution) the extent of the legislative power in the States of our Union is limited only by their respective constitutions; so that to say that a State law is null and void is the same as saying that there was no authority to pass it under the State Constitution.

Indisputably, the general understanding that prevailed when a constitution was framed, as to the scope and limits of legislative power, must govern in interpreting the grant of that power in our State Constitutions. The people, in forming their governments, must be presumed not to have intended to put themselves out of the pale of civilized States, or to delegate power to their Legislatures to do so, by laws assuming jurisdiction over offenses committed in another State by citizens of that State. Constitutional grants of power must be read in the light of those principles of public law by which all civilized States and peoples acknowledge themselves bound. Judge Cooley observes² that these grants are to be interpreted by the maxims of Magna Charta and of the common law. He might have added, "by those of public international law also."

It must be admitted that these views are, for the most part, in conflict with certain decisions of our American courts. The most important of these were in Tyler's case in Michigan,³ decided in 1860, and Macloon's case in Massachusetts,⁴ decided in 1869, in both of which were rendered elaborate and exhaustive opinions in favor of the State jurisdiction under statutes exactly similar in substance to that of

¹ Poore's Charters and Constitutions, p. 1316, Art. iv., § 1.

² Cooley's Constitutional Limitations, 175.

³ 8 Michigan Rep., 320, *Tyler vs. The People*.

⁴ 101 Massachusetts Rep., 1, *Commonwealth vs. Macloon*.

New Jersey.¹ In the Michigan case, the mortal blow was given in Canada, and the death ensued in Michigan. Judge Campbell's masterly dissenting opinion in that case against the jurisdiction is well worthy of perusal. In the Massachusetts case, the two defendants, one of whom was a British subject and the other a citizen of Maine, in a quarrel with the deceased, on board a British ship on the high seas, inflicted injuries upon him of which he died in Massachusetts. The defendants were arrested in that State, and convicted of manslaughter in the State Court under the statute already mentioned. The State Supreme Court unanimously affirmed the judgment, thereby deciding that the courts of Massachusetts have jurisdiction of a homicide committed by a foreigner on foreign territory, where the death occurs in that State.²

The decision manifestly goes to this length: Two Englishmen quarrel and fight in Oxford street, London. One of them receives a blow, which, on his afterward coming to Massachusetts, results in his death there. If the Massachusetts statute be valid—in other words, if the assailant be really justiciable for manslaughter under the laws of Massachusetts—the case is within treaty stipulations, and his extradition could be lawfully demanded from Great Britain. The absurdity of the conclusion shows the falsity of the premisses.

The invalidity of such a statute as that of New Jersey is forcibly shown in the opinion of the Supreme Court of that State in Carter's case.³ The indictment charged a felonious assault in New York, and that the party injured afterward came into New Jersey and died there from the effects of the assault. The Court said:

Such an enactment on general principles would necessarily be void; it would give to the courts of this State jurisdiction over all the subjects of all the Governments of the earth, with power to try and punish them, if they could by force or fraud get possession of their persons, in all cases where personal injuries are followed by death. * * * No act is done in this State by the defendant. * * * The coming of the party injured into this State afterward was his own voluntary act, and in no way the act of the defendant. * * * An act, to be criminal, must be alleged to be an offense against the sovereignty of the Government. This is the very essence of crime, punishable by human law. How can an act done in one jurisdiction be an offense against the sovereignty of another?

It will be asked whether this opinion of the New Jersey Supreme Court will not be adhered to by the present court, in the event of Guiteau's being tried in New Jersey. The answer is, that it will prob-

¹ Michigan Compiled Laws, § 5944; Massachusetts Gen. Statutes, ch. 171, § 19.

² See a review of this decision in "Criminal Law in Massachusetts," § 551 (Houghton, Osgood & Co.)

³ 3 Dutcher Rep., 499.

ably be deemed to be of no binding authority, because Carter's offense was manslaughter, while the statute was held to apply only to a case of murder, so that the opinion may be treated as extrajudicial, a mere *obiter dictum*.

Those who favor the trial of Guiteau in New Jersey, in the event of his conviction being quashed by the United States Supreme Court for want of jurisdiction, will still insist that the New Jersey statute, not being unconstitutional, is binding upon the State courts.

I think that the unconstitutionality of such a statute has been satisfactorily shown. But, assuming the contrary, and even conceding that it is binding upon the New Jersey courts, I insist that, agreeably to undisputed principles of statutory construction, those courts would be bound to presume that the Legislature did not intend to violate the maxims of international law and of general jurisprudence, and to restrict its operation accordingly. The correctness of this position is conclusively shown by the following authorities.

Says Bluntschli :

Les ordonnances spéciales d'un pays doivent être interprétées et appliquées autant que possible de telle sorte qu'il ne soit rien fait en violation des règles universelles du droit international.—Droit International, 847.

Says Dr. Lushington:

In construing a statute "it must be borne in mind how far the power of the British Legislature extends; for, unless the words are so clear that a contrary construction can in no way be avoided, I must presume that the Legislature did not intend to go beyond this power. The laws of Great Britain affect her own subjects everywhere—foreigners only when within her own jurisdiction." "The words of the section are in themselves ample; but they must be limited by the general limits of the power of the Legislature."—Swabey Admiralty Rep., 69, *The Zollverein*.

Chief Justice Maxwell says that the presumption is that the Legislature does not intend to exceed its jurisdiction.¹ So, he adds, "in the absence of an intention clearly expressed, or necessarily to be inferred from the language, or from the object or subject matter of the enactment, the presumption would be that Parliament did not design its statutes to operate beyond the territorial limits of the United Kingdom, and they are to be read as if words to that effect had been inserted therein." And again: "Under the general presumption that the Legislature does not intend to exceed its jurisdiction, every statute is to be so interpreted and applied, as far as its language admits, as not to be inconsistent with the comity of nations, or with the established rules of international law. If, therefore, it designs to effectuate

¹ Maxwell's Interpretation of Statutes, 119.

any such object, it must express its intention with irresistible clearness to induce a court to believe that it entertained it; for, as long as any other possible construction remains, it would be adopted, in order to avoid imputing such an intention to the Legislature. All general terms must be narrowed in construction to avoid it."¹

Says another text writer:

Every statute is presumed to be enacted, and is to be interpreted, with reference to the local jurisdiction of the State whose legislation made it.—Wells' Jurisdiction of Courts, 319.

In strict accordance with this principle are the following decisions:

A British subject was killed by Brazilians on board a Brazilian ship. The murderers were tried and convicted in England under 7 and 8 Vict., ch. 2, giving courts of Oyer and Terminer jurisdiction of "all offenses" committed by "any person" on the high seas. The conviction was held wrong, the defendants not being British subjects.²

In another case it was adjudged that "any sea-going ship" meant "any *British* sea-going ship"; that general words in an act do not always extend to every case that falls literally within them.³

Lewis' case (before referred to) was under 9 Geo. IV., ch. 31, § 8, providing for the cases where the mortal stroke was "on the sea or in any place out of England," enacting that "every offense committed in respect of any such case shall be punishable in the county where the death happened." It was held that the statute applied only to British subjects.⁴

In the case of *The Apollo*,⁵ the United States Supreme Court declared that, "however general and comprehensive the phrases used in our municipal law may be, they must always be restricted in construction to places and persons upon whom the Legislature have an authority and jurisdiction."

In *People vs. Tyler*,⁶ the Supreme Court of Michigan declared that criminal jurisdiction is coextensive with the sovereignty of the State, and that statutes must be construed accordingly.

In *People vs. Merrill*,⁷ it was ruled that "no State has jurisdiction over crimes committed beyond its territorial limits," and that "every

¹ Maxwell's Interpretation of Statutes, 122.

² 2 Carrington & Kirwan Rep., 53, *Regina vs. Serva*.

³ 2 De Gex & Jones Rep., 624, *Cope vs. Doherty*.

⁴ Dearsly & Bell's Crim. Cases, *Regina vs. Lewis*.

⁵ 9 Wheaton Rep., 362.

⁶ 7 Michigan Rep., 161.

⁷ 2 Parker Crim. Law Rep., 590.

statute is presumed to be enacted with reference to the local jurisdiction of the Legislature of each State."

In *Fisher vs. Blight*,¹ Chief Justice Marshall said: "Where fundamental principles are overthrown, where the general system of the laws is departed from, the legislative intention must be expressed with irresistible clearness to induce a court of justice to suppose a design to effectuate such objects."

In *Murray vs. Charming Betsey*,² the same great Judge said: "An act of Congress ought never to be construed to violate the law of nations if any other possible construction remains."

The United States vs. Palmer,³ in which the opinion of the court was also rendered by Chief Justice Marshall, was a case of robbery on the high seas, under an act of Congress punishing "any person or persons" who should be guilty, etc. It appearing that the defendant was not a citizen of the United States, the conviction was held void. The words "any person or persons," says the opinion, "are broad enough to comprehend every human being." But general words "must be limited to cases within the jurisdiction of the State."

II.

The next question is: Would Guiteau be triable in the United States District Court for the District of New Jersey?

Those who believe that he would cite the act of Congress (United States Revised Statutes, § 731) which provides that an offense against the United States laws "begun" in one judicial district and "completed" in another may be deemed committed in either, and may be dealt with and punished in either district as if wholly committed there. [It should be observed that in the second edition of the United States Revised Statutes the word "circuit" is inadvertently substituted for "district." But this is of no consequence. It is expressly provided that in case of a discrepancy the first edition shall govern, no act making a change having been passed in the meantime.⁴]

Whether this act suffices to confer on the United States District Court for the District of New Jersey jurisdiction in Guiteau's case depends upon the construction to be given to Article VI. of Amendments to the Federal Constitution. This provides that "the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury

¹ 2 Cranch Rep., 390.

³ 3 Wheaton Rep., 610.

² 2 Cranch Rep., 118.

⁴ Act of March 9, 1878.

of the State and District *wherein the crime shall have been committed.*" Should it be held that Guiteau's crime was committed in the District of New Jersey, the United States District Court for that District is clothed with authority to try him. But if it should be held that his crime was committed in the District of Columbia, then, clearly, no such jurisdiction could constitutionally vest in it under the act.

III.

Was Guiteau legally triable in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia?

We have seen that he could not be legally tried in New Jersey. If his conviction in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia should be held void by the United States Supreme Court for want of jurisdiction, he could be tried only for an assault with intent to kill, the maximum penalty for which is eight years imprisonment. The question as to the jurisdiction of the court that tried him is, therefore, of no little interest and importance.

On this point his counsel could frame an argument which would be, at least, plausible. The purport of it would be substantially as follows:

The question must be determined by the law in force upon the subject in the District of Columbia.

What is that law?

By act of Congress: "The laws of the State of Maryland not inconsistent with this title, as the same existed on the 27th day of February, 1801, except as since modified or repealed by Congress, or by authority thereof, or until so modified or repealed, continue in force within the District."¹

Has the Maryland law upon this subject been since modified or repealed by Congress or under its authority?

Never.

But the law is not to be found in statutes only. It is declared and established by judicial decisions also. Since 1801 has the law on this point been declared by any judicial decision in the District of Columbia?

It has been so declared in the only case in which the jurisdictional question arose. That was the case of *The United States vs. Bladen*,²

¹ Revised Statutes, District of Columbia, § 92.

² 1 Cranch, Circuit Court Rep., 548.

where the mortal blow was struck in the District and the victim died in Maryland. The court unanimously held that the conviction was void because, the death having occurred out of the District, the court had no jurisdiction. And this decision has never been overruled or questioned.

It is true that a single decision does not conclusively establish the law any more than one swallow makes a summer. But it is *prima facie* evidence of the law; and, agreeably to the maxim of *stare decisis*, it must be respected and followed if on examination it be found to violate no statute and to be supported by the weight of authority. Let us now make that examination.

In the absence of any statute or of any prior judicial decision upon the point in the District of Columbia, the inquiry must obviously be, Does the decision in Bladen's case correctly declare the law as it existed in Maryland prior to 1801?

And first, Is there any Maryland statute prior to that year to be found making any provision upon the subject?

There is none.

Secondly, Was the law upon this point ever judicially declared in Maryland prior to 1801?

It was not.

Then how shall we ascertain what was the law upon the point in Maryland prior to 1801?

The answer, as will be admitted on all hands, is, By resorting to the common law of England as it existed prior to 1776, when Maryland became an independent State. That law is to be found in the decisions of the English courts, as also in text-books of established authority. It has, moreover, been settled that those English statutes made before the emigration of our ancestors which are not unsuitable to our condition form also a part of the common law in the thirteen original States.

Now, it is a principle of the common law, established from the earliest times by a course of judicial decisions almost, if not absolutely, uniform, as well as by commentators of the highest authority, that, inasmuch as in the offense of murder or manslaughter the death is as essential an element as the mortal blow, when the blow was given in one jurisdiction and the death ensued in another, neither jurisdiction could take cognizance of the offense, so that the criminal could be tried in neither. To remedy this defect, as between any two counties in England, was passed the act of 2 and 3 Edward VI.,

ch. 24, providing that, in such case, the trial should take place, not in the county where the blow was given, but in that where the death occurred. And to supply the jurisdiction in cases where the mortal blow was given in England, but the death occurred out of it, various acts of Parliament have been passed (but none of them applying to the colonies) authorizing English courts to try the offender in whatever county he might be arrested. Directly and expressly to this point are the authorities cited in the margin,¹ as also many more.

The same principle has been repeatedly recognized as established law in our American courts; as, for instance, in the thoroughly discussed cases of *The People vs. Tyler*, in Michigan,² and *Commonwealth vs. Macloon*, in Massachusetts,³ as also in the Massachusetts case of *Commonwealth vs. Parker*.⁴

The same doctrine is held in the Federal courts. In *The United States vs. Magill*,⁵ the mortal stroke was on the high seas, but the death on land. The court said: "If murder, then, on the high seas is cognizable here, it must be a case where there has been an unlawful killing on the high seas. But this cannot be where the death is at land." And further on, "We have no doubt, therefore, that the death, as well as the mortal stroke, must happen on the high seas to constitute a murder there." And Judge Peters said: "The court can only take cognizance of a murder committed on the high seas; and, as murder consists in both the stroke and the consequent death, both parts of the crime must happen on the high seas to give jurisdiction, not one part on the high seas, and another part in a foreign country."

And this decision was followed by Mr. Justice Curtis, in *The United States vs. Armstrong*,⁶ in a precisely similar case; judgment being, therefore, arrested.

Bladen's case, in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, has already been cited as evidence *prima facie* of the law on this point in the District; and, now that the decision in that case is shown to be fully supported by authority, it must be deemed conclu-

¹ 4 Coke Rep., fol. 41, *Heyden's Case*; Croke's Elizabeth, 196, *Hume vs. Ogle*; 3 Institutes, 48, 49; 1 William Blackstone, 459; Hawkins' Pleas of the Crown, B. 2, ch. 25, § 36; 12 Petersdorff Abridgement, "Murder" B, note; Bacon's Abridgement, "Indictment" F; 1 Hale's Pleas of the Crown, 426, 651, 652; 2 do., 188, 270; 1 Russell on Crimes, 784.

² 7 Mich. Rep., 209.

³ 101 Mass. Rep., 1.

⁴ 2 Pickering Rep., 558.

⁵ 4 Washington Circuit Court Rep., 465; Same Case, 4 Dallas Rep., 426.

⁶ 2 Curtis Circuit Court Rep., 451.

sive of the law in the District until Congress sees fit to change it by a legislative act.

This argument against the jurisdiction of the court in which Guiteau was tried seems to me a strong one. Can it be satisfactorily answered?

Let us first see how the matter stands on principle, irrespective of the opinions of courts and of text writers.

As to the *time* of the death resulting from a mortal stroke, in order to constitute the crime of felonious homicide, there must obviously be some limit fixed by law. If, for instance, the death should not happen until several years after the blow, it would be generally impossible to trace it with absolute certainty to the blow. The common law has, therefore, fixed a certain limit to the period which may elapse between the blow and the death. This limit is twelve months and a day; and during that period the legal quality of the criminal act remains in suspense until it is determined by the victim's death. Until that event it cannot be known whether the act will be punishable as murder or manslaughter, or simply as an assault.

But in regard to the *place* of the death it is entirely different. Where the death is not instantaneous, the legal nature of the offense remains, of course, undetermined until death occurs; but from that moment the offense becomes murder (or manslaughter) wherever the victim died, whether in the State in which the blow was given or at the antipodes, and no one has ever pretended to the contrary. Neither can it reasonably be denied that the blow which caused the death is what constituted the offense. It follows, necessarily, that the offense was committed not where the victim died, but where the blow was inflicted.

Thus it is plain that, if the jurisdictional question were to be determined on principles of common sense alone, there would be no difficulty in sustaining the jurisdiction of the court by which Guiteau was tried, on the ground that his crime was committed in the District of Columbia, and nowhere else. But it is the sworn duty of judges to administer the law as they find it, without reference to what they may deem to be reasonable. And it is this very necessity of strictly adhering to legal authorities that makes the judiciary the great safeguard of life, liberty and property.

Let us now see how far these authorities are antagonistic to the jurisdiction of the court in the District. On examination, it will be found that those usually relied on for that purpose hinge entirely upon

the act of 2 and 3 Edward VI., ch. 24, and its preamble. Not one of them, Coke himself included, cites a single case or other authority prior to that act in support of the proposition that, when the blow was in one county and the death in another, the offender could not, at common law, be tried in either county, on the ground that the offense was not complete in either.

So much of that act as is material reads as follows:

"II. And where it often happeneth and come in ure¹ in sundry counties in this realm that a man is feloniously stricken in one county and after dieth in another county, in which case it hath not been founden by the laws and customs of this realm that any sufficient indictment thereof can be taken in any of the said two counties; for that by the custom of this realm the jurors of the county where such party died of such stroke can take no knowledge of the said stroke being in a foreign county, although the same two counties and places adjoin very near together; ne the jurors of the county where the stroke was given cannot take knowledge of the death in another county, although such death most apparently came of the same stroke." "Be it enacted," etc., "That where any person or persons hereafter shall be feloniously stricken or poisoned in one county and die of the same stroke or poisoning in another county, that then an indictment thereof founden by the jurors of the county where the death shall happen, * * * shall be as good and effectual in the law as if the stroke or poisoning had been committed and done in the same county where the party shall die, or where such indictment shall be founden, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

On the language of this act Coke and other old authorities found these assertions: First, that, at common law, where the blow was in one county and the death in another, there could be no trial in either county, because the offense was "not complete" in either; and secondly, that, under that act, the trial can be had only in the county where the death occurred. But other commentators of high authority do not entirely concur in this construction of the act. Hawkins' language is,² "It is said by some" that the offender in such case could not be tried in either. And again: "At common law, it seems to have been the more general opinion," etc.³ And the great Lord Hale says:⁴ "At common law, if a man had been stricken in one county

⁸ Practice or usage.

⁹ Hawkins, Pleas of the Crown, B. I., ch. 31, § 13.

¹⁰ Idem, B. II., ch. 25, § 36.

¹¹ 1 Hale, Pleas of the Crown, 426.

and died in another, it was doubtful whether he were indictable or triable in either; but the more common opinion was that he might be indicted where the stroke was given, for the death is but a consequent, and might be found, though in another county." And the statement of another commentator—East—is to the same effect.¹

Now, a careful reading of the act and preamble will show, I think, two things: That the preamble does not positively affirm that in the case supposed there could be no trial at common law in either county, but only that it had not been so decided judicially. The language is negative, not affirmative. And secondly, what is more important, that the act does not forbid a trial in the county where the blow was given. It simply authorizes a trial in the county where the death occurred. For this is the whole effect of the words, "shall be as good and effectual in the law as if the stroke or poisoning had been committed and done in the same county where the party shall die." Properly interpreted, the act gave concurrent jurisdiction to the courts in both counties.

That this is what was intended will more clearly appear when it is considered that it is from the place where a homicide is committed that the testimony must principally come. The circumstances under which the mortal blow was given are decisive as to the nature of the act, whether it was murder or manslaughter, or only justifiable homicide, and these circumstances can be proved only by persons who were on the spot. The material witnesses must, therefore, usually come from that place, and not from the county where the death occurred. The statute was made, in view of the doubts existing, for the purpose of settling these doubts. If the legislature intended that the trial in the case supposed should be had in one only of the two counties, is it probable that it would select that one where only the death could be proved in preference to the one where the witnesses of the assault and of the circumstances attending it were to be found?

This improbability is enhanced by another consideration. It is well known that originally the jurors called were the witnesses of the fact in question; and it was always an established maxim of the common law in respect to the place of trial, "*Quod ibi semper debet fieri triatio, ubi juratores meliorem possunt habere notitiam.*" Now, a statute forbidding the trial in the very county in which the most important witnesses were to be found would have been in the very teeth of this well-known maxim.

For these reasons I cannot help thinking that Coke's interpretation

¹ 1 East, Pleas of the Crown, 361.

of the statute was erroneous; though it is due to truth to say that it has been almost uniformly adopted without question by courts and commentators down to the present time.

It has been well remarked that there is a difference between the thing done and the evidence of it; and that it was by overlooking this distinction that it was anciently doubted, when the blow and the death were in different counties, whether the offense was triable in either.¹

Another error into which judges and commentators seem to have fallen is the idea that, before the act of Edward VI., there could be no trial in either county "because the offense was not complete in either." No such proposition is stated or hinted at in that statute. The reason assigned for the doubt is simply that the jurors of one county could "take no knowledge" of what occurred in the other county. In reason and common sense a criminal offense is complete when the act constituting it has been done, and the offender's agency and will have been entirely exhausted.

The following American cases are direct to the point that the offense is committed in the place where the mortal blow is struck, and that the murderer is properly triable there:

In *People vs. Gill*, the Supreme Court of California decided that the death relates back to the cause of it, and that a murder is properly charged as having been committed at the place where the mortal blow was given.²

In *The State vs. Bowen*, the Supreme Court of Kansas held that the crime is committed where the blow is given, though the legal quality and punishment of it are determined by the death, which relates back to the blow.³

In *Riley vs. The State*, the Supreme Court of Tennessee said that, when the Legislature enacted that an offense shall be tried in the county where it was committed, it intended by this the county in which the active agency of the perpetrator was employed.⁴

In *The State vs. Gessert*, the indictment charged the murder in Washington County, Minnesota, where the blow was struck, instead of Pierce County, Wisconsin, where the death took place. The language of the court was as follows:

It is for his acts that defendant is responsible. They constitute his offense. The place where they are committed must be the place where the offense was committed, and therefore

¹ 1 Bishop's Criminal Law, § 51.

³ 16 Kansas Rep., 475.

² 6 California Rep., 637.

⁴ 9 Humphrey Rep., 646, 647.

the place where he should be indicted and tried. In this instance the acts with which defendant is charged, to-wit, the stabbing and wounding, were committed in Washington County. The death, which ensued in Pierce County, Wisconsin, though it went to characterize the acts committed in Washington County, was not an act of defendant committed in Wisconsin, but the sequence of his acts committed in Washington County, against the peace and dignity of the State of Minnesota.—*21 Minnesota Rep.*, 369.

Finally, if it be conceded that at common law, according to the weight of authority, a trial for murder could not be had in the county where the blow was struck, where the death occurred in another county, and that under the statute 2 and 3 Edward VI., the trial *must* be in the county where the death occurred, the rule has no application in the District of Columbia, because it was formally abrogated by an act of the Maryland Legislature passed in 1789.¹ Under the provisions of that act, a trial for felonious homicide could be had either in the county where the mortal blow was given or in that where the death occurred; and, when either the blow or the death was upon waters not within the body of a county, in any county whatever.

But the strength of the argument against the jurisdiction lies in the fact that the real question is one arising, not between different counties under the same government, but between two independent jurisdictions. It cannot be denied that, at common law, when the blow was in any of the King's dominions, and the death in a foreign country, or *vice versa*, when the blow was in a foreign country and the death within the King's dominions, there was an entire want of jurisdiction to try the offender anywhere; that to supply this defect of jurisdiction the statute 33 Henry VIII., ch. 23, was passed, providing for the appointment by the Chancellor, on the application of three members of the Privy Council, of special commissioners for the trial of murders within or without England, without regard to where the blow was given or the death occurred; that until the act of 9 George IV., by which the act of 33 Henry VIII. was repealed, no other tribunal than those special commissions, appointed *pro hac vice*, had jurisdiction of a murder where the blow was struck in the King's dominions and the death ensued in a foreign country, and that that act was never in force in the colonies, being limited to England by its express terms. The argument for Guiteau would probably be that this defect of jurisdiction in the ordinary tribunals of the colonies was never supplied by any English statute prior to 1776, when they became independent; that neither was this jurisdictional defect ever supplied by any Maryland statute prior to 1801, nor has it been supplied in the District of

¹ 2 Kilty's Laws of Maryland for 1789, ch. 22.

Columbia by any act of Congress since that period; and that, therefore, Guiteau was tried by a court that had no jurisdiction of his offense.

I see no reply to this reasoning unless it be this: That, when a people frame and establish a government for themselves, they do it in their original capacity, unhampered by any rules to which they may have been previously subject, and perfectly free, therefore, to sweep away all defects that may have existed under any former government in the working of its great departments; that when our fathers framed their constitutions, State and Federal, and delegated "the judicial power," they meant "*all* judicial power;" that which had been habitually exercised, not only by the ordinary, but by the extraordinary, tribunals under their former government, and which they must be presumed to have intended to belong to the tribunals created by them for the administration of justice in their respective constitutions.

If this view is a sound one, the appropriate criminal courts in the respective States must be deemed to possess the judicial powers that formerly belonged to the special commissions appointed under the act 33 Henry VIII., as well as those exercised by the ordinary criminal tribunals under the British crown. In that case, in the State of Maryland, after the adoption of its Constitution, no murderer could validly object to being tried by the proper criminal court for the reason that his victim had died out of the State; and neither can this be now done in the District of Columbia.

The conclusions arrived at on the whole subject may be briefly summed up as follows:

1. Guiteau would, under no circumstances, be legally triable under the statute of New Jersey.
2. Nor in the United States District Court for the District of New Jersey, unless it be held that his crime, in view of the law, was "committed" in that district.
3. That on principles of reason and common sense the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia had jurisdiction to try him; but that the weight of authority appears, on the whole, to be adverse to the jurisdiction, or, at least, to leave it in doubt; and this doubt must remain until the question shall be finally decided by the United States Supreme Court, the tribunal of last resort.

FRANCIS J. LIPPITT.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE SOUTH.

THE South is undergoing a political change quite as important as its industrial development. In fact, the former is largely the outcome of the latter, and, although it cannot be said to have been caused by it, it has certainly been greatly modified by it. It is true that the Southern people are gradually coming to be less devoted to politics and more to the getting of wealth; but that does not mean that all interest in politics has died out. On the contrary, the interest is very intense, but it is beginning to have a new motive. Superficially, the South is very much the same as it has been ever since the reconstruction legislation compelled the drawing of party lines between the races. It will take another generation to change the political habits of men who have made politics a business. The South is still full of abstract political discussion. There are still very few "practical men," as such men are known in the North, to be found among Southern Congressmen. There exists still that quaint and pleasant sense of the honor and dignity of public station that has kept Southern men in Washington clean from the scandals of the lobby. "Business" has not yet made itself universally felt as the chief beneficiary of a paternal government. Most Southern politicians are still playing the old game that has always been so attractive in their section. Among themselves they have been making or marring the fortunes of men who seem to have no particular concern about the material interests of the people for whom they make or execute the laws. In their attitude toward the General Government, all Southern public men have had a common object, which, however different their methods, they have all pursued. The line was drawn sharply between the races, and the South was kept "solid" by the necessity of defending itself against outside encroachments. It is unnecessary to discuss in this connection the question of who was right or who was wrong. It is not intended to argue the vexed subject of Southern politics, but to note impartially the evolution of Southern political thought.

The defense of the South against the General Government was left to what may be called its political aristocracy. Every one who knows anything of Southern politics will recognize the fact that the line of succession to public office in the States that joined the Confederacy has not been greatly changed. The men who go to Washington as Senators and Representatives are mainly from the class that was

prominent before the war. The defense of the South against what it considered the illegal encroachments of the Federal Government was naturally left to its lawyers and to those to whom independence of fortune had given the leisure to make politics a study and pursuit. The South has always been fortunate in having public men well equipped for the work of defending its position. Stated broadly, that position has been that some party or some section has been seeking to infringe upon its constitutional rights. Slavery, the tariff, and finally reconstruction, have been debated as legal and constitutional questions, and this has bred a class of persons who have devoted themselves to legal and constitutional discussion. These men are still at the front of the party organization that controls in the Southern States, and the cross-roads debater and constitutional expounder is still to be found everywhere.

To see nothing, however, but the old party leaders and the cross-roads debater is to look at the Southern situation very superficially. The mere fact that the South has roused itself to a new industrial life furnishes evidence enough that its current of thought has been changed. The signs that the change is radical and will be permanent are on every hand. The white race is awaking to the potentialities of its future. It is beginning to realize what may come to it through the exercise of the virtues that have made the North strong and rich. The days of its political oppression are ended. The administration of Mr. Hayes accomplished so much for the South, whatever else may be said of it. Its policy put the old Southern question out of politics. It has become unnecessary, even from the Southern point of view, to keep on protesting against the encroachments of the General Government upon the States. The Southern States are now treated by the General Government precisely as the New England States are treated. Troops do not interfere with the organization of Legislatures, and no one threatens to disturb the government by the white race. In some of the states even the negroes have come to prefer the rule of the best of the whites. Georgia presents the best illustration of this, for there the "Independent movement" has been unable to secure the black vote, and during the last gubernatorial campaign the negroes worked and voted enthusiastically for the regular Democratic candidate, the present Governor of the State. It is as true of the Southern people as it is of any people in this country that the character of their politics is determined by what they think to be their needs. The Southern people have long since come to the conclusion that they had better

abandon their struggle against unconstitutional encroachments because the fight has come to be over an imaginary issue. The South has all the rights that the North has, and if there is any infringement of the Constitution by the Federal Government one section suffers just as much as another. The public men who find themselves in Congress as the special champions of their section do not quite understand the direction of the drift. They know that there has been a change, but they do not know how far that change extends, nor how it will affect their standing. They have become timid and irresolute because they do not know exactly how their constituents will vote on some questions that they foresee are soon to become prominent. Some of the shrewder among them have made up their minds as to the direction of the popular tide, and are sailing bravely with it, but most of the older public men are not very clear as to what is to be the future of politics in the South.

As a matter of fact, the Southern people are just now excellent material to be worked upon by the advocates of one side or the other of the politics of business. It cannot have escaped careful observers that for at least four years the dominant political party in the South has been disintegrating. The logic of events has told upon it. Its usefulness to the whites consisted in its power to aid them in the quarrel of the races and the sections. The necessities of that quarrel united in its ranks men of very different views concerning purely administrative questions. Men who before the war had been Whigs became Democrats in order that the white race might retain its hold upon the local governments of the Southern States. Men who favored free trade in the old days stood by the side of men who had been protectionists all their lives, because their first desire was to prevent the political ascendancy of the blacks and the whites who sought the support of the blacks. When that contest was over, these differing elements began to gradually draw apart. For more than four years there has been no common ground for them to stand on. All that is left of race conflict is largely due to the fostering care of politicians who would be out of office were the old issue, based on hate and distrust, to become obsolete. Such men undoubtedly have a good deal of influence in keeping together the people who are always governed by the machine, and who make up the solid body of a party. This unreasoning body, however, is gradually becoming smaller in every Southern State. The whites have had four years in which to think of other things than self-preservation, and they

are naturally disagreeing on questions of administrative policy. There are some Southern men who really believe in strengthening the central power of the Federal Government at the expense of the authority of the States. There are Southern men who have been prominent in the politics of their section since before the war who were once among the strongest advocates of the most extreme doctrine of State sovereignty and of the right of secession, but who now believe that the war destroyed every vestige of State sovereignty, and that a nation was built on the ruins of a "republic of republics." There are Southern men in Congress who call themselves Democrats and who yet vote for measures directly opposed to what used to be the fundamental doctrine of the Democratic party. There are to be found in the *Congressional Record* the votes of many Southern Democrats in favor of granting subsidies to steamship lines; of making important improvements in small rivers and streams which are wholly local in their character; of the control by the Federal Government of the transportation system of the country; of the prevention and cure of cattle diseases by the General Government; of the supersession of local quarantine by a Federal quarantine; of the making and maintenance of canals by the United States, although the proposed work may lie wholly within the boundaries of a single State; of the establishment of a central educational bureau, which shall control and support public schools throughout the country, and of a hundred other schemes which call for money and control from the central Government. In a word, the giving up of the strong fight in favor of the rights of States has been naturally followed by an abandonment of the correlative theory of the duties of States. There has thus sprung up within the dominant party of the South a set of men who are constantly warring against all the traditions of the organization to which they nevertheless still profess to belong.

There is no greater error in connection with Southern politics than the belief that the leaders of the Democratic party of the South form a united and harmonious body. These leaders, as is perfectly well known, are from the very best elements of the South. They represent its wealth and intelligence, and, generally speaking, they are those who are loosely called "Bourbons." The most significant sign of the disintegration of the party which forced its way into power on the ruins of the carpet-bag governments is the disaffection of these "Bourbons." Leaving out Virginia, where peculiar conditions prevail, and where a local issue has taken the place of the race and sectional issue in uniting

the property-holding and educated classes, there is hardly a Southern state in which party politics are not in a more or less chaotic condition. People are forming new opinions or are returning to old opinions. Many of the elder generation of voters and political leaders have apparently determined to adopt the views of the old Whigs, and economic questions are wholly new to the younger generation, from which come a great majority of the active politicians. It is almost impossible to find a disciple of Benton among Southern Democrats. The men who adopt his views on financial and economic questions come, as a rule, from the North. It is true that there are found among Southern public men a good many opponents of the present national bank system, but they do not oppose the national banks on the same sound financial principles that governed Mr. Benton in his opposition to Mr. Clay's National Bank bill of 1841. They desire the General Government to continue to provide the paper circulation of the country, but they want Treasury notes instead of national bank notes, and they want laws of Congress to take the place of laws of trade in regulating the volume of the currency. On the tariff question public men are at sea. They do not know what their constituencies really desire, and, although they can see a drift of public sentiment toward protection, they do not know what effect a discussion of the subject will have. They are not prepared to vote for any measure that shall make a change one way or the other until they may be able to feel the pulse of their constituents.

Southern poverty has had a good deal to do in shaping the change which has taken place in political thinking. In 1817 Mr. Calhoun made this argument in favor of devoting certain moneys derived from the Government's stock in the United States Bank to the building of canals and roads :

Let it not be said that internal improvements may be wholly left to the enterprise of the States and of individuals. * * * But many of the improvements contemplated are on too great a scale for the resources of the States or individuals, and many of such a nature as the rival jealousy of the States, if left alone, would prevent. They require the resources and the general superintendence of this Government to effect and complete them.

Mr. Calhoun may still be quoted as an authority on certain subjects, and the subject of internal improvements is one of them. This argument of his is now very popular with a large number of public men of the South. It is very recently that a member of the House of Representatives from Louisiana, who has all his life been a member of the Democratic party, declared in a published interview that his party is dead, and that it died because most of its leaders, especially those from

the Northern States, have refused to vote in favor of liberal appropriations for a project that is known among its friends as "the building up of American commerce." These efforts in behalf of subsidies and internal improvements come from the natural desire of the South to be placed on an equal footing with the North. Slavery and the war put the Southern people so far behind in the industrial race that many of them have no hope of being able to catch up through their own exertions. They want the General Government—in other words, the taxpayers of the country—to make up by subsidies and "liberal appropriations" what has been lost by war and neglected opportunities.

It is not to be supposed that this desire to trust to the General Government for material aid has yet become a fixed characteristic of the South. It is a fact, however, that there is a strong drift toward the paternal theory of government, and there is no more significant indication of this than the votes of Southern Congressmen on the proposition to subsidize ocean steamship lines. A year ago this question came up in the Senate in the form of an amendment to the Post Office Appropriation bill. The amendment was offered by Senator Maxey, of Texas, and advocated by Senator Pugh, of Alabama, in a long, prepared speech. The test vote was on a question of order, and every Southern Senator present, except three, voted on the subsidy side. In 1879 this question was up in the House, having come from the Senate as an addition to the Post Office Appropriation bill. It was rejected, but a large number of Southern Congressmen voted for it.

Perhaps no one represents this new feeling in the South more completely than Senator Brown, of Georgia, and he formulated his belief concerning internal improvements in a speech made last winter on the River and Harbor Appropriation bill. He said:

The old Democratic doctrine, I am aware, was that we were to oppose internal improvements by the General Government; and yet such appropriations were made, I believe, at almost every session of Congress; and it is not now worth while to discuss that doctrine, whether it was right or wrong. A different practice has obtained for half a century, and now prevails and will continue to prevail. The future welfare of the country requires it. The future prosperity of the country demands it, and the people will require it of their representatives. * * * Whether you call it Democratic doctrine, or Republican doctrine, or the doctrine of the Independent party, I care not.

Senator Brown, in these few sentences, has announced the attitude of many people of the South toward the leading political questions of the day. Business, though it has not yet become, is becoming, an important factor in Southern politics. On the passage of the last River

and Harbor bill not a single Southern Senator voted "nay." The Southern rivers and streams carried the bill.

The politician, after his custom, has seized upon the simplest method of obtaining popularity with his people. He sees the movement away from old Southern traditions, and he assumes that the whole South wants Federal money and Federal protection. The springing up of "infant industries" has led him to make this assumption, for they represent the wealth and energy of the South, allied with the protected interests of the North. The men who have given the world an opportunity to learn of industrial development in the South are, as a rule, interested in some way in manufactures. They are the men who take the lead in giving expression to what is supposed to be public opinion. They are the spokesmen for their section. At least, they are the people who make themselves heard, and who have the organization and the money to make themselves felt. Their activity has impressed their opinions upon the public men of the South, and is impressing them also upon the people, who are indifferent and easily led. As might have been anticipated, Southern manufacturers are protectionists, and they have scattered the literature of their creed all over that part of the country. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Southern members of Congress have made the assumption that the South is becoming convinced of the soundness of the paternal theory. The simplest notion of the way to prosperity, either for an individual or a community, is that some one should make the struggling man or the struggling people a liberal present. That is what makes a good many protectionists in the South, just as it has for many years made protectionists in the North. By reason of the absence of argument against the protectionists and the economists of the money-spending school, the "liberal appropriation" and subsidy party is growing in strength in the South. It is a fact, however, as I have stated, that a good many Southern public men are hesitating before committing themselves fully to all the doctrines of the men who proclaim themselves the legitimate successors of the old Whigs, and the wiser a Southern Congressman is the longer he will hesitate. Although there is now a decided drift in his section toward what, a few years ago, were called "Western politics," sooner or later there must come a discussion of these questions. Sooner or later there will be a political party which shall honestly advocate economy in the administration of public affairs, a reassumption by the States of their duties in making their own internal improvements, and of their rights as well, and the non-

interference of the Government with the laws of exchange. If, however, there is to be an intelligent discussion of these questions before the South shall become fully committed to the paternal school, it ought to begin at once. Men are making up their minds as to which side they will take. The South is between the past and the future. Its people are desirous that their politics shall have some rational basis. They are tired of voting on worn-out issues. They are wearied with the meaningless jingle of party platforms. So anxious are they that there should be something new and better, that some of them have sought unworthy alliances and unworthy leaders, simply that the old order might be broken. They want to vote for their own interests—for the protection of the Government where protection is needed, for non-interference where that is best. Economic questions, however, are as new and strange to them as the questions presented by their industrial revival. The theories of protection are captivating to them, as they are captivating to all young people, and the South is still young, notwithstanding its long settlement. Its people, however, have intelligence and shrewdness, and they offer a splendid opportunity for the propagation of sound principles of government. They present an excellent field for sound political discussion, and the improvement of the opportunity will be profitable, not only to those who undertake the task, but to the country, for whatever tends to make common the material interests of the Union tends to make sectional strife impossible.

HENRY L. NELSON.

BOOK REVIEWS.

“THE Constitutional History of the United States.”¹ Although the publishers do not mark this upon cover or title-page as a volume of a series, it is the third volume of a most comprehensive and painstaking presentation of the working of our institutions, as studied by the scholarly author whose name it bears. An extract from the author’s preface shows its place in the series as designed by him.

¹The Constitutional and Political History of the United States. By Dr. H. von Holst, Professor at the University of Freiburg. Translated from the German by John J. Lalor and Paul Shorey. 1846-1850. Annexation of Texas—Compromise of 1850. Chicago: Callaghan & Co. 1881. 8vo, pp. 597.

The high rank which these volumes take was noted in the "International" when the issue of the first and of the second volumes led to their description.

It seems at first thought somewhat singular that the works of foreigners should prove to be among the very best explanations of our own affairs, but reasons appear on further consideration and in experience that justify the prominence of the works of a foreigner of such training as to make him an authority on social and political topics, when he makes an exhaustive study of the inner life of a nation. The American Democracy of the Frenchman De Tocqueville, referred to in notices of the previous volumes of the present author, held sway as a text-book in our own colleges. Nor is it simply an American experience that foreigners become such good authority when we wish to pursue an analysis of our own affairs. A foreigner is removed from the local bias of social alliances with sects and parties, and can look with less of passion upon the workings of systems of which he is not a part, and in which he has at most but a remote responsibility and an indirect interest. We are greatly indebted in this country to the quick appreciation by which educated Europeans have become American citizens and leaders in explaining and defending the political principles of their adopted country. Fortunately, we are able to point to examples where natives of the United States have shown a similar qualification for analysing the spirit and the development of European institutions. The first requisite for either foreigner or native, in an authoritative study of national affairs, is sufficient grasp of mind to rise above what is local and personal, and comprehend what pertains to a nation and to an era. Another requisite for a work that shall be authority is a persevering industry willing, at times at least, to push through a mass of apparent drudgery of detail to bring within reach the multitude of instances out of which to derive trustworthy generalizations. We are too new as a people, we have too much that is material to do, too many trees to cut, too many railroads to build, too many prairies to break, to show as much work in social studies as the older nations. Yet we begin to have American authorities who command regard in European countries whose condition they have studied.

In the formative days of the Republic, Franklin could have told many an intelligent Frenchman or Englishman much more than that Englishman or that Frenchman knew of his native polity. It is said that Charles Sumner was an authority in France upon French affairs.

The study of the complicated entanglement of German political organization, in the humble work of Charles L. Brace upon Home Life in Germany, the honor which American writers on social science have won in Europe, and the leadership of some law students from the United States in foreign countries, are suggestive of what some author from this country may yet do for France or for Germany to match what their students have done for us.

A foreigner will always have an advantage over a native in the tone of mind with which he studies institutions. That to which men have been accustomed from birth is to them a matter of course, scarcely awaking more thought in the average mind than the action of breathing or the succession of day and night. The contact with strange lands makes the ordinary local occurrences phenomenal to one who sees them for the first time when in his maturity. A good illustration of this is to be seen in Wallace's Russia, a book written after six years of diligent investigation by an intelligent Scotchman, and giving a view of Russian systems that a Russian statesman gray in experience might be proud to equal. Just at the opening of this century French authorities paid Arthur Young, an English traveler in France, the compliment of translation for instruction to French agriculturists.

Von Holst has many advantages for treating of our constitutional history. He comes of a nation noted for indefatigable research; he has spent considerable time in this country, part of it in a special trip to round out his preparation for the present volume. His high personal qualifications have before been noted in these pages. One serious disadvantage he has, in common with all others who attempt this subject, and this lies in the newness of his theme. In his first volume of 505 pages he was able to give the period from 1750 to 1835, but little connected with the present by living men. In the second volume of 754 pages, going back, like the overlapping of a stitch, to 1828, he only reaches 1846. Men and events rapidly widen their connection with the present, and the mass of details necessary for a clear understanding rapidly grows.

The difficulty of preserving the historian's attitude increases, and the pressure is strong to take the partisan's view. The toning of extreme views for and against men and measures that comes with lapse of time can hardly be maintained in writing of such stirring affairs as the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, and the slavery questions of 1850. Men are yet living, even yet prominent in

Government affairs, whose acts and words are described in these pages. Von Holst takes the view of the slavery question and of the questions subordinate to it which would have made him an earnest anti-slavery Republican if here as a citizen, in general sympathy with Henry Wilson in his withdrawal from the Whig party. The course of Daniel Webster, and his Seventh of March Speech, so disappointing in its time to some of his Northern friends, yet excused and defended as conscientious by others, is almost as sharply criticised by Von Holst as in his day by John Jay, who wrote: "Of all the traitors to the cause of humanity, Mr. Webster is to me one of the most revolting." Regarding that speech in connection with one of Calhoun's upon the tendencies of the time, and one of Seward's, all in the same month, as forming an important division in the history of the struggle of 1850, he designates it as "the darkest spot in Webster's political life," and as "a candidate's speech," whose "chief object was to win the favor of the South." Von Holst's judgment of Calhoun is to the effect that he deemed the tendency of the time toward disunion, yet that it would be an injustice to Calhoun to consider him a disunionist. He explains at considerable length the character of Calhoun's efforts and his opposition to the Mexican war on constitutional grounds. Calhoun is to him an intense pro-slavery man, who saw in current political events aggressions upon slavery, which he erroneously regarded as a constitutional institution. There will be those who will interpret Von Holst's description as confirmatory of their own judgment of Calhoun as a disunionist, especially as, since slavery is gone, its old defenders rejoice so fully with its old opponents. His presentation of Calhoun will repay study.

"Polk the Mendacious" is the title he gives that President, quoting it from Alexander H. Stephens. The "two-faced attitude toward England and Mexico" is the characterization of the treatment of the Oregon and the Texas Boundary questions. The Wilmot Proviso, almost passed, and, like so many measures of later dates, talked to death by its friends when they ought to act, is minutely treated. The author enters with hearty spirit into the scenes that, beginning with Tyler, broke up parties and stirred the country under Polk, Taylor and Fillmore.

Von Holst takes quite warmly to our "manifest destiny," which he deems neither a meaningless nor an unjustifiable phrase when treating of the modes by which we pushed acquisition of territory in California. He is even a little more ardent here than some of the native-born citizens.

The volume has a good table of contents, but, like the preceding volumes, awaits the convenience of an index, probably to be reached at a later stage of publication.

JAMES H. BLODGETT.

The progress of invention in breech-loading small arms and heavy ordnance has been one of the most striking features of the last two decades. The impetus was given by the war of the Rebellion, and its force has by no means spent itself.¹ The beautiful volume on this subject by General Charles B. Norton, the second edition of which has just been issued by James R. Osgood & Co., describes in detail, illustrated by numerous cuts and full-page plates, the principal modern forms of breech-loading firearms, with a full history of the subject. The principal systems, such as the Peabody, Winchester, Remington, Sharp, Springfield and others, are fully discussed and illustrated, their valuable features pointed out and their defects criticised. The work also contains chapters upon the Gatling gun, upon heavy ordnance, and upon the forms of life-saving guns and projectiles in use by the Life-Saving Service.

"Biographical Notes and Personal Sketches of James T. Fields,"² is a pleasing tribute to the noble character of this eminent publisher and friend of literature. The writer evidently jots down her recollections just as they come into her mind, giving to the sketches the character of a quiet fireside talk rather than a written memorial. Whittier's verses, "In Memory," which form an introduction to the volume, express, in the poet's choicest language, the friendship and love for Mr. Fields which was universal among the many authors with whom he was associated. Additional proof of this is found in the numerous extracts from letters by distinguished literati, both of our own country and of Europe, and Longfellow's beautiful "Auf Wiedersehen" expresses the same deep affection.

It is well that the life of such a man should be placed before us in its fullest details, as an example of eminence and purity, of strength

¹ American Inventions and Improvements in Breech-Loading Small Arms and Heavy Ordnance. Compiled by Chas. B. Norton. Second Ed. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1882. 4to., pp. 425.

² James T. Fields—Biographical Notes and Personal Sketches, with unpublished fragments and tributes from men and women of letters. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1882. pp. 275.

and sweetness, of intellect and feeling, of sound judgment and faith in mankind.

What stronger tribute could be offered to his memory than these lines of Whittier's?

"What is there to gloss or shun?
Save with kindly voices, none
Speak thy name beneath the sun."

Safe thou art on every side,
Friendship nothing finds to hide,
Love's demand is satisfied."

"*Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer*"¹ consists of a series of essays on very diverse topics, descriptive, literary, scientific and philosophical. The volume opens with a sketch of a trip to Mont Blanc and the Mer de Glace, told in a lively, racy style, in which the author excels. This is followed by a sophomoric essay on "The Beautiful," after which come several chapters upon geological topics—"The Old Age of Continents," "Obliterated Continents," "A Grasp of Geologic Time," and "Geological Seasons." In glancing through these essays one is tempted to suggest to the author (to use his own words) the cultivation of scientific habits, which "may confer upon him a safe facility in reaching conclusions," as some of Professor Winchell's conclusions are, to say the least, astonishing, and, considering the evidence which is here presented, appear to be anything but safe.

In the second of the essays above enumerated, namely, that entitled "Obliterated Continents," he reconstructs continent after continent from the flimsiest materials. His argument, stated briefly, appears to be as follows: Wherever the ocean is now shallow, especially if dotted with islands, its bed has been in former times dry land. His propositions, stated at first as reasonable hypotheses, suddenly reappear as demonstrated facts, from which, as premises, the author goes on to new conclusions. Such a system of reasoning in the hands of one possessed of the requisite powers of imagination cannot fail to produce novel and startling results.

As an example of this curious method of deduction, see the following: "Because Behring Strait is narrow, Behring Sea shallow, and its southern limit studded with numerous volcanic islands, therefore it is possible that here was once dry land. The supposition appears to be

¹ *Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer*. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1881. pp. 400.

sufficient demonstration, and forthwith we find Asia and America united by a broad band of land which is now the bottom of Behring Sea." Then, "Over this isthmus came the Mongoloid man, who settled America." Here, then, in a line, he explains the problem which has puzzled ethnologists for centuries, the origin of the native American races.

"Knowledge is proud that it has learned so much.
Wisdom is humble that it knows no more."

In an essay entitled "The Climate of the Lake Region" is another instance of the author's curious method of reasoning, a method which necessarily finds facts of observation worse than useless. In order to explain the well-known fact that the lake climate is more equable than a continental climate, he argues that, as the great lakes are several hundreds of feet in depth, and therefore their bottoms are just so much nearer the internal fires of the earth, their waters must be heated thereby, and hence are warmer than the average of the land. "The great lake (Michigan) may therefore be conceived as held in a vast natural dish, which is warmed over the imperishable fire which we know to be imprisoned within the earth." This is very pretty—even reasonable—until placed in juxtaposition with the ugly fact that the depths of the sea, which extend miles farther toward the internal fires (if there be internal fires), are much colder than the surface, being not far above the freezing point of water. After this explanation of his methods of reasoning, it is scarcely necessary to enter upon a criticism of Professor Winchell's philosophical essays, in one of which he attacks some of Professor Huxley's positions.

On the other hand, the book is written in a very entertaining style, amply illustrating the writer's well-known and admirable powers of expression.

"My First Holiday; or, Letters Home from Colorado, Utah and California." By Caroline H. Dall. Boston: Roberts Brothers. This is a clever book of observation and experience, written in the three-fold character of an invalid traveling for health, a moral reformer, and an artist. Mrs. Dall's descriptions of scenery and natural beauty are vivid, while her reflections on society and circumstances are individual and interesting.

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HEINE.

“HEINE’s Wit, Wisdom, and Pathos!” Such is the daring title on a recent volume of selections made by Mr. Snodgrass, and published by Mr. Trübner. It suggests the well-known criticism on the “Beauties of Shakespeare,” for, indeed, there is no page of Heine’s without its wit, wisdom, and pathos. Yet here is a useful and neat volume, which may be regarded as a sort of index to Heine’s thoughts written by himself. The book is mentioned here because its translations have been used in this paper, whose aim, however, is not included in that of the work, namely, to present a study of the man Heine himself. In a special sense, the thoughts of Heine are an index to his life, and his life is an index to the times in which he lived. Or, perhaps, he might be better described as a dial on which the shadows and the sunbeams of his generation are spiritualized in a way altogether peculiar, so that his ideas reflect movements of world-wide character. “It is because he unites so much wit with so much pathos that Heine is so effective a writer,” says Matthew Arnold. The wit is the other side of the pathos, and the pathos is born of Heine’s vicarious sufferings for the happier thinkers of to-day. This is the secret of the tenderness felt by scholars and poets for the memory of Heine. Even his faults seem better than the conventional virtues around him; his every blemish corresponds with a beauty in his literary bequest to the world in which he passed a life so brief and unsatisfactory.

Heinrich Heine, the son of a poor Jew of Düsseldorf, was born in that place December 13, 1799. “Around my cradle,” he said, “shimmered the last moonbeams of the eighteenth century, and the first morning rays of the nineteenth.” The French were then masters

of Düsseldorf, and the boy was put to school at a Lyceum under a French priest, a man scholarly and liberal. The only striking object there was a large wooden Christ on the cross; that was constantly before him, with its painted blood and wooden agony; and he was impressed by it, for he had sorrows of his own. The irregular verbs were being flogged into him, and the Jewish boy used to stand before this image and pray, "O thou poor and also tormented God, I pray thee, if it be possible, that I may get by heart the irregular verbs." He did not similarly pray to the classic deities about whom he was studying, for he was taught to understand them, but not the crucified one. He did not yet even understand that he, also, as a Jew, must one day share that crucifixion of one of his race; for French rule meant Jewish equality. He had many a time to look back upon his memory of Napoleon riding through Düsseldorf as a vision of vanished greatness; for the battle of Leipsic ended French rule in the Rhine provinces, and with it Jewish liberties. It also closed the Lyceum at Düsseldorf, and sent the boy Heine to pass many years in the vain endeavor to master the art and mystery of commerce. He was sent to Hamburg, where his uncle, Solomon Heine, resided, a wealthy banker. This uncle did his best to make Heinrich into a man of business, and this struggle against nature was carried on for years. Heine came to detest Hamburg beyond all other places, and in one of his letters he says that all the citizens there gradually assumed the shape of numerals. He observes every Sunday, on their solemn way to church, slender 1 and his buxom wife 3, and so on with the rest—they are all arithmetical. The commercial plan having failed, the banker and his nephew part—unfortunately, not in a friendly way—and at nineteen the youth, who has already been writing poetry, makes his way to the University of Bonn to study law. The great man there was August Wilhelm von Schlegel, just then exciting among the students that ardor in the study of early German literature which has since been so fruitful. Heine found, under Schlegel's influence, that his taste for literature could not be chilled out of him by poverty; and though at Bonn, and then at Göttingen, he studied law and made an effort to practice it, he was brought to the sad conclusion that his only powers were those of a literary artist, a poet, a critic. A sad conclusion, indeed, for he was without resources, one of a despised race, and without the popular taste or talent. He had managed, however, to get an excellent education; he attended the lectures of Hegel at Berlin, and enjoyed the friendship of that great man. At Göttingen he

had discovered that he had no faith in the dogmas of Judaism, and was baptized in the Lutheran Church. That was in his twenty-fifth year. Then he traveled in many lands; the weird of the wandering race was upon him, not only in his own nature, but in the political conditions of the time.

He came to England and wrote a book about this country, its machine-like religion and fearful Sabbaths, and much else, for which the English could never forgive him. That was natural, for Heine aimed to tell the truth. He was the best European traveler, and no other work equals his "Pictures of Travel" for fine characterization of European communities. He also wrote poetry while he wandered, never any that was poor; much that was great.

His political satires on Prussia brought him notice to quit Germany. He went to Hamburg, and there witnessed an outrageous riotous attack on the Jews. That was the first light flared upon his new faith.

In 1830 he writes to his friend Börne, from the lonely little island of Heligoland, "I am weary, and long for rest. I shall certainly procure myself a German nightcap and pull it over my ears. If I only knew where, at the present time, to lay my head. In Germany? That is impossible. Every instant I should be disturbed by a policeman giving me a shake to ascertain whether I was really asleep. The very idea of this destroys all my peace of mind. But whither indeed shall I betake myself? Back again to the south? To the land where the citron and the orange bloom? Alas! before every citron-tree stands an Austrian sentinel and thunders forth his terrible 'Who goes there?' Or shall I go northward? Or toward the northeast? Alas! these polar bears—the Russians—are more dangerous than ever since they have become civilized, and have begun to wear kid gloves. Or shall I return to England, where I would be hung in effigy, much less live in person? One ought to be paid to reside in England, whereas, instead of that, the expense of living there is double what it costs elsewhere. No! let me never return to that abominable country, where the machines conduct themselves like men, and the men like machines. The noise of the former and the silence of the latter is equally distressing. When I was presented to the Governor of Heligoland, after this typical Englishman had stood for several minutes before me motionless and silent, I felt unconsciously tempted to get behind him, in order to see whether they had not forgotten to wind up this machine. Or shall I betake myself to America—to that huge prison of free men, where the invisible fetters would be more

galling to me than the visible ones at home; and where the most odious of all tyrants—the mob—exercises its brutal authority. Thou knowest what I think of this accursed land, which I used to love before I had understood it. And yet my trade of liberator compels me publicly to praise and extol this country! Oh, you good German peasants, go to America! You will there find neither princes nor nobles; all men are alike there; all are equally churls—except, indeed, a few millions whose skins are black or brown, and who are treated like dogs."

In 1830 a revolution broke out at Paris. That movement fascinated this restless spirit longing for rest. Thither he went; Paris became his home; he married a French Catholic wife; he became a Parisian, insomuch that M. Thiers described him as "the wittiest Frenchman since Voltaire." He wrote many of his works in French, of which he was entire master. Some eighteen years of this life in Paris constitute the whole brightness of Heine's life. Though poor in pecuniary, as he was rich in intellectual, resources, he had some true friends, and enjoyed the companionship of the finest writers in that capital. Heine was gradually attaining something like happiness when, in his forty-eighth year, paralysis began to steal over him, and for the remaining eight years his mattress, to use his own expression, was his coffin. During that eight years of wretchedness he wrote cheerful and loving letters to his aged mother, who dwelt at Hamburg, never hinting at his misery and pain, so that the old lady lived in the belief that her beloved son was healthy and happy, till she heard of his death. He died in 1856.

Outwardly this seems a somewhat prosaic life for a great man to live in such stirring times. But amid these events a pilgrim's progress went on, and spiritual life-history, whose import has been recognized with increasing interest every year since Heine's death. The awakening intellect of this Jew, on whose brow Christian baptism had only brought out the sign of his doom, discovered him, indeed, like Bunyan's Pilgrim, in a City of Destruction. He was never ashamed of being a Jew as to race, but he found Judaism as a "religion" merely a spiritual sarcophagus. He valued the history, the poetry and the symbols of Judaism far more than any other Jew of his time, and could not be satisfied with the passionless, bloodless tradition it generally represented. It was no "religion" at all to one so cultured and humanized as Heine. Most Jews looked upon the Bible as their "family chronicle," while to him it was the heart of humanity. The despised race

had the faults of an aristocracy and none of its advantages. They did not, like their ancestors of old, respect the gods of other nations, and possess rites by which such deities might be conciliated on fit occasion; they regarded themselves as favorites of the only deity in existence. "He is monarch, the Jews are his nobles, and Palestine is the Exarchate of God." These are Heine's pregnant words; and the very warmth of his rebellion confirms the genuineness of his assertion that he "loves the Jews personally." "Jewish history is beautiful," he writes; "but the latter-day Jews reflect discredit on their ancestors, who would otherwise be placed far above the Greeks and Romans." His experience, we must remember, was much like that of Spinoza. That great Jew also found that Judaism had no place for a thinker resolved to utter his thought fully and freely, and estimating any good man as the Jew's equal. And it is well enough, in these days, when Jews are suffering cruel wrongs, that their friends, of which the present writer is one, should understand clearly the light shed by the experiences of Spinoza and Heine upon what must still be called "the Jewish Problem." There is so much in the attitude of the Jews toward Christendom which excites the sympathy of liberal minds, so much in their patient invincibility under never-ending martyrdoms which commands admiration, that some are liable to forget that whatever is distinctive in their dogmatic system is the survival of a primitive hard and ascetic theocracy.

For many centuries a nation without a country, they have had only an abstract country to which they might be loyal. Where others are willing to die for Fatherland, Jews have been willing to die for a holy tradition; where others have been loyal to king or emperor, approaching such with ceremonics, bendings of the knee, flattery, the Jews have been loyal to a sacred name, a monarch long unable to influence the affairs of the world; him they still approach with ceremonies, etiquette, courtier-like forms and flatteries, such as are now thought childish even when displayed before a human monarch.

Individuals—though this was hardly known in Spinoza's, and was still rare in Heine's, time—spiritualize these things. But great hearts and minds hold work for the world; and such Judaism has steadily sacrificed on its altars of tradition, from Spinoza to Heine, from Heine to the Mendelssohns, and from these again to the Disraelis. These have been compelled to make their painful exodus from Judaism as from another Egypt.

In Heine there was the force of a much further journey than he

contemplated when he passed through the baptism which seemed to promise repose to his tempest-tossed youth. To this day it is doubtful if there exists another book which, so well as Heine's "Ludwig Börne," sets forth the glory and the moral significance of Jewish history; the grandeur of its leaders and inspirers, the value of the Bible; and at the same time so clearly makes manifest, and so eloquently, the fact that these splendid antiquities make the tomb of their present literal worshippers. Mohammed called the Jews the "People of the Book;" Hegel said they were the "People of the Spirit." Heine says, "Moses provided, as it were, material bulwarks for the Spirit against the encroachments of the luxury of neighboring peoples. Round about the field wherein he had sown the Spirit, he planted, as a protecting hedge, the inflexible ceremonial law and an egotistical nationality. But when once the plant—the Holy Spirit—had struck its roots so deeply, and had sprung up to such a heaven-reaching height that it could never be uprooted, then came Jesus Christ: he tore down the barrier of the ceremonial law that had henceforth no useful purpose to serve, and he even pronounced the doom of Jewish nationalism. He summoned all the nations of the earth to their heritage in the kingdom of God, formerly the exclusive possession of a chosen people. He bestowed on the whole of humanity the citizenship of Israel."

Such were the sentiments with which this young Jew embraced what seemed to him Christianity. It was at a time when Lessing had given Germany a new gospel in "Nathan, the Wise," and that exaltation of a noble Jew, a great Mussulman, and a brave Christian, in one glowing tableau around the apotheosis of human virtue, was becoming a new passion-play of the German stage. There rose in this poetic and scholarly youth the vision of a Christianity become great and human. But he did not remark that even Lessing did not venture to give his drama the natural ending of marriage between the Christian knight and the Jewess. Heine lived to see that early dream fade forever. He found that the element which the Teutonic nations prized in Christianity was not Christ's humanity, but that very Judaism he was trying to escape. "The Teutonic races," he now writes, "comprehended Christianity by reason of their spiritual affinity with the Jewish moral principle—with Judaism in general. The Jews are the Germans of the East, and in our day the Protestants in Germanic countries, in Scotland, America, Germany, Holland, are nothing else than old Oriental Jews. The life of Palestine appears among these

sects as if daguerreotyped; the contours are scrupulously accurate, but the whole presents a dull gray aspect, and there is a total absence of the warm and rich color of the Promised Land." Worse, still, that liberty and love of liberty which had characterized the Jews throughout their history he finds not in Christian-Judaized Germany. Writing once about Moses, whom he passionately admired, and remembering how, at a period when slavery was universal, he made provision for emancipating men, but, in case a man declined to be free, that incorrigible mass of servility should be nailed by the ear to his master's door-post, Heine exclaims, "O Moses, our teacher! reach me hammer and nails that I may nail our sentimental slaves in black-red-and-gold livery by their long ears to the Brandenburg gate." Black, red and gold are the Prussian colors, and Heine's sarcasm is one which the revival of the military *régime* in Germany may help us to appreciate just now in a wholesome way.

The battle of Leipzig, which drove the French back across the Rhine, drove with them that Voltairian liberalism and that love of equality which the revolution had imposed even on imperialism. The laws which had protected the Jews were canceled, and Heine found himself, with Luther's protest in one hand and Lessing's "Nathan" in the other, a baptised Lutheran arrayed against his own race. That was the virtual end of Heine's Christianity. His Jewish blood transfuses his writings, and its pulses are often felt throbbing in his most casual thought. "The sense of pleasure in the noble, the beautiful, and the good may often be imparted through education, but the sense of pleasure in hunting lies in the blood. When one's ancestors have been hunters of the buck from time immemorial, their descendants find a delight in this noble occupation. My ancestors, however, belonged not to the race of hunters, but much rather to that of the hunted, and I feel my blood revolt at the thought of taking deadly aim at the descendants of their former colleagues in misfortune."

Along with this religious history of Heine there is to be studied his spiritual biography, recorded in experiences which relate to his life and task as a poetic artist. About this there is much that is melancholy. We may take our place beside the little boy in Düsseldorf, in his humble home, reading "Don Quixote." "This was the first book I read after I had reached the age of intelligence and had sufficiently mastered my letters. I can still vividly recall that childish time when I stole away from the house and ran off to the Castle Garden, to read 'Don Quixote' there without fear of interruption. It was a beautiful

May day, and the blossoming spring lay listening in the morning light to the nightingale, its sweet flatterer, who was singing to it a hymn of praise in tones so caressingly soft, and with such fond enthusiasm, that the most timid buds burst into blossom, and the gay grass-plots were kissed more fervidly by the sunbeams, and trees and flowers trembled for very joy. I seated myself on an old moss-grown bench in the so-called 'Sighing Avenue,' near the waterfall. My young heart found delight in the wonderful adventures of the brave knight. In my childish honesty of soul, I took everything for sober reality. However ludicrous the pranks that fortune played the poor hero, I imagined that it must necessarily be so; that to be scoffed at was the fate of heroism, as well as to receive bodily wounds, and the former vexed me as sorely as the latter moved me to pity. I was a child, and knew nothing of the irony which God had interwoven into the web of life, and which the great Cervantes had imitated in the little world of his own creation. Never shall I forget the day when I came to read of the woeful combat wherein the knight was so ignominiously vanquished. It was a dismal day; dark, heavy clouds sped across the gray sky; the yellow leaves were falling mournfully from the trees; heavy tear-drops hung from the last flowers, whose withered, dying heads drooped sadly; the nightingales had long since ended their song; on all sides images of decay were staring at me, and my heart almost broke as I read how the noble knight, stunned and bruised, lay stretched on the ground, and how, without raising his vizor, he said to his victor, in a voice so weak and faint that it seemed to come from the grave: 'Dulcinea is the fairest lady in the world, and I am the most unhappy of knights; but it becomes not that my weakness should belie the truth. Strike home with thy lance, Sir Knight.' Alas, the dazzling Knight of the White Moon, who overcame the bravest and noblest man on earth, was only a disguised barber!

"But, ah me! all this was long ago, and many a new spring has blossomed since then, though none that ever had such a magic charm; for now, alas! I have no faith in the sweet tales of the nightingale, the flatterer of the spring. * * * Everywhere I see only a disguised winter. * * * Perhaps I am myself only a Don Quixote, whose head has been sadly confused by the reading of all manner of wonderful books. * * * Our mode of action proceeds from entirely different views. My colleague mistook windmills for giants; I, on the other hand, can see in our present-day giants nothing but noisy windmills. He beheld in the leatherne wine-skins mighty magicians; but in the magicians of

to-day I see nothing but leathern wine-skins. * * * He mistook a puppet-show for a state ceremony; I hold state ceremonies to be mere puppet-shows; yet I strike home as bravely at the wooden pageantry as did the gallant knight."

There is in all this light writing of Heine's an undertone of weeping over a vanished world of impossible ideals; and it sometimes rises up to a genuine emotion beneath which laughter is hushed. "But in my bosom," he says, "still glows that flame of love which soars in ecstasy above the earth, and takes its adventurous flight through the wide yawning space of the sky, till it strikes the cold stars, and sinks down again upon the little earth, and, with mingled sighs and shouts of joy, confesses that in all creation there is nothing more beautiful or better than the human heart."

This early experience of the boy—the discovery that the first hero of his worship was only an effigy made up to be laughed at and to figure the pedantry of so-called chivalry—had a lasting influence upon Heine, and not a happy one. One can hear in some of his finest poems the echo of that ridicule which came upon the deluded knight. After exalting the mind by some exquisite vision of beauty or character, he too often shatters it all by some almost mocking line or verse, which seems to be laughter, but really is the sigh of a soul in pain, unable to find a true satisfaction. This is not so frequent as to impair the main poetic work of Heine's life, but it is met with often enough to make his reader feel that this fine spirit was never able to find an environment fitted to it, or to embody itself fully in creative work.

Heine was a born artist, and the one thing which hard circumstances had allowed him was to cultivate his poetic faculty, his taste and imagination, to the utmost fineness. His art as a writer has never been exceeded for subtle suggestiveness and beautiful imagery. But there comes a period in the life of every artist, whether in colors, in marble or in words, when he perceives that his finest productions are promises, not fulfillments; blossoms, not fruits. There arises in him a longing to see some living, breathing result of his fair, but lifeless, designs. He longs to see his marble flush with life, or his song lead the armies of progress. And that is generally a tragical period in his career. It is one of the many characteristic romances about Michael Angelo that, when he had nearly completed his great figure of Day, he seized a hammer and was about to break it in pieces. To one who restrained him, he cried: "Why finish it? Why, when

the Day of Humanity has not yet risen? Let my drowsy figure of Night there stand alone. Some one shall add Day when the day dawns!"

Heine really had an ardent desire to do something for the human race. He alone did himself justice in this, when he desired a sword to be carved on his tomb that he might be known as a Soldier of Humanity. Amid German military ambitions he dreamed only of repose in an art-created world. In Berlin he was never happy except when he "lay under the lindens and thought his sweet nothing-at-all thoughts;" or, still more, when in that oysterless (consequently uncivilized) city he once had a fair dream that the paving-stones of the street had turned to oysters, and that it rained lemon-juice! But Germany ostracised him in a very different way. In 1835 the Diet forbade him to write. His books were afterward suppressed in Germany. That country has very often had to regret those silly measures. Heine, being an artist, was never vindictive, but his experience of German militarism and egoism gave a notable depth and force to his criticisms of that country. Young Germany has grown to consciousness of its condition on the writings of Heine. But he is always just. "One must know Germany as a whole; to know a part only is dangerous. It is the story of the tree whose leaves and fruit are bane and antidote." Virtually exiled from his native country by the prohibitions against his writing there, and the suppression of his works, Heine was really forced to become a Frenchman. His domestic life yielded him only fitful and never elevated pleasures. His marriage was a great mistake. But his heaviest disappointment was that he could not fulfill at all the hope that drew him to Paris—that of performing some part in the great drama of French politics. All he could do was to perform the part of Cassandra, uttering the little-heeded prophecies which since have been so terribly fulfilled. "I tell you the bitter truth. You have more to fear from a free Germany than from the entire Holy Alliance, with all its Croats and Cossacks. For, in the first place, they do not love you in Germany, which is indeed almost incomprehensible, for ye are so amiable, and during your stay amongst us took great pains to please at least the better and fairer half of the German people. But, even though this half still love you, it is unfortunately the half that does not bear arms, and whose friendship will be of little help to you. What you are accused of I could never understand. Once, in a beer-cellar in Göttingen, I heard a young Old-German assert that it was necessary to be revenged on France

for Conradin of Hohenstaufen, whom you caused to be beheaded at Naples (1268). Doubtless ye have long since forgotten this; we, however, forget nothing. Ye see, then, that, whenever we have a mind to quarrel with you, there will be no lack of valid grounds. In any case, I advise you to be on your guard. Happen what may in Germany—though the Crown Prince or Dr. Wirth should obtain the upper hand—be ye ever ready, remain quietly at your posts, your weapons in your hands. I mean it well with you, and I was seized with dismay when I heard it said lately that your ministry proposed to disarm France. As ye are, despite your romantic tendency, a true classical people, ye know Olympus. Amongst the joyous gods and goddesses, quaffing and feasting of nectar and ambrosia, ye may behold one goddess who, amid such gaiety and pastime, wears ever a coat of mail, a helm on her head, and the spear in her hand. She is the goddess of Wisdom."

It will be remembered that Heine was first drawn to Paris by the revolution of 1830. He saw himself, in vision, helm on head and spear in hand, defending the popular cause. Heart and pluck were not wanting, yet was he utterly unable to espouse the democratic cause. He once said that he loved the people, but did not like them. The distinction is real. He was able to enter with enthusiasm upon any work looking to the welfare of general humanity, but when he came into actual contact with the masses he was repelled by their habits and manners. In Paris he was once invited to address a popular assembly; but when he stepped on the platform the room was so full of tobacco smoke that poor Heine was quite choked, and could not get out a word. That slight incident sufficiently reports the reason of Heine's failure to become a democrat. He says, in a rather cynical vein, that he was converted from Atheism by its becoming popular. When he found the vain, vulgar and ignorant noisily denying the existence of God in their public-house jargon; "when Atheism began to smell strongly of cheese, of brandy, and of tobacco, the scales suddenly fell from my eyes, and what I had failed to comprehend by the intellect I now comprehended by the sense of smell." That was a curious way to discover the divine existence, and, of course, one must not take Heine too seriously; but it *is* a serious truth that there are times of social and political reaction when affirmations and denials on the gravest subjects become mere partisan phrases. Sham negations are as repugnant to the thinker as unreasoning affirmations; he can as little bow down to a painted goddess of Reason as to a gilded god of

Unreason. If Heine could only have been in the English House of Commons during some recent sessions, and witnessed the profanation of Theism by cynical partisans using the phrase of an oath, "So help me God!" in absolute ignorance of its meaning, simply as a Tory weapon against Gladstone, his senses and his creed would have suffered as much as from the vulgarians of Paris. He would detect the real theistic question in Europe to be still, as in his day, whether this or that emperor or minister shall fall, rather than whether any deity shall be disbelieved. Americans who propose to "put God into the constitution" might learn from Europe that it means taking Him out of religion.

Like most of the poetic thinkers of his generation, a pantheist, Heine was profoundly repelled from this game of politics, in which the pure stars of reason's vault were used as billiard-balls between plebeian and aristocratic cues (Havanas on one side answering pipe-puffs on the other), and the Nemesis of genius followed him. He could find no career open to the self-reverence which had become the ideal retreat of religious sentiment. Unable to find any place or any work that he could do under the revolution, dreading the ignorant tyranny of the mob as much as the knowing tyranny of aristocracies, Heine was in a position lonely enough and sad enough. He found that even beautiful Paris, immersed in politics, was an inadequate home for the artist. "A pure work of art," he says, "is seldom brought forth in an age in which politics are predominant. The poet, in such an epoch, resembles the sailor on a stormy sea who sees on the distant shore a cloister standing on a tall cliff; the white nuns are there singing, but the storm outroars their voices."

There was nothing left for Heine but to withdraw from the turmoil, and he tried to build a home around him; for this he even consented to be married in a Catholic church to one whom he loved. He then did some grand work, both in prose and poetry—work that satisfied all the cultured world but himself; for a time was prosperous, albeit still sad, because of that maternal longing of genius for the unborn ideal in his brain and heart.

The French Republicans have been severe in their sentences upon Heine, who was a severe censor of theirs; and, when it was found after his death that he had received a pension of five thousand francs from the Government of Louis Philippe, they did not hesitate to proclaim that Heine had been bought up by the royalists. The charge was unjust. Heine never sold himself nor his principles; indeed, had he

ever been willing to do that he could have easily made, not a small annuity, but a fortune. Literary men urged the rendering of this assistance, just as they often do in England for poor or invalid authors, without regard to their political sympathies. It has not been shown that there was anything at all dishonorable about Heine's pension, or the way in which it was obtained. He was as severe a critic of Louis Philippe—the "citizen-Jesuit," as he called him—as of the democracy, and the only politician for whom he had much enthusiasm was Lafayette, which shows how healthy were his sympathies. Of him he wrote: "The world is surprised that there once was an honest man: the situation remains vacant."

As life went on Heine seems to have learned that, after all, the truest friend of the poet is his art, and that there is more real and living satisfaction in the realm of ideal beauty than he had once supposed. The craving for action and for practical power somewhat abated as he realized the degree to which society is really swayed by ideas. He had caught the fine harmony expressed in the arts of Greece, whose statues he had seen in Italy and studied in the Louvre, and they prophesied to him the nobler age when humanity should be spiritualized, and the pure Reason be incarnate in a higher race. In what Heine wrote of Art he is seen perhaps at his best. There are passages scattered through his writings which, for subtle suggestiveness and elevation of thought, are not equaled even by Goethe on the same subject. One cannot find in the Italian letters of Goethe anything so admirable as the following from Heine's "*Florentine Nights*": "You have become a great frequenter of the opera, Max, though I fancy you go there more to see than to hear." "You are not far wrong, Maria, I do indeed go to the opera to gaze on the faces of the beautiful Italian women, although, for that matter, even outside the theatre they are beautiful enough. A physiognomist might easily detect in the ideality of their features the influence of the plastic arts on the corporeal forms of the Italian people. Nature has here got back from the artists the capital which she formerly lent them; and see! it is restored with handsome interest. Instead of furnishing the artist with models, Nature now copies herself from the masterpiece created by the artist from her own models. The sense of the beautiful has permeated the whole nation, and, as formerly the flesh exercised its influence over the spirit, so now the spirit influences the flesh. Not without reward is the worship of those beautiful Madonnas, of those fair altar pictures which impress themselves on the soul of the

bridegroom, whilst the bride carries devoutly in her breast the features of some beautiful saint. Through such elective affinity a race of beings has here arisen fairer than the sweet soil on which it blooms, or the sunny sky that spreads round it like a frame of gold."

In the heart of Heine, when he had become prisoner of his mattress, such thoughts as these must have been plaintive as the song of Mignon longing for her Southern home with the beautiful statues. A sad commentary on his vision of a creative Madonna may be read in the story of his closing life, when, in 1848, his eyes beginning to fail under the lingering, but always hopeless, paralysis of which he died, he went to visit the Louvre, that their last vision might rest upon the perfect face, the matchless Milonian statue—glorious still in its mutilation amid human wars and vicissitudes. Of that visit he wrote as follows, when the strength to repeat it was gone: "I must expressly contradict the rumor that the return to a personal God has brought me to the threshold of any church, much less led me into its fold. No; my religious convictions and opinions have remained free from all sectarianism; I have been enticed by no church bell, I have been dazzled by no altar lights. I have not coquettled with any symbolism, nor have I quite renounced my reason. I have abjured nothing, not even my old heathen gods, from whom I have, it is true, turned aside, though parting from them in love and friendship. It was in May, 1848, on the last occasion on which I went out, that I bade farewell to the lovely idols to which I had bowed the knee in the days of my prosperity. Painfully did I drag my limbs to the Louvre, and I almost fell into a swoon as I entered that splendid hall where the blessed goddess of beauty, our dear lady of Milo, stands on her pedestal. Long time did I lie at her feet, weeping so bitterly that a stone must have had pity on me. And, though the goddess looked down on me with compassion, it was a compassion without comfort, as if she would say, 'Seest thou not that I have no arms, and so cannot give thee help?'"

And there we may well take our leave of Heine. The truest vision of him is that of the refined artist kneeling to the last before the perfect ideal of humanity—armless, though it be—not able to bestow bounties like a Madonna or other conventional idol of the world. And we may do so with hope that Beauty may regain her hands, and be no longer merely the poet's dream, but the practical man's pattern, by which the fairer home and temple and world shall be built.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF POSITIVE POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Second Paper.

TELEOLOGICAL PHENOMENA.

HOWEVER true it may be, and it is wholly true, that the actions of organized beings are the results of mechanical antecedent causes operating through nutrition and organization, there is still a special character inherent in such acts which separates them widely from the class we have considered. This peculiar character is due to the presence of what in its widest sense may be denominated the psychic element. Organized activities, however lowly in origin, are produced primarily in response to *volition* as their immediate antecedent. It is this volition which is genetically determined, as is the organized substance in which it is generated, but from this point the genetic process ceases, and the teleologic process begins. Difficult as might be the task of discovering the exact place where this psychic element historically enters into the phenomena of nature as concrete facts, this difficulty is only the same with the more comprehensive one by which it is embraced, of finding the boundary line between the inorganic and the organic worlds.

Without consuming space, therefore, in a profitless search for these subtle beginnings, we may at once confront the problem of teleological phenomena in general. As remarked in the preceding paper, these phenomena are primarily characterized and distinguished from genetic phenomena by the manifestation of *will* on the one hand, and of *purpose* on the other. These are permanently correlated, so that any action produced by volition must seek an object, and any action performed for an object must have resulted from a conative faculty. Such action differs broadly from purely genetic activity. The very word *action*, which is scarcely applicable to the latter, suggests to the mind a generic distinction. More closely viewed, the nature of this distinction becomes clear. A volition consists of certain specialized molecular activities taking place in the substance of the brain or central ganglion of the organism. These could only affect genetically the immediately circumjacent molecules. But organization consists essentially in such an economizing of these molecular nerve activities as to enable them

not only to transmit their energy to distant parts of the organism, but, in doing this, to take advantage of such mechanical principles as the lever and fulcrum, whereby the effect is rendered greater than the cause. The same result is accomplished primarily in a different way, viz., by the conversion of nerve energy into muscular movement. This takes place on some such principle of concentration as that on which atmospheric electricity is now held to be produced.¹ While muscular contraction may really have nothing in common with electrical discharge, the latter at least suggests an analogy which may aid in forming some conception of it.

The essential difference between purely physical and even the lowest form of psychic phenomena consists in the power the latter possess through organization of producing effects both at a distance from, and of a greater value than, the causes themselves. And owing to the absolute correlation mentioned above of will with purpose, and *vice versa*, this is really the fundamental distinction between genetic and teleological phenomena.

METHODS OF CONATION.

A nearer inspection of the nature of teleological phenomena shows that the class as such admits, and indeed requires, further subdivision. There are two very different methods by which the will directs and secures action on the part of the organism. A term is needed to express this general conception of voluntary action or the action of the conative faculty. For this the somewhat mediæval term *conation*, perhaps not used since Sir William Hamilton, is not only etymologically, but in point of signification as well, strikingly appropriate, and may be revived. The different kinds of volitional action above referred to may therefore be called *methods of conation*. They may be designated respectively as the *direct* and the *indirect* method.

Considered in their most fundamental relations, the primary property by which these two methods are distinguished is that, in the direct method the only mechanical principles employed are those

¹ Electricity being a purely surface phenomenon, it resides in the outer surfaces of the minute aqueous globules which constitute vapor or cloud. As these globules are solids, and as the solid contents of spheres increase much more rapidly than their superficial areas, the condensation of many of these minute globules into one larger one, as happens when raindrops are formed, has the effect greatly to diminish the amount of surface, and, if this was fully charged with electricity prior to condensation, it would fail to contain it after condensation. The result must be an electrical discharge of greater or less violence to other objects.

which the organism itself secures in its own operation, as above described, while in the indirect method the outward acts, as performed by the integrated organism, themselves embody such principles, thus multiplying the disproportion between causes and effects.

THE DIRECT METHOD OF CONATION.

The acts of most animals, and the greater part of those of human beings, proceed no further than this primary psychic stage. They are strictly teleological, since, however direct their movements, they invariably aim at an object, and are actuated by a purpose to obtain it. These actions occupy a strictly middle position between those movements taking place according to the genetic laws of inanimate nature and those performed according to the indirect method of conation. They especially resemble the former in the obvious mechanical connection between the agent and the object, and even the quality of acting through an interval of space is well typified by the action of a magnet. These primary psychic movements also obey the mechanical law of motion in straight lines. The motion is always along the shortest line from the subject to the object. They are performed in obedience to impulses, and constitute what are called by moralists "impulsive," as distinguished from "deliberative," actions. But primarily all actions are thus impulsive, and the more advanced class have only arisen out of a consideration by the developed intellect of the questions of ease and quickness in attaining success. The many remarkable analogies between actions springing from physical desires and the mechanical forces of nature suggest the importance of regarding the former as true forces, and treating them accordingly. Considering human action alone, these desires, emotions, passions and impulses of various kinds that produce this class of actions constitute in reality the *social forces*, and may be controlled, when thoroughly understood, by the same process as physical forces are controlled. Let us take a few illustrations, with a view to examining somewhat more closely their specific character.

The earliest manifestation of the direct method of conation is seen in what is denominated "reflex action." In this the organization of the nervous system is reduced to the simplest form. The terminal fibres of the sensor nerve are brought into contact with the external object, the sensation is conveyed along the nerve to the nearest or only ganglion, which immediately discharges it along the motor nerve to the extremity or part to be moved, and the action takes place. Simple

as this process is, it is more complicated than any form of purely physical movement, and the function of the ganglion, whatever it may really consist in, is in nature of a volition, of which complex process it is the primary form.

When we consider the acts of the lower animals in general we find an abundance of examples of the direct method. Whatever desire predominates in them controls their movements immediately and absolutely. The object desired is directly sought, and, if no obstacles intervene, directly obtained and appropriated. If the object is at a distance, the entire body moves in a straight line toward it. If an obstacle intervenes the motion is usually equilibrated by it, and the animal brought to rest. In so far as obstacles are surmounted by any form of indirection, in so far a transition from the direct to the indirect method is displayed. But natural selection insures, in a manner which we have not space to explain here, the performance of many acts through *instinct* which appear to involve a higher psychic power, but which really do not do so, as may be easily shown by varying the circumstances from their normal character. In the higher mammalia, however, unquestionable applications of the indirect method are frequently made, and the transition in this respect to the higher acts of human beings is not interrupted at any point.

A large part, however, of the acts of men are still of the direct kind, and in them may be noted certain differences of character which enable us to make a convenient, if not a logical, classification of them. The widest distinction which can be observed among them is that between those resulting from *compulsion* and those resulting from *persuasion*. The method most nearly resembling that of animals is that of force, and this is employed by human races in proportion to their intellectual (which is a true measure of their moral) development. Up to a certain point "brute force" is the rule in all forms of acquisition and the gratification of desire. The method of nature is of this kind. Life is an open struggle. The lowest savages, like the wild beasts, recognize no *rights*. What they see and want they proceed directly to seize and appropriate. They succeed if not forcibly prevented by other individuals who, without any more thought of equity, struggle to retain possession. Many men in civilized countries seem to have scarcely progressed beyond this directly coercive stage. What is recognized in human beings as the cropping out of animal propensities is the tendency to move directly upon the objects of their desire, with no delicacy in conforming to the rules of propriety.

and decency which civilization has laid down for the government of conduct.

There are many human institutions which seek to attain ends by the direct method. War, however much the indirect method may be incidentally employed in its detailed management, is in its *ensemble* essentially a measure of direct coercion. The effects are no greater than the effort required to secure them. The action is exactly balanced by the reaction. The algebraic sum of the result of all wars is *nil*. Government, contrary to what some might suppose, deals chiefly with direct coercion. Not only this, but its influence is mainly negative, or repressive. Nearly all laws are in nature of prohibitions. The penalty for their violation is force; very few command the performance of new actions, and almost none execute themselves, as they would do if they applied the indirect method of conation. Most forms of charity proceed according to the direct method. They simply mitigate present suffering, leaving the causes of it untouched. The motive in this case is sympathy, which, though a later sentiment and a higher one, is no less a physical impulse than hunger or lust. It is by this quality that the current philanthropy is distinguished from true humanitarianism and from *meliorism*, which employ the indirect method.

Turning next to the second class, in which the means are persuasive, instead of compulsory, we find that, while such acts are confined to human beings having attained a considerable degree of development, the results are sterile or feeble to the same extent as in the other class. Most cases of impassioned appeal, of exhortation, and also of command or threat, provided the latter are not, to the knowledge of the individual to be influenced, likely to be followed by physical coercion, belong here, as do all supplications, entreaties and demands unaccompanied by a substantial consideration. It is, therefore, chiefly in the domain of religion and morals that this class of actions occur. This doubtless accounts to a large extent for the failure of great moral and religious systems to reform the world. Notwithstanding the fact that these have inculcated, throughout all the centuries of human history, the greater part of the fundamental moral truths and principles recognized by the most advanced civilized peoples of the present age, it is claimed by the exhortatory moralists themselves that morals have been continually declining, although the more rational students of history see that this is not the case, but that the real moral progress of the last three centuries in the *élite* of humanity is closely correlated with the growth of the scientific method, the diffusion of knowledge

following the invention of printing, and the consequent spread of liberalism in society. Toward it "moral suasion" has exerted no appreciable influence. The cause of this is the same as in those cases in which mechanical force or physical compulsion are employed. Both methods are direct in the sense here used, and from the inherent nature of the direct method, the results actually accomplished, after deducting the energy expended, are necessarily extremely small. They are comparable in this respect only with the effects of genetic action, already explained, which are strictly differential in their character, resulting only in a secular progress along the line of least resistance.

THE INDIRECT METHOD OF CONATION.

Along the line of cosmic progress the otherwise uniform and secular movement has been, as it were, interrupted by a few comparatively sudden advances, which may almost be called leaps. Such was the origin of life, resulting from the chemical formation of the substance protoplasm; and such, again, has been the birth of the rational faculty, by the exercise of which alone the indirect method of conation is capable of being enforced.

The word *reason*, besides being inherently ambiguous, denoting both a faculty and its exercise, is habitually used in a variety of vague, half-meaningless senses, which serve at once to show forth and to perpetuate the loose, inexact nature of all undisciplined thought. It is not, therefore, from pedantic motives that this in itself noble word is here left out of a discussion designed chiefly to elucidate the nature of the faculty it denotes, but in order rather to explain, if not in simpler, at least in more fundamental and elementary, terms what should be implied in speaking of the reason.

Immanuel Kant was the first philosopher to divide the phenomena of mind into two great classes: Sense and Intellect. (*Sinnlichkeit* and *Verstand*.) ["Kritik der reinen Vernunft," S. 52, 82.] This is one of the few purely philosophical deductions of the writers on mind which have been fully confirmed by the added light of science. As it is difficult to say just where sensation is joined to mere vitality, so it is equally difficult to point out the place in the animal series where thought is first coupled with feeling. But fortunately this task is unnecessary here, and it is sufficient for our present purpose to recognize this fundamental distinction as it presents itself in the higher forms of life, and especially in man.

The direct method of conation, which we have been considering, springs entirely from the first of these great branches of psychic function—from the feelings. The acts employing it proceed from the *desires*, the gratification of which they aim to secure. These desires, whatever their nature or form, constitute, as already remarked, true natural forces, recognizable as such by their obedience to all the fundamental mechanical laws laid down for the physical world.

Motion caused by them is in a straight line, and continues so long as the force (desire) acts, unless checked by a physical barrier. The fly buzzes against the transparent window-pane through which it sees, and continues to do so after further advance is completely checked, even though a few inches above there may exist an open transom. If the direction changes, it must be due to the existence of another force (desire) in a different direction. A savor from the dinner table may furnish a stronger attraction than the external sunlight, and cause the fly to leave the window and descend to the table.

The reaction is equal to the action performed, though here a portion of the former is absorbed by the mechanical properties above described, which reside in the organism. A positive gain to the organism is the result which, though small at any point, increases with the degree of organization.

The importance of recognizing these organic forces will be dwelt upon at length at the proper time. We have now to attend to the great distinction which arises at this point. It is obvious that the effort to gratify desires by the direct method must often fail. Obstacles intervene and bring the forces into equilibrium. Want of correspondence between the organism and the environment leads millions of beings to premature destruction. The moth singes its downy wings in the flame, but still blindly renews its perilous feat till it falls a crisped mass. Heaps of frail ephemera lie lifeless at the foot of every lamp-post of a city after a warm night in May. The American quail (*Ortyx Virginiana*) is trapped in thousands by the simple device of fastening kernels of corn to the ends of strings tied to a common stake. The bird swallows the kernel with a part of the string, but in attempting to escape it finds itself caught. Nothing is easier than to draw the kernel from its crop after it is taken, but this it cannot do for itself. It only knows one way to go from a place of danger, and that is by keeping its head away from the evil spot. In attempting thus to escape the friction of the string in the angle of the beak prevents the extraction of the kernel. It never reverses this method, and turn-

ing its head to the stake pulls backward. This would be instant success, but this would require the application of the indirect method, of which the bird is incapable. *Quae ipse miserrima vidi.*

What, then, is the fundamental character of the indirect method of conation? A single word expresses it: *Invention*. The sole function of the intellect, as an aid to sense, is to invent. It may seem an exaggeration, but in truth this is all that reason ever does. It is the essential quality of the rational faculty, and every higher form of proper thought can be traced back to this primary inception. Let it not be forgotten that the gratification of desire is the sole *desideratum* of life, whether low or high in the scale of being. If this could be fully accomplished by the direct method no other would be needed, no other could have been developed. But with this alone progress must remain extremely slow. To avoid rapid destruction due to lack of correspondence, organisms must be restricted to small local areas and a few uniform environing conditions. The boundaries of every animal's normal habitat is a veritable "dead line" for every individual that chances to overstep it. Man alone has made the entire globe his habitat. He has accomplished this by the application of the indirect or inventive method. He has invented clothing, shelter, fire, weapons, etc., and made himself master of the planet.

But we have thus far only raised a question, not answered one. What is invention? What does the indirect method essentially and intrinsically consist in? It is not more teleological than the direct method; wherein consists, then, its superiority? We do not answer this important question by saying that it is the *artificial*, as contradistinguished from the *natural*, method, but we bring it one step nearer the possibility of solution. The distinction of natural and artificial is not commensurate with that above drawn between genetic and teleological. The term *natural*, besides embracing all genetic phenomena, includes also all the movements of living creatures which result from the organic forces above described. It, therefore, divides off all forms of change below that brought about under the direction of the inventive faculty from those above the origin of this faculty—the blind forces, whether physical or organic, from the intellectual forces of the universe. Under *natural* phenomena are, therefore, to be classed all the changes that take place in the inorganic world, together with the organic phenomena of *life* and *feeling*. Under *artificial* phenomena there can be classed only those of *thought* or *intellection*. Genetic

changes take place through infinitesimal increments, and are secularly slow, all but a mere differential of energy being lost in equilibration. Vital phenomena belong to the genetic class. Sense phenomena are teleological, but direct, thus securing no mechanical advantage (except such as the organism itself has secured through its structural development) which can render the results produced any greater than the energy expended. Intellectual phenomena, which are also teleological, alone secure this advantage, and it is this which distinguishes all forms of *art*, and constitutes such actions *artificial*. While many such actions are performed by the higher animals, it requires a close discrimination to distinguish them from instinct, which may be denominated *secondary organization*, since it secures through purely genetic methods such cumulative adaptations as are secured by morphological organization, whereby certain mechanical advantages are gained so long as the creature restricts itself to the constantly recurring influences of a circumscribed habitat, but which are as inoperative outside of that habitat as are physiological processes outside of the organism. We may, therefore, disregard all living creatures except human beings. Art may then be defined as *the rational control of natural phenomena so as to bring them into harmony with human advantage*. Originally there is no such harmony. Those optimists who imagine they see it wholly misconceive the nature of the world they live in. The universe is not anthropocentric any more than it is geocentric. Man is as little to this planet as the latter is to the system of which it forms less than one-three-hundred-and-fifty-thousandth part of the matter. All that can be said of the correspondence is that it is great enough to permit man to exist. But for this he could never have been evolved. But without art his existence must not only be very poor, but confined to a very small part of the globe. The North American Indians, although they possess many true arts, are able barely to maintain a subsistence. The same is true of all savage or barbaric races, especially in temperate or cold climates.

A company of civilized men, desiring to visit even for a short time a region entirely given over to nature, must carry with them copious supplies of various kinds of artificial products, to prevent perishing from hunger and want. Such facts bring forcibly home to the mind, not only the great want of correspondence between man's physical nature and his unimproved habitat, but also the vast extent to which he is absolutely dependent upon artificial objects for his power to subsist in this world.

From this superficial survey we are enabled to perceive the immense superiority, from the point of view of human advantage, which is the only practical one, of teleological over genetic, and of artificial over natural, processes. Yet, notwithstanding the obtrusiveness of this truth, there is a class of persons who devote their energies to the work of extolling the natural and decrying the artificial. Not to speak of the school of Rousseau, who are merely carried away by the charms of an idle life in the midst of nature, but which they could never have appreciated or enjoyed but for the previous culture and artificial preparation they received, there are eminent men of science who affect, or perhaps really feel, a sort of contempt for artificial objects, and especially for artificial methods of every kind. They urge the imitation of Nature in all things, and especially insist that no ruthless hand of man shall be laid upon her alleged perfect products or processes. Everything that Nature produces, as well as the manner in which she operates, is regarded as in some respect greatly superior to the artificial, and, as it were, almost sacred. In fact, this sentiment in some seems to take the form of a sort of *nature-worship*, of which primitive savage religion it may perhaps be regarded as a modified survival. Singularly enough, these modern physiolaters are among the most eminent teachers of science and philosophy, and might be supposed to be aware of the true relation which science bears to art. It would be tautological to say that all art must be artificial, but it is less obviously so to express the same truism by saying that all that civilized man regards as possessing value has resulted from the control—*i. e.*, the “violation”—of natural laws. It is by artificially directing the otherwise random and useless, or harmful forces of nature into channels of human advantage that all wealth is created, and the very means to the further prosecution of science obtained. But, most incongruous of all, we find that it is the same class of scientists who most strenuously insist upon the uniformity of the higher psychic and social phenomena and the consequent scientific character of these complex, as well as of the simpler, domains of force, who specially deprecate any artificial interference with the natural operation of these forces, and declare that if left to themselves they will work out all the problems of civilization in their own good time and way. The truth is that Nature is no more anthropocentric in these higher fields of phenomena than in the lower ones, and there is no more probability that the psychic and social forces, left to themselves, will ever secure any truly grand results in civilization than there is that the physical forces would,

without inventors, have evolved the steam engine or the spinning jenny. But when we reflect, in connection with the immense results which art has wrought in these lower fields, that the higher ones are as yet comparatively untouched, there is at least room to hope that, when they shall receive their proper share of attention, corresponding improvements will be made whose value will be as much greater as the phenomena controlled are higher and more practical in their character.

With this outline of the subject we may now approach the central problem as to the exact nature of that form of action which we have called indirect, and which underlies all art and constitutes the essence of invention. That it consists in the intelligent control of natural forces and their subjection to man's service is clear, and it only remains to consider the precise *modus operandi* by which this is accomplished. All the matter of the universe is perpetually in motion, and its varied movements are constantly conflicting with each other and influencing each other in obedience to the known laws of the impact of bodies. These influences are known as the forces of nature. Taking the universe as a whole, these forces are supposed to balance each other, but in no one part of it do they do so at any time. The secular dynamic phenomena which we call cosmic and organic, or even social progress, represent simply the difference between these forces acting upon certain objects in comparatively restricted localities. These forces are, as compared to human strength, very powerful. Were the sinister ones not antagonized by the friendly ones, man would be instantly swept out of existence. Naked resistance to such influences is almost imperceptible, and the human, like other lower organisms, has been thus far little more than carried along between these mighty opposing forces. In all this, as already remarked, there is no conscious concern visible for the fate or welfare of any created thing. An earthquake is as liable to swallow a populous city as an equal area of Saharan sand. If, on the other hand, these forces chance to operate favorably for human welfare—*i. e.*, if the line of least resistance among all the antagonizing forces happens to coincide somewhat closely with that of human advantage—great and rapid progress may take place. It is very obvious that if any considerable part of the influences which now oppose human progress, or of those which so antagonize each other as to be without effect upon it, could be made to coincide with its direction, great benefit would result. Or, if any of those which now so nearly

equilibrate the existing progressive tendencies could be removed or turned away, this would leave the former free to act, and would produce the same result. To bring about either one of these three effects is the essential work of invention. By the direct method this could only be attempted by attacking physical force with muscular force. Against such enormous odds man's puny arms are relatively powerless. But by the indirect method muscle is employed only to execute some comparatively trivial adjustments, by which, however, as foreseen by the intellectual faculty, these physical forces are effectually directed into the required channels, and either made to perform the work which man desires or to cease to antagonize existing friendly forces, or even to do both these things at once, being thus converted from hostile to auxiliary influences. Such results are often accomplished with the greatest ease after the mode of doing them has been once learned, and there seems to be no necessary limit to the extent to which they may be carried. But, simple as many inventions may appear, let it not be forgotten that the very simplest require reason acting upon a certain correct acquaintance with the laws of natural phenomena.

The practical result of this exercise of intellectual effort is to render the subsequent muscular effort small in proportion to the result produced. There is no fixed ratio between cause and effect under the operation of the indirect method; it may have any value, from that which the mere momentum of a club or a stone offers over the naked hand in a combat, to that which the blowing up of Hell Gate represents as contrasted with the gentle movement of a child who applies the fuse.

All objects on the surface of the earth, though supposed to consist of molecules which are moving among themselves, and though known to be undergoing secular changes, and destined to manifest, sooner or later, wholly different forms without human agency, may, nevertheless, so far as man's daily dealings with them are concerned, be regarded as in a state of repose or inertia. The forces of gravitation and chemical reaction have reduced them to a state of equilibrium. Though differing immensely in properties, in form, size, consistency, etc., they are most of them in so far tangible that they allow their relations to be changed at the hands of man. In short, they neither escape him nor resist him, nor refuse to be subdivided, modified in form, or transported in space. Before the active efforts of man, the objects of nature are wholly passive. The condition which they have naturally assumed is the

statical one. The free forces of nature have already played upon them in antecedent dynamic states until they have at last been reduced to their present state. This is the one in which they are capable of producing their minimum effect upon surrounding objects. While their matter has been integrated, their motion has been dissipated until the matter and force of the universe, at least of the part of it which man occupies, have, as it were, become divorced, and exist and manifest themselves independently; at least, such is the apparent, and, so far as human action is concerned, the practical, condition.

Now it would be reasonable to suppose that, since natural objects have been constantly borne down until they have been brought to assume the greatest degree of stability of which they are capable in the existing condition of the universe, any attempt to disturb that condition must remove them more or less from that stable state, and render them less inert and less indifferent to the influence of the free forces still playing upon them. Such is, in fact, the case, and it is an indisputable truth that the great results achieved by man in operating upon the material objects of the earth have consisted in removing these objects from the still folds of material death in which he has found them, and in so placing them that the surrounding influences which originally consigned them to this state can again set up changes in them, and, as it were, reanimate them. In scientific phrase, it is by the transfer of material objects from the statical to the dynamical state, from a condition of molar rest to one of molar activity—the conversion of molecular into molar energy—that human civilization has been able to originate and to advance.

But this is a work which mere natural forces, whether mechanical, vital, or social, would never know how to undertake. It is only under the guidance of the intellectual faculty that the first step in this direction can be taken. The means necessary to be employed differ so widely from the ends that intellectual foresight can alone insure their adoption even in the simplest cases. The acts really required are so wholly unlike those which would be required if the end were directly sought that a highly developed rational faculty is demanded in all beings that are capable of performing them. When a being, endowed with desires to be satisfied, is made acquainted with the existence of a desirable object, it is immediately prompted to move, or put forth efforts in the direction of that object. To such a being, another, desiring the same object, that should turn away from it and commence making adjustments in other objects lying about, would, to use the

language of fable, appear extremely stupid. Such action would be declared *unnatural*; in fact, it would be *artificial*. If really adapted to secure the end in view, unattainable by direct effort, it would be a legitimate exercise of true art, involving, as all art involves, an acquaintance with certain laws of nature, which is the essence of science itself.

The one principle common to all forms of art and invention is that of causing natural forces themselves to do the work that man desires to have done. There are, however, many ways in which this principle may operate, in some of which the principle itself is somewhat difficult of detection. On the basis of these differences the modes of invention or the kinds of indirect action admit of a rough classification. The largest groups in this classification are those that concern respectively the *amount* and the *direction* of force. In the former case, friendly forces are intensified and hostile ones diminished. In the latter, neutral forces, or even hostile ones, are turned to beneficial purposes, or the latter are rendered neutral. Where friendly forces are intensified, or any forces made useful or more useful than before, the invention is *positive*. Where hostile forces are either diminished or diverted, the invention is *negative*. To simplify the problem we need consider only positive invention. The principle of *intensification* is exemplified by the lever and fulcrum. As has been well established, this principle extends to embrace the inclined plane, the pulley, and the wheel and axle. This law, therefore, really underlies all strictly mechanical art. The principle of *direction* is well illustrated in the simple art of irrigation, which was practiced by the American aborigines in the Lower Status of Barbarism. The neutral force which was carrying the mountain torrent down to the sea was, by a simple device, made to carry it to the fields of maize. There is a further law of *commutation*, which has been extensively employed, and which may sometimes be brought under one and sometimes under the other of the general divisions above defined. Thus, time is often commuted or converted into force, as in raising a pile-driver, intensity and consequent effect being secured, not by a mechanical principle, but by distribution of force over a greater interval of time. The reverse of this or a negative principle is seen in the phenomena of weights and springs to operate clock-work. Many other subordinate laws might be noted.

We may now take leave of the general subject of the Classification of Phenomena, but before doing so we may profitably present the results thus far reached in the foregoing discussion in a more con-

densed form, to which the reader can readily refer. This object we have endeavored to accomplish in the following synoptical table:

PHENOMENA ARE:

Genetic; physical; unconscious; producing change through infinitesimal increments.	Organic; the result of physical or mechanical forces.	Teleological; psychical; conscious; proceeding from volition and involving purpose.
Inorganic; the result of physical or mechanical forces.	Organic; the result of vital, vegetative or biological forces.	Direct; proceeding according to the Direct Method of Conation.
	Animal; as manifested by creatures below man.	Social; as manifested in human Society. Domain of the Social Forces.
Natural; taking place according to uniform laws which may be known, and due to true natural forces, the effects of which may be foreseen, and the phenomena modified or controlled.		Indirect; proceeding according to the Indirect Method of Conation.
		Artificial; as modified, directed and controlled by the intellectual faculty.

LESTER F. WARD.

A SELF-MADE MAN AND ATHEIST.

BRADLAUGH is an important man, not so much as an author or a thinker as in his actual personality. By the strength of will which is his main characteristic he has achieved miracles, not only for his own career, but for his country and his nation in general, and for his views in particular. Were it only for the sake of the part which he has played for a quarter of a century in the intellectual movement of England, it would be worth while to obtain accurate information about him; but, in addition to this, fortunately for his biographers, Bradlaugh's career has been a singularly interesting one, replete with adventure, variety, and instructive lessons. At this moment the story of his life must be highly interesting to the foreign reader because, during the last year and a half, Bradlaugh has fixed general attention upon himself by his struggle for his seat in Parliament, and for the maintenance of the constitutional rights of election in England.

Bradlaugh beheld the fogs of London for the first time on the 26th of September, 1833, in the suburb of Hoxton; consequently, he is in his forty-ninth year. The narrow circumstances of his father, who, through the greater part of his life, was an ill-paid clerk in an attorney's office, afforded him little opportunity of study. Charles attended only national schools, and, in his eleventh year, when his "education" came to an end, knew not much more than reading, writing and arith-

metic. In all that he has learned since he has been exclusively his own master, and his acquirements have been truly astonishing! As a child, he was very fond of play. His first introduction to politics was reading a work of Cobbett's at ten years old, and his first political action was laying out a half-penny of his very trifling pocket money, after much hesitation and self-questioning, on the purchase of a copy of the "People's Charter." The perusal of this historically-celebrated document, however, made so little impression on the young Bradlaugh that he at once returned to his games.

But he was not allowed to indulge very long in childish amusements; for, in his twelfth year, the task of earning his bread was laid upon him. At first he became errand boy to his father's employer. Two years afterward he was promoted to the post of clerk and cashier in a coal merchant's office. The speeches he heard at the Chartist meetings which he frequented awakened him to the consciousness of his own ignorance, and this consciousness induced him to read and study diligently in his leisure hours. As to religion, he was a constant attendant at church, and so devoutly disposed that he was made a Sunday-school teacher. He might, to all appearance, have developed into a zealous Christian had not the fanaticism of a clergyman given a quite different turn to his life. The Bishop of London was about to hold a confirmation in the parish, and young Bradlaugh's spiritual pastor, a certain Mr. Packer, set him to prepare answers for the presumable questions of the bishop. Obediently, he applied himself to the study of the Thirty-nine Articles and the Gospels. Finding discrepancies, he wrote to Packer, soliciting help in the solution of his difficulties. Instead of giving him the desired explanation, the clergyman dismissed his correspondent from his post as teacher, and warned the parents of the atheistic tendencies of their son. The young tiger had tasted blood. During the three months of his suspension, in the first instance, from the Sunday-school, he refused to go to church, and began to spend his Sundays almost exclusively at popular meetings, where he took part in the religious debates with youthful zeal. At first he defended the orthodox Christian system; later on, he embraced deistic views. Gradually the process of mental evolution compelled him to surrender one point of faith after the other, and, at the close of a public discussion with the free-thinker Savage, he acknowledged himself beaten, and went over definitely to the camp of the free-thinkers. He afterward became also a teetotaler.

By this action he became a thorn in the eye of Mr. Packer, and this

reverend gentleman, in conjunction with Bradlaugh senior, induced Charles's employer to give him three days' notice to quit unless he would recall his views. Too proud to do this, the poor boy preferred to leave his employment and his father's house of his own free will, and to plunge into the vortex of the hard-hearted world. His whole property consisted of the clothes which he had on his body. What was to be done? Fortunately, he had already acquired some reputation as a popular orator in Chartist circles, and he now applied to a Mr. Jones, who, as he knew, shared his views. Although himself poor, Jones granted him hospitality for a week. Then he thought of a coal agency. But, as he was absolutely destitute, and had therefore no means of buying the coal, he was obliged to ask his customers to pay the money in advance, which, naturally, did not suit everybody. Yet he might have been able to carry on business on a small scale had not intolerant denunciators thrown hindrances in his way. His best customer, a good-natured baker's wife, whose orders were worth ten shillings a week to him, refused to have anything more to do with him after she had been informed by an anonymous letter that he was an atheist, and he, when called to account, was too honest to deny it. After the desertion of the baker's wife he was obliged to give up the coal business, and he now attempted an agency for buckskin braces. The benevolent manufacturer gave him a breakfast every morning when he fetched the samples, a supper every evening when he brought them back; as he must evidently have seen that Bradlaugh could hardly sell anything, the goods served him only as a pretext for supporting in a delicate manner a victim of religious intolerance.

During these business experiments the young man lived with the widow of the well-known free-thinker, Richard Carlile. On account of their great poverty, rice formed the chief nourishment of this family; only on the days when the French master, a well-to-do philanthropist came was there meat, which he, under the pretext that he came uninvited to dinner, paid for out of his own purse. In the evenings and on Sundays Charles took a part in public meetings and religious debates; he soon attained such distinction as an orator that he attracted the attention of some eminent free-thinkers, who eulogized him in the organs which represented their opinions, and assisted him in the publication of his first pamphlet, "A Few Words on the Christian Religion" (1850), which was fiercely attacked by the clerical papers. At the same time he studied French, Hebrew and Greek, and with all this found leisure to fall in love with one of Mrs. Carlile's

daughters; but, as he was boyish, shy and awkward, he naturally sighed in vain.

A number of free-thinkers who admired his talents and pitied him for his poverty raised a private subscription for him. This made him ashamed of his dependent position, and he determined to put an end to it at any cost. What most weighed him down was the fact of owing to several friends in all £4 15s., a sum which seemed to him enormous, and which he longed to repay. So he disappeared one morning, without taking leave of any one, and enlisted in a regiment bound for the East Indies. By some mistake, however, he was enrolled in a regiment whose destination was Ireland—the Seventh Dragoons. With the bounty-money which he received as a recruit he paid off all his debts. He was able to enter upon his military career with the consciousness that he had submitted to great privations for the sake of his honest convictions. The fear of a hard destiny was powerless then, as it has been ever since, to induce him to revoke or to deny his principles. He was, even at that time, a foe to hypocrisy. Without regard to the danger which threatened his material existence, he had thrown himself into the arms of free-thinking, and at that period this was done only by men who were irresistibly driven to it by their sense of duty. To swim with this unpopular stream required a heroic self-renunciation, especially in the case of a poor youth who was uncertain of his daily bread.

As a soldier he excited astonishment by his knowledge, his bravery, his principles and his conduct, and won the favor of his comrades, as well as that of his superiors, from the captain to the colonel. He was repeatedly in a position to render valuable services to his regiment. He bore the nickname of "Leaves," in the first place because he was a great reader; in the second because he never indulged in a more exciting beverage than the infusion of tea leaves. As long as he was subjected to severe military discipline—*i. e.*, to drill, riding and sword exercise—he set himself against these exercises, and succeeded imperfectly in them; but when he became clerk of the ordnance-room he turned out to be an accomplished swordsman, rider and marksman; the love of independence was ever one of his most salient qualities. Numerous instances of his courage are recorded. When, at the outset of his military career, his comrades jeered at him for his weakness, the result of privation, he chose to prove to them that he was not afraid to fight, and challenged one of the best boxers. Although he was in violent pain all over the body from the blows he received, he would not

give in, but held out till, to his astonishment, his opponent confessed himself beaten. When a clergyman once asserted in the pulpit that the soldiers present at divine service would certainly not understand his sermon, Bradlaugh wrote him a letter, in which he not only showed that he had perfectly understood the sermon, but pointed out in it numerous inaccurate statements and illogical propositions, whereby he narrowly missed bringing down serious consequences on his head. When a rich landed proprietor had had a gate built, to stop up a right of way from the peasants and the soldiers, the well-informed Bradlaugh denounced this proceeding as illegal, broke down the gate with the coöperation of a number of soldiers and peasants, and, to give the man opportunity of summoning him, wrote on a stone: "Pulled down by Charles Bradlaugh, No. 52, Seventh Dragoons." As the land-owner knew that the private soldier had the law on his side, he did not dare to take proceedings against him. From time to time the captain refused him permission to attend a teetotaler's meeting. In these cases he persisted in attending the meetings, and then gave himself up for punishment; he preferred submitting to this to missing an opportunity of speaking in public assemblies against excess in drinking. He also frequently addressed the men in barracks on this subject. He served nearly three years in Ireland, and did not fail to acquire a thorough knowledge of the condition of the country, out of which sprang a deep sympathy for the suffering sons of Erin. In the year 1853 his father died, and in the same year he inherited from an aunt a small amount, with which he bought himself out of the army, and then, provided with a brilliant testimonial, returned at once to London, to relieve his mother in her struggle for existence. At first he failed to find work, in spite of the most strenuous exertions. In the course of his search for employment he at length applied to Rogers, the solicitor; but he had no clerkship to offer, and Bradlaugh was already turning to go away when Rogers casually remarked: "I am in want of an errand boy; perhaps you could recommend me one." Bradlaugh inquired what the pay was. "Ten shillings a week," answered Rogers. "Then I will take the place myself," said the tall young fellow, more than twenty years of age, without a moment's hesitation. So it was arranged; and, in order to increase his income, he devoted several evenings of the week to keeping the books of a building society.

He was not to act long as errand boy for Rogers. He made such strides in judicial knowledge that after the lapse of nine months his employer handed over to him the management of the whole depart-

ment of common law, and had an office built solely for him. A well-known London barrister and writer has said that Bradlaugh's legal knowledge is so extensive that "even the most distinguished members of the English bar might be proud to possess it." At this time he delivered two or three lectures a week on free thought, and again anonymous accusations were laid against him. But Rogers was too business-like and too liberal to be influenced by them, and he contented himself with requesting Bradlaugh to take care that his Propaganda should bring no damage to the business. Our friend acceded to this request by assuming the pseudonym "Iconoklast," under which for fifteen years, up to 1868, he published all his political and anti-theological writings. Whatever he could save out of his income he devoted to the propagation of his principles; at his own expense he traveled through the provinces to deliver lectures, had placards for the announcement of them printed and posted up; he circulated pamphlets for which, on account of their tendency, no publisher could be found, and when at last he succeeded in finding one he was obliged to pay for printing and all other expenses; even then, as he was not in a position to push on the sale of his publications, he usually lost the whole of the money.

While Bradlaugh was a son of Mars, a number of poor workmen in a London suburb had collected a sum toward building a hall for meetings, lectures, etc. Without consulting a lawyer, they had allowed themselves to be deluded into erecting the building on so-called freehold land without having arranged about the ground-rent with the proprietor. After the completion of the building the man was mean enough to lay claim to it by right of his legal title. The men in their dilemma applied to Bradlaugh, who told them that the law could not help them; they must either remove the house or give it up to the landowner if he insisted upon it; but he advised them to try to settle the matter by compromise. When, however, an offer of £20 a year for ground-rent was rejected, Bradlaugh put himself at the head of a hundred strong workmen, and did what Karloff did in Ivan Turgeniew's "King Lear of the Steppe," when his children turned him out of his house; they carried away the building stone by stone, and divided the materials among them. Thus Bradlaugh snatched the expected booty out of the hands of the crafty landowner. The best of the story is that the man had himself contributed to the subscription in order to encourage the workmen, so that he naturally was a loser by the transaction.

In the year 1854 Bradlaugh married a daughter of the stucco-

worker Hooper, who had been an admirer of his even in the days of his first timid essays as popular orator. In 1855 he first came into conflict with the authorities on the question of right of assembly. A one-sided Sunday trading bill which then lay before Parliament had the indirect tendency to give the richer classes advantages over the poorer. A meeting in Hyde Park was summoned for the 1st of July, to protest against this bill. When the Chief Commissioner of Police refused the use of the Park for the meeting, Bradlaugh, expert in the law, denied the right of prohibition, in defiance of it encouraged his party to hold the meeting, and during its continuance presented a bold and manly resistance to the police. Eventually he procured the official recognition of the right of the people to hold public meetings in the parks, thereby conferring a great boon on the poor, who cannot afford to hire expensive halls, and are therefore driven to the parks for opportunities of expressing their views upon questions of public interest. The royal commission charged with the inquiry into this occurrence thanked the raiser of the question for his valuable evidence. Shortly afterward he began the publication of his commentary on the Pentateuch, under the title, "What is the Bible?" and a series of treatises entitled, "Short Conversations with Free-thinkers." In the year 1857 he left Rogers' office and entered that of the solicitor Harvey. This connexion came to a speedy termination, and involved him in serious pecuniary obligations.

The year 1858 was an important epoch in his life. He was elected president of the London Secularist Society. He became editor of Cooper's free-thinking paper, *The Investigator*, which, however, collapsed in 1859. He also began to hold public debates with the clergy on religious questions, and thus started an endless series of discussions, which stretched over many years, and most of which he has printed. Besides all this, he took a prominent part in two political trial-cases. First he, in conjunction with Leverson, defended the bookseller True-love, a well known free-thinker, who had been arrested for publishing the pamphlet, "Is Tyrannicide Justifiable?" Afterward he came forward in defense of Dr. Simon Bernard, who was accused of being an accomplice in Orsini's attempt upon the life of Napoleon III., and who, as every one knows, was acquitted.

But now his health began to give way. After recovery from an attack of rheumatic fever, he left London and lived in the country during the greater part of 1859-61. He traveled from town to town, lectured everywhere, and founded free-thinking unions wherever it was

feasible. How great were the difficulties thrown in his way, partly by want of money, partly by the intolerance of the authorities, partly by the fanaticism of the Philistine class and the clergy, will best appear if we record a few of his numerous adventures, in some of which even his life was in danger, but which he weathered courageously and energetically. In order to make the most of his limited means he was obliged to travel third-class and by slow trains. During one severe winter he gave a lecture in Edinburgh which was so unprofitable that after settling his modest hotel bill a very trifling sum remained, just enough to pay for a ticket by a cheap train to Bolton, where he was to lecture the following evening. In order to catch the cheap train at Carlisle he had to leave Edinburgh at 5 o'clock in the morning, and thus miss his breakfast. It was bitterly cold, but he kept up his circulation by walking and carrying his own luggage, which also saved him a few pence. Sleepy and hungry, he was glad to find himself in his third-class compartment; but now arose the first hindrance in the shape of a snowdrift, which materially delayed the arrival of the train, so that they missed the corresponding one at Carlisle. In order to reach Bolton in time Bradlaugh was compelled to take the express to Preston; after paying for the ticket he had only 4½d. left; and, as this sum was insufficient for a breakfast at the station, he bought a cup of tea and a sandwich in a shop—that was all his food for that day. On his arrival at Preston he had no money left for the train which he was to have taken there; still, he would have travelled by it some way or other had it not turned out that the train was already gone. As he had no ticket for Bolton he could not expect the station-master to put on an extra train for him. Fortunately he had on the journey made the acquaintance of an old gentleman who had a ticket for Bolton. He borrowed this, went to the superintendent, and placed before him, in a lawyer-like manner, the ill consequences to the company of failing to carry out their engagements with the traveling public. With much difficulty he actually succeeded in having the passengers sent on; but, as he had to return the ticket to the old gentleman, he failed to satisfy the conductor, and the latter found that this noisy fellow had no right to travel by the train, as he possessed neither money nor ticket. The cunning passenger declared that he had only acted in the interests of the old gentleman, and offered to pledge part of his luggage for the fare, to which the guard fortunately consented. As the lecture was announced for 8 o'clock in the evening, and the train did not arrive till 7.45, Bradlaugh was

obliged to make short work of washing and dressing, and to appear half frozen and starving in the lecture-room, a dusty old Unitarian chapel, poorly lighted and comfortless. The evening ended in an amusing manner. At the close of the lecture an opponent rose spoke of "well-paid agitators," and twitted him with the "easy, profitable" life he led; the accused proved his innocence by relating the day's adventures, and thus showing the injustice of the charge.

In October, 1860, Bradlaugh attempted, for the first time, to introduce his ideas at Wigan. The local clergy were beside themselves when they heard that he had engaged a hall and intended to lecture two evenings on the Bible. They instantly hired the largest hall in the town, and announced for the same evenings lectures on the same subject, with free admission. Contrary to Bradlaugh's expectation, a large audience attended his first lecture, though it was evident that far more opponents than followers were present; however, the evening passed without any serious disturbance. It was otherwise the second evening. The hall was crowded to the utmost, and outside the door stood thousands who could not obtain entrance, and poured out abusive epithets upon Bradlaugh. When he appeared a chorus of howling and whistling was raised, which, however, did not prevent his beginning his lecture, while the window-panes were smashed and the doors were belabored with feet and hands. When the noise became unbearable he went to the principal entrance, and found that the leader of the riot was an Anglican clergyman, who, notwithstanding the crowded condition of the hall, insisted upon being admitted. For peace sake he consented; but, while the door was being shut, he received a violent thrust in the ribs, which much impeded the continuance of his lecture. Now people climbed in at the windows; others threw lime into the hall, or clambered upon the roof and poured water down. When a hand, swinging a dirty rag, appeared in the middle of the ceiling, one of the audience jumped up and cried out, in wild excitement, that the devil had come to carry away Bradlaugh. At the close of the lecture a scene of confusion arose, in which he was violently handled by several individuals. As he left the hall a respectably-dressed man dashed at him menacingly, and cried: "Don't you expect that God will strike you dead? And do you not deserve to be chastised by the people for your blasphemy?" After these words two persons spat in the face of the Atheist. It may easily be supposed that it was a work of difficulty to make his way through the ill-disposed mob, consisting

partly of members of the better classes, and reach the railway station; he would not return to the hotel for fear of giving occasion for fresh uproar. But at the station he discovered that he had left all his money at the hotel, so that he was obliged to practice all sorts of neck-breaking manœuvres to escape the crowd. The landlady warned him off the premises, and remained inexorable to all his appeals to the sacred duty of hospitality. Then he altered his tone, insisted upon his legal rights, mounted the steps, threatened punishment to every disturber of the peace, shut the door, and went to bed unmolested. In the next number of his paper he entered a powerful circumstantial protest, saying, among other things: "My views may perhaps be erroneous; but I have no inclination to become a martyr, and no orthodox mob shall convince me of my errors by howling and roaring under the leadership of a raging curate. In the nineteenth century it should not be permitted that a bigoted priest should hound on an innkeeper to 'turn that devil out into the streets' at half-past 10 at night. These occurrences, even should they be repeated, will not hinder me from delivering my lectures there."

This produced its effect; the next time all passed much more quietly, and in process of time Bradlaugh became a welcome visitor at Wigan, where a strong party of free-thinkers had been formed. The second time the mayor threatened to prohibit the lectures; but he thought better of it. After the end of the first lecture the mob treated Bradlaugh so roughly that he turned round and challenged two of the strongest men among them to come forward and fight it out with him. This courage quieted the people. The second evening he was pelted with stones and kicked; he turned round again, and the crowd fell back before his threats.

His first lectures at Huddersfield, Dumfries and Burnley were attended with real danger to life. Nothing daunted him. When it was seen that stone-throwing and blows were of no effect they tried to frighten him with lawsuits and arrests; that succeeded no better. In Guernsey his disciple Bendall was condemned to pay a fine of £20 for having disseminated some of Bradlaugh's pamphlets. Our hero, who regarded this sentence as utterly unjustifiable, determined himself to repeat the crime of Bendall, and shortly after set sail for the island, where some days before he had circulars distributed, which were addressed "to the procureur, the clergy, and the public," containing the announcement of two lectures on the Bible, and calling on the authorities to lay aside the weapon of an ignorant past—persecution—

and to employ in defense of religion better and more powerful weapons—discussion, thought, argument. It was proposed to receive Bradlaugh on his arrival with a shower of rotten eggs—a pious lady had contributed handsomely to the purchase of them—but he managed to escape the honor designed for him. The owner of the hall which had been engaged for his lectures refused to give it for the purpose, and another room had to be hired. Then no printer would print placards, and no public crier would cry the announcement of his lectures. By way of precaution Bradlaugh had brought the placards all ready with him from London; still, no bill-sticker would consent to paste them up. Rather amused than vexed, the indomitable man provided himself with brush, paste-pot and ladder, and by moonlight, with the coöperation of Bendall, stuck up the notices himself at the street corners. His next step was to call upon all those who had been concerned in the prosecution of his friend either to prosecute himself for having repeated Bendall's offense or to make honorable amends to the latter. The town was in a state of frightful excitement. Somebody wrote with chalk on the corners of the streets: "Down with the infidel! Away with the infidel!" The announcements were torn off the doors of the lecture hall, and it was proposed to throw the monster into the sea. As no doorkeeper and no cashier were to be thought of, the sale of tickets was an impossibility, and entrance was necessarily free. Contrary to all expectation, the audience in the hall conducted themselves with decorum, but such an uproar raged in the street that Bradlaugh, despite the stentorian power of his voice, could not make himself heard. When at length he was daring enough to venture out alone to quiet the mob, the first sight of his imposing figure was sufficient to put an end to the riot. After the close of his lecture, which was, on the whole, not unfavorably received, he kept his promise by distributing one hundred copies of his treatise, "What Does the Bible Teach?" On the way home the crowd, instigated by some respectably-dressed individuals, shouted, "Death to the infidel!" but not a hand was raised against him. On the day after, the excitement increased, and he was warned that the porters had been plied with liquor and encouraged to assault him. In the course of the afternoon a crowd collected outside the lecture hall, and made their way in while he was speaking, roaring like bulls. Bradlaugh came down from the platform and flung out some of the most drunken with his own hands; this act of daring sufficed to establish order. Later on, however, some endeavored to put out the gaslights; others dashed some of the seats

to pieces ; but Bradlaugh carried his address to a close in spite of all disturbances. On the way home they shouted again, " Throw him into the sea ! Make an end of him !" but his powerful frame inspired them with so much respect that they kept well out of his reach. As, however, the authorities had given leave to a number of soldiers and supplied them with drams that they might join in the riots, things must have gone hard with him sooner or later had he not been protected from all danger by the astuteness of his landlady. When he took ship next day the mob accompanied him with farewell hisses. He had carried his point, however, for the authorities did not venture to institute a prosecution against him. Certainly he had to purchase this satisfaction dearly, for, in addition to his journey and other expenses, he had to make good the damage done in the lecture hall. On the other hand, this visit led to the founding of a free-thinking party on the island, which has since become very considerable.

When Bradlaugh announced a lecture at Plymouth, the local Young Men's Christian Association secured his prosecution. But they were in too great a hurry ; he was arrested before he had proceeded further than " My friends, I am going to give you a lecture on the Bible." The magistrates refused to take bail, and he was kept all night in the lock-up. Of course it was proved that the arrest was a blunder ; but, in order to lay hold of him somehow, he was charged with having assaulted the police, and was kept in prison. A few fanatical witnesses for the prosecution swore to the truth of the charge, but a cross-examination to which he subjected them for two days proved that it was false. He defended himself against seven hostilely-disposed justices of the peace and two antagonistic barristers. When the witnesses for the defense were rejected because, as free-thinkers, they could not take the oath, a few dissenters, indignant at the fanaticism and perjury of the witnesses for the prosecution, came forward to testify on the side of truth. Bradlaugh was acquitted, and threatened to deliver his lecture in defiance of the prohibition of the magistrates, and to charge the superintendent of police with imprisonment on false pretenses. He failed to procure a suitable room, and, as all the public places which would have answered his purpose were under military regulations, an open-air meeting was equally impossible. But his strategy was equal to the occasion. Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse are three sister towns, separated from one another by the river Tamar ; but the river is under the jurisdiction of Saltash, a place some miles distant. Bradlaugh hired a large boat, which he anchored nine

feet from the shore, and on which he had a temporary platform raised. Then he announced by placards that he would, after obtaining legal advice, deliver his lecture the following Sunday, "near the Devonport Park gates." The authorities made due preparations, and, as they had acted too hastily before, they determined to let the obnoxious man make some way with his lecture before arresting him. To their horror he went past the park gates, where the crowd had assembled, proceeded to the river bank, got into a boat, and had himself rowed to his improvised platform, from which he delivered his address. Here he was out of the power of his lurking enemies, who found themselves on their own territory, and were able to hear him, without having a right to arrest him or call him to account. Thus he outwitted the mayor, who was prepared to read the Riot act, and the superintendent of police, who had appeared with twenty-eight constables and a detachment of the military. As the magistrates refused to give him compensation for unjust imprisonment, he, according to his threat, prosecuted the superintendent of police, and gained his cause; but the prejudiced jury gave him only the nominal damages of one farthing, although he proved, in addition to the loss of freedom, a direct money loss of £7 15s. This iniquitous sentence roused the indignation of a considerable portion of the press, as showing that the jury had allowed themselves to be influenced by religious party spirit in the decision of a case of civil right. As, however, he was not allowed costs, this adventure cost him enormous expense—about £900.

We have intentionally lingered over Bradlaugh's experiences as a lecturer because they are eminently illustrative of his character and of the difficulties that have beset his career. We will now take up the thread of our biographical narrative. In the year 1860 Bradlaugh started the *National Reformer*, an organ of free thought, the capital for which was supplied by friendly free-thinkers. Joseph Barker, who had told him that he was an Atheist and a Republican, was joint-editor with him, but he soon began, in his half of the paper, to attack the contents and the staff of the half which Bradlaugh conducted, so that he was dismissed from the editorship, which Bradlaugh then undertook single-handed. As a matter of course, this organ facilitated considerably the work of the Secularist Propaganda. Various lawsuits had brought Bradlaugh into close connection with the solicitor Leverson, Bernard's defender, whose office he now entered by Leverson's desire. He remained in it two years, during which time he continued the editorship of the *Reformer*, but, from want of leisure, was obliged to

limit his provincial lectures to Sundays. After his separation from Leverton, in 1863, he founded an Italian company for the manufacture of steel and chemicals, which, for the three or four years of its duration, claimed a large share of his time—he opened an office in the city—and which took him repeatedly to Italy; as it did not pay, it was broken up in 1869. As he was too much occupied, he intrusted the editing of the *Reformer* for three years to his friend John Watts, and did not take it up again till the death of the latter, in the summer of 1866. The undertaking had at first been very lucrative, then it declined considerably, but now began to look up again under his management.

Two of his most important achievements belong to the years 1868 and 1869. It is to his indomitable courage and his wonderful perseverance that the English press is indebted for the shaking off of its last shackles. There was a law according to which every newspaper had to pay a deposit of £800 as a guarantee that it should contain no atheistic or blasphemous articles, but the English government had for a long time neglected to carry out this exaction very strictly, so that many radical papers had never paid the caution money. The *Reformer* also had been left in peace for eight years, when Bradlaugh was at last called upon to yield obedience to this law. He determined to bring about the repeal of the illiberal act, and therefore refused to deposit a sum which, considering the tendencies of the *National Reformer*, must have very soon been forfeited, and would then have to be renewed. The government then ordered him to discontinue the paper, whereupon he wrote at the head of it, "Printed in defiance of the Government." The Treasury now sued him for the legal penalties, which, if we are not mistaken, amounted to some £1,500,000 or £2,000,000, but the editor, learned in the law, laid so many traps for his adversaries that the claim fell to the ground. • After the fall of D'Israeli's ministry the Gladstone cabinet took the matter up again, but the result was so unfavorable that the Government, by an act of Parliament, struck out the obsolete clause from the law regulating the press. Equally marked was his successful action in the interest of the question of the oath. Formerly the evidence of free-thinkers was rejected in courts of justice, and Bradlaugh lost a civil lawsuit, in which he was plaintiff, because he refused to take the oath. All former attempts to bring about a modification of the existing laws had signally failed; but Bradlaugh was not easily to be put down; he fought his way through the trial, and did not rest till Parliament had swept away this

disability and made it legal for atheistic witnesses to substitute a declaration for the oath.

These and other triumphs of a similar character raised Bradlaugh to great fame, but weighted him with an enormous burden of debt. In order to pay off the debts arising out of the many lawsuits he had been engaged in, he felt bound to sacrifice the greater part of his income and to live in a very frugal manner. His wife, on account of her health, retired to her parents' house in the country; he sent his two daughters to a boarding-school, gave up his house and migrated to the East End, where he occupied two poorly-furnished rooms, for which he paid fifteen shillings a month. The furniture, as may be supposed, was very scanty, but his books took up almost the whole available space; if he had to renounce the society of his family, he replaced it by that of books. He studied and wrote most diligently, constantly defended practically the right of public assembly against the authorities, and delivered a countless number of lectures in all parts of the country. Although he had an income of nearly £1,000 a year, he lived as economically as if he were a struggler on the brink of starvation. He had only three objects in view: to work, to propagate his ideas, and to discharge the obligations which he incurred in the interest of his ideas; all things else were secondary considerations. He remained five or six years in his East End abode; nor did he leave it till Henry John Blackmore-Turverville—brother to the distinguished novelist, R. D. Blackmore—bequeathed to him almost the whole of his large fortune, "As a slight token of my intense admiration for that really noble son of the human race, who is magnanimous enough to content himself with poverty for the sake of truth, and who, for the good of others, manifests such admirable self-respect, though by becoming moody and sanctified he might at once become rich and attain the highest so-called honours." This will was disputed, and Bradlaugh was involved in a series of lawsuits, but finally the parties came to an arrangement, according to which he satisfied himself with £2,500. This addition to his income enabled him to pay off his most urgent debts and to arrange with his creditors for the rest. He was elected president of the National Secularist Society, and established his headquarters in the northwest of London, where he lives with his daughters, who have received a scientific education, hold professorships in Natural Science, and are enthusiastic coöoperators in the *National Reformer*; his wife died about six years ago.

During the conflict between the Parisian Commune and the Ver-

sailles Government he undertook to act as mediator between them; but hardly had he arrived at Boulogne when, by command of the cabinet, he was compelled to leave the country. When he attempted to visit Paris, some months after the suppression of the Commune, he was arrested at Calais and not released for two days; it appears that the Government had forgotten to revoke Jules Favre's April mandate, "Bradlaugh must on no account be permitted to come to Paris." Since that time he has constantly gone there without let or hindrance. Two years later he was sent to Madrid by the great Birmingham Assembly of English Republicans, to convey their congratulations to the Spanish Republic. After a very adventurous journey through the scene of the Carlist war, among other things, he was plundered by the Carlists, and averted greater mischief only by giving up the suspicious-looking Birmingham congratulatory address to the plunderers in exchange for his passport. He found an honorable enthusiastic reception in the capital, after which he never again ventured among the Carlists, but was obliged to return by way of Portugal and in a transport ship. Morrison Davidson says: "He was perhaps the first Englishman who foresaw the return of the Alphonso dynasty."

In order to clear off his debts he accepted one of the offers made to him by one of the various agents to deliver lectures in the United States of America, and for that purpose crossed the Atlantic Ocean three times in 1873-75. Even the custom-house officers at New York did him homage by refusing to examine his luggage, notwithstanding the stringency of their regulations. He was received with honor everywhere, and introduced to the most eminent men in the intellectual world. At Boston Charles Sumner, Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips presided at his first lecture. His receipts were considerable; still, he was pursued by ill luck. The first time it took the form of a railway accident; then he had so severe a fall that he was for a long time confined to his room; afterward he suffered loss by the sudden death of his impresario; besides all this, he incurred heavy fines by cutting short his lecture tour to return to England in consequence of the sudden dissolution of Parliament; notwithstanding all these drawbacks, he was able to pay £1,000 more of his debts. On his second visit he had various disagreeable adventures in the shape of three railway accidents and two tremendous snowstorms; still, his receipts were considerable. His third tour had to be given up in advance, subject to the payment of a large sum for indemnification, because he had a dangerous attack of pleurisy.

Shortly afterward, in the interest of the freedom of the press, he plunged into one of the fiercest and most protracted struggles which he had ever had to fight out. Charles Watts, the publisher of the *National Reformer*, was by chance in possession of the stereotype plates of a Malthusian pamphlet which had appeared some forty years before in America—"Fruits of Philosophy," by Dr. Charles Knowlton—and published a new edition of it, without reading it. Another accident brought about the prosecution in the law courts of the pamphlet which had so long lain in obscurity. Now, Bradlaugh had a poor opinion of this work on account of its style; but, as soon as he heard that it was prohibited, his indignation rose against this infringement of the freedom of thought and of the press; for the pamphlet treated in the most serious manner of a subject very delicate, certainly, but of economic and scientific importance. The publisher pleaded guilty, to escape the penalty of the law, and desisted from the circulation of the condemned book. This annoyed Bradlaugh and the well-known free-thinker, Mrs. Besant—the separated wife of a clergyman, who is now joint-editor of the *Reformer*—because Watts thus indirectly admitted that he, the publisher of the *Reformer* and of Bradlaugh's and Mrs. Besant's works, published also obscene things. Another consideration was that, if the suppression of Knowlton's pamphlet was quietly allowed to pass, a whole series of other far better works might share the same fate. The two allies determined, therefore, to take up the thing energetically. With this object they set up on their own account a publishing business, combined with printing, under the name of "Free-thinkers' Publishing Firm," and their first step was to prepare a new edition of the objectionable book. In order to show their colors they informed the competent authorities beforehand of their intention, and of the hour when the issue was to take place. The police were thus the first purchasers, as they seized a large portion of the impression. The new publishers were arrested, and, after a long trial, condemned to six months' imprisonment and a fine of £200, not on account of the contents of the work—for the jury acquitted them of all evil intention, and admitted that the contents and language of the pamphlet were quite permissible—but for their pertinacity in repeating the action for which Watts had been condemned. But Bradlaugh did not submit tamely; he convicted all the tribunals, barristers, all who had taken active share in his prosecution, of blunders and flaws in argument, and, thanks to his tenacity and his unparalleled mastery of jurisprudence, he succeeded in obtaining the acquittal of

himself and his partner, and recovering the confiscated copies. In order to show that they did not act with a view to profit, they now ceased to push on the sale of the "Fruits of Philosophy," and the advertisements were discontinued.

In the midst of all his occupations Bradlaugh found time repeatedly to offer himself as candidate for the representation of Northampton. In the years 1868, 1874 and 1875 he was rejected, and no wonder, for almost the whole of the public press was ranged in opposition to him, and calumnies of the basest kind, some of them really comic, were scattered broadcast against him. He had challenged royalty, aristocracy, the clergy, and the influential clique of the publicans, in the interests of republicanism, atheism, temperance and improvement of the condition of the poor. Yet he obtained almost 1,100 votes the first time; the second time, though he was not at home, but in America, 1,653 (only 657 fewer than the elected candidate); the third time, 1,766 votes—*i. e.*, only 405 less than his successful rival. After D'Israeli's dissolution of Parliament in the spring of 1880 he once more courted the favor of the electors of Northampton, and won the contest in spite of the most virulent counter-efforts on the part of his enemies.

After this long-desired success his opinions began to raise more difficulties than ever in his way. He was not allowed long to enjoy his triumph. It involved him in a struggle which is not yet fought out, in which not only religious and intellectual freedom, but also a most important constitutional principle, is at stake; in its efforts to suppress the former the majority of the members of the English House of Commons has infringed the latter—the principle—and Bradlaugh was not and is not the man to stand that. Had things taken their wonted course Bradlaugh, after the opening of Parliament, would have presented himself at the table of the House to take the prescribed oath. But he maintained, on the ground of the Parliamentary Oaths bill of 1868, that he was justified in substituting an affirmation for the oath, and therefore approached the proper official with the request that this might be allowed to him. He would rather avoid the oath, and wrote on the subject to the *Times*: "Whereas, the oath contains words which to me are empty and meaningless, they have been and are still regarded by a great number of my fellow-countrymen as an appeal to the Deity to take cognizance of their oath. It would be hypocrisy on my part to choose of my own free will the form of an oath so long as I believe that another is open to me, or to take the

oath without protest, so that it might appear to have in my mouth the significance of such an appeal." Upon this the High Tory John Bull organ, *Saturday Review*, remarked: " * * * It is well known that many members of the present and previous Parliaments hold the same views as Mr. Bradlaugh; the formula ('So help me God!') is an empty form to them. But they have had the good sense or the good taste to abstain from trumpeting abroad their infidelity." What are we to say to this open defense of hypocrisy and covert condemnation of those who are honest enough to have the courage of their convictions?

The House appointed a committee to consider Bradlaugh's demand, which was thrown out by a majority of one voice. When he saw that the alternative of evading the oath no longer lay open to him, he declared himself willing to take it, according to custom. He cannot be charged with inconsistency, for he had never directly refused to swear; only, as we have said, he would gladly have avoided taking the oath. He had never asserted that the *oath* was meaningless to him; he had only said that it was not more binding to him than a simple affirmation; he regarded the *form* only as empty, while he held the *essence* to be binding. In reference to this he said in the House: "The oath will be absolutely binding for my honor and my conscience. Although I esteem very highly the honor of sitting in this place, I would utter no kind of oath or affirmation the essence of which I did not hold to be absolutely binding." Sir Henry Drummond Wolff moved that Bradlaugh should not be permitted to swear; but, upon Gladstone's motion, the question was referred to another committee, which came to the conclusion that, according to their judgment, the substitution of an affirmation for the oath was inadmissible in the present instance; but that, from considerations of expediency, they advised that Bradlaugh should be allowed to affirm on his own responsibility; it would still be open to any member to contest the legality of the affirmation in a court of justice. Instead of adopting this suggestion, a majority of the House voted for the amendment proposed by an ultra-Tory that Bradlaugh should neither be allowed to take the oath nor to make the solemn affirmation. The excitement in the House was tremendous, but it rose still higher a few days after when, in defiance of this decision of Parliament, the persecuted man presented himself to tender the oath and take his seat. The House, through the mouth of the Speaker, admonished him to withdraw. He "respectfully refused," on the plea that "the order of the House was illegal," whereupon he was handed over to

the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and committed to the Clock Tower. When he was released the next day he threatened to present himself again. This threat, combined with the numerous petitions and the resolutions constantly arriving by telegraph of the indignation meetings held all over the country, induced the Prime Minister to take action in the case. He accordingly moved in the House that the suggestion of the second committee be adopted. After a debate extending over several days, the House, on the 2d of July, 1880, passed this resolution: "Every person elected member of this House who considers himself justified in making a solemn affirmation, in lieu of the customary oath, shall be at liberty to make and subscribe a solemn affirmation in the form prescribed by the * * * act."

In consequence of this, Bradlaugh affirmed and took his seat; the latter action he repeated at the opening of the following session (1881). But a reactionary member of Parliament, through the medium of an obscure shopkeeper, put the question to the test of law, and the court decided against Bradlaugh's right to substitute an affirmation for the oath. The words of the act of 1866 are as follows: "Any one who sits in the House and votes, without having sworn and subscribed the prescribed oath, is liable to a fine of £500 sterling;" and, further, that the denial of the above-said claim by a law court cancels the election. Consequently a new writ had to be issued for Northampton. The electors of that borough, however, incensed by the infraction of their political rights, as well as by the indirect assumption of the paternal government of their souls by a prejudiced majority of the lower House, naturally maintained their privilege of reelecting Bradlaugh. Bigoted fanatics used the wildest exertions to hinder this. On the other hand, on occasion of the writ for a new election, many influential persons and newspapers hitherto opposed to Bradlaugh, and still quite hostile to his opinions, could not forbear recognizing the justice of his cause in the present instance, admitting his good qualities, as well as the moderate, quiet dignity and loyalty of his bearing in the House, before the two committees and the electors, and resenting the wrong done to him by putting his case to legal proof. During the brief period of his active participation in the office of representing the nation he had by no means shown himself to be "the wild, self-seeking demagogue" which some persecutionists would gladly have proclaimed him! He was reelected, as we have said, and promised as soon as possible to bring forward a bill which should authorize every member

to take his choice between an affirmation and the oath. On the 26th of April (1881) he presented himself at the table of the House, handed over to the competent official his polling register, and took from him in exchange the Bible, to tender the prescribed oath as a newly-elected member, when suddenly Sir Stafford Northcote, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Beaconsfield, rose to protest against the taking of the oath by the representative of Northampton. Instead of maintaining the law and rejecting this interruption as out of order, the Speaker observed: "If I am not mistaken, the member from North Devon proposes to make a motion on a question of form. Before the honorable baronet does so, I think it right to state that the member for Northampton has been introduced and has now come to the table of the House to tender the oath prescribed by law in the customary form. He is ready to submit to every requirement of the law in order to take his seat. Under ordinary circumstances, no doubt, so regular a proceeding ought not to be interrupted; but in consideration of a former resolution of the House, and in deference to the report of the committee on this question, I cannot refuse the House the right to pronounce its judgment on the new circumstances under which the oath is now to be administered." Sir Stafford Northcote consequently moved: "In accordance with a resolution of the House, of the 23d of June, 1880, Bradlaugh may not be allowed to take the oath." This motion was carried by a majority of 208 to 175, so that Bradlaugh now was neither free to affirm or to swear; therefore, was disabled from exercising his political rights and duties. With perfect right he declared this vote of the House to be as illegal as the interruption which elicited it, and insisted on being allowed to take the oath. Upon this he was directed to withdraw, which he refused to do, and the sitting was adjourned. The following day he presented himself again, and was again ordered to withdraw, which he did upon the understanding that the Government would very shortly introduce a new Parliamentary Oaths bill.

The Speaker of the House of Commons incurred a heavy responsibility by permitting Sir Stafford Northcote to interfere with Bradlaugh's taking the oath. From this blunder proceeded all the subsequent perplexities of the House, of which we shall speak presently. As the mode of procedure, by his own acknowledgment, was not contrary to law, and consequently Bradlaugh was not guilty of any illegal action, the Speaker had no right to consent to the interruption. Although he admitted that Bradlaugh was entitled to take the oath, yet, by a

misconception of his rights and duties, he made himself the tool of a tyrannical majority, whereas his duty would have been to remain dispassionately the organ of the whole House.

The misconduct of the House must be coupled with that of the Speaker. It had no right whatever to vote against Bradlaugh's taking the oath. It has no kind of statutory right to vote in such a case. On this point experts in constitutional questions, even those on the opposite side, are at one with Bradlaugh. The House is not competent before the law to decide upon the right of its duly elected members to swear; it is, in fact, no judicial authority empowered to receive the oath. With perfect accuracy Gladstone declared, in the sitting of June 22, 1880: "Before the law, and in a constitutional sense, the House has no jurisdiction whatever." With regard to the swearing-in of its members it holds only a subordinate, indirect position. Formerly the Parliamentary oath was not in the hands of an official of the House, but in those of the "High Steward," a dignitary appointed by the royal executive; frequently the House was not even assembled in formal sitting during the administration of the oath, and no act passed in these last centuries has conveyed to the House the authority of controlling the swearing-in.

Twist the matter as we may, we cannot resist the conviction that a severe shock has been given to the constitution by a factious combination of men chiefly influenced by religious or personal antipathies. Bradlaugh has thus, by a mere accident, whose far-reaching consequences nobody could foresee, been caught in a kind of constitutional trap. He owes this position, by no fault of his own, to his conscientious and rational estimate of the nature of the oath, as well as to the circumstance that the substitution of an affirmation for the oath appeared to be admissible; such authorities as the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General pronounced it to be admissible, and the House itself admitted the possibility of its legality by the resolution of July 2, 1880. But, even if we suppose the case that the House were actually entitled to legislate upon the swearing-in of its members, still there arises the question whether the grounds upon which Bradlaugh's swearing-in was quashed are legally tenable. To this also we must answer in the negative, for no law says that atheists, duly elected, are disqualified for taking the oath. That Bradlaugh had previously affirmed does not touch the question logically or juridically. But, say the adversaries, it would be a moral offense for him to swear himself in. To that we answer that this standpoint is

an utterly false one, for the assumption that a man may not swear because he has declared that an oath does not bind him more than an affirmation would only lead to this result: that atheistic members of Parliament would in future suppress their opinions and take the oath without burdening themselves with the frank honesty of Bradlaugh; and would not that be a far greater profanation of the oath than that which was declared to be such by the fanatics of Parliament with regard to Bradlaugh's uprightness? And, if these fanatics would not allow the swearing-in to take place that the oath might not be profaned, why have they not furthered the introduction of the new clause permitting an affirmation, which would once for all have made an end of the profaning of the oath by atheists, instead of throwing all possible hindrances in its way? And why have they prosecuted him for affirming, instead of "profaning," the oath, thereby forcing him to volunteer the dreaded "profanation?" The truth is that his exclusion is solely the outcome of the bigoted prejudices of his enemies.

When Bradlaugh saw that there was no chance of the House coming to a decision on the Parliamentary Oaths bill he presented himself once more at the table of the House, on the 10th of May, and announced that he was there to take the oath. A resolution was then carried: "That the Sergeant-at-Arms do remove Mr. Bradlaugh from the House until he shall engage not further to disturb its proceedings." After this he was forcibly removed from the House. The next day he addressed a letter to the Speaker, in which he condemned the conduct of the House as illegal and unprecedented, and protested against it, and on the 14th of July, after the Government had *ex-officio* declared that the Parliamentary Oaths bill would *not* be proceeded with that session, he announced to the Speaker, and all the officials of the House of Commons, in writing, his intention of presenting himself again, on the 3d of August, to take the oath. "Should force be used against me," added he, "it would be an illegal proceeding, a disturbance of the peace, an infraction of the rights of the electors and of parliamentary usage. * * * If I should be hindered by physical violence from complying with the requirements of the law, I would, in defense of my legal rights, offer resistance to illegal force, and endeavor to overcome it." Meanwhile, he held a great number of meetings in all parts of London, explained his situation, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm. Besides this, five hundred public meetings took place at which he was not present—on one single evening not fewer than one hundred and forty—and

many of them were called by religious bodies who were right-minded enough to separate the principle from the person. If Bradlaugh, after his first election, by seeking to avoid the oath, had done a great and thankworthy service to the cause of religious freedom—at the risk of offending the ideas of “good sense and good taste” held by the *Saturday Review*—public opinion now acknowledged that, by insisting on his constitutional right to swear himself in and take his seat in Parliament, he had shown himself a defender of political freedom of election against the rash and ill-considered attempt of Parliament to override the privileges of electors. He said that he would not rest till the resolution excluding him from the House was erased from their rolls, as was done in the last century in the case of the resolution excluding John Wilkes, which was canceled thirteen years after, with the comment: “Because it contravened the rights of the whole body of electors of the kingdom.”

Bradlaugh kept his word. On the 3d of August he appeared again in the Palace of Westminster. His partner in the representation of Northampton, Labouchère, moved for the withdrawal of the obnoxious resolution, and there were great hopes that the motion would be carried; but it was not, and a violent struggle ensued between Bradlaugh and some dozen and a half messengers and policemen, who pushed him out of the precincts of the Houses of Parliament, and treated him so roughly that he was confined to his room for several weeks by erysipelas in the arm.

Why would not Bradlaugh content himself with fighting out his cause by word of mouth and pen? Why attempt to take possession of his seat by violence? Apparently because word and pen are less powerful than the sensation which physical strength creates. Apparently he aims at hastening, by physical intervention, the settlement of the disputed questions. And he has succeeded. After the unseemly and absolutely unprecedented transactions of the 3d of August the excitement of public opinion rose so high that the First Lord of the Treasury, who all along was in favor of the admittance of Bradlaugh, only a few days afterward answered a question put to him on the subject by saying that, in case the expelled member “presented himself again next session to take the oath, Government would deem it their duty to bring the question under discussion, how the contest is to be ended.”

What will be done? Something must be done. Bradlaugh’s election cannot be said to have fallen into abeyance, for he has not yet

taken his seat, and is ready and willing to conform to all the requirements of the law. And, even though a new writ should be issued, the difficulty would remain the same, because the man would indubitably be re-elected. On the other hand, it cannot be expected that the electors of the second ward of Northampton will consent to remain unrepresented in Parliament, after having duly elected a duly qualified member. There is, we think, only one way of escape from this dilemma: to admit Bradlaugh. As the two resolutions excluding him were only "sessional,"—*i. e.*, only availing for the last session, and being no longer valid at the opening of the next, 1882—one of two things may be done. Either the speech from the throne will *not* contain the announcement of a Parliamentary Oaths' bill, and they will allow Bradlaugh to take the oath unhindered, if he present himself again with that object; such a proceeding would let the thing disappear in the sand; try to spread the veil of oblivion over it, and this would be a regretable half measure, which would leave a *raw* that might at any time be reopened if the House chose to move arbitrarily against other members; still, we believe that Bradlaugh would not rest till he had carried through a modification of the existing Parliamentary Oaths' acts in behalf of free-thinkers. Or, and this we take to be more probable, the Government will bring in a Parliamentary Oaths' bill, in which either the swearing-in of members of Parliament will be altogether done away with, and a solemn affirmation will be substituted, or at least it will be left to the option of members, in the spirit of the decision of the lower House on July 2d, 1880, to choose between oath and affirmation. Then the possibility of any one's being excluded from Parliament on religious grounds will cease altogether, and duly elected members will be no more prevented from simply pledging their honor and their conscience than witnesses in a court of justice. Had such a course been adopted with regard to Bradlaugh's affirmation, instead of the blind policy of arraigning him, the matter would have been disposed of; a precedent would have been established which would have solved the question decisively and satisfactorily. But, as things now stand, it can hardly be doubted that, if not immediately, in a longer or a shorter time, we shall witness the sweeping away of the last obligatory religious test which yet lingers in England. Then the efforts of the enemies of Bradlaugh will have been futile, for, thanks to their fanaticism, his own energy and the justice of his cause, he will enter by right the House from which they attempted to thrust him out.

All success to our hero in this struggle for freedom of thought and of election, all the more that, as Morrison Davidson, who by no means shares his theological views, remarks as impartially as correctly, "he is just at this moment a pressing necessity for the House of Commons; for that body is suffering from a sickness which is worse than paralysis. If any one can animate the corpse it is he, for violent sickness requires drastic remedies. Besides, I hold it to be my duty to confess that to my knowledge he has never yet struck into a false path in political questions."

Bradlaugh is a powerful orator. His sonorous, stentorian voice, which he knows how to manage with clear articulation and beautiful modulation, as well as his terse, racy style, combined with his laconic, weighty dialectics, always striking the right nail on the head, produce a strong impression, which enables us to understand why this self-taught man exercises so great an influence over the masses that Davidson is enabled to maintain that, "next to Gladstone, no politician in England has such an enormous following as Bradlaugh." The same authority adds: "He is indebted for his large number of adherents chiefly to his boldness, his acumen, his Titanic energy, and his firmness of character. If he is not a real hero, he must be an admirable counterfeit of one. In his way and by his example he has inspired many thousands of the lower classes with revived feelings of self-confidence and hope, and taught them to practice self-help, and to look with horror upon all oppression." Like most atheists, he has the fault, a very harmless one surely, of possessing too much self-consciousness; modesty is not among the number of his virtues. He regards the patience, humility and forbearance of the Founder of Christianity as weaknesses. When Bradlaugh is overworked and his head is full of care he throws all aside and seeks recreation in angling. He is one of the most skillful anglers in England, and has achieved a series of master-strokes such as have never been attained by any other modern devotee of this sport.

For some years he has been President of the National Secular Society, which grew out of the original London Union, and possesses above sixty branch societies, in most cases founded by the personal exertions of Bradlaugh. Even now he carries on public theological debates from time to time. In many discussions he has won over the esteem of his opponents. When once the report was spread that his life was in danger, the first who addressed a hearty letter of condolence to his wife was a clergyman whom he had once met in debate.

Another priest, the well-known Father Ignatius, said in a sermon: "I do not condemn infidels, but rather admire them, for they disseminate their views with more courage and energy than we paltry Christians do ours. Would that Christians would learn something from Bradlaugh! If you were as zealously active for Christianity as Bradlaugh is for Atheism, it would fare differently with our religion in this country!"

As to Bradlaugh's writings, for the most part pamphlets, their name is legion. They fall under the heads Social, Political, Historical and Anti-Theological. In the first category he occupies himself chiefly with the connection between poverty and the population question, in the Malthusian sense; also with the fate of the Irish peasants and the emigration question. His "Hints for Emigrants to America" are generally acknowledged to be the most valuable, unprejudiced and exhaustive works on this important subject. His Biographies of Cromwell and of Washington testify to his statesmanlike insight; but, on the whole, he has not contributed anything very valuable to that branch of literature. The most widely known are his political writings, especially his meritorious crusade against "perpetual State pensions," which are as disgraceful as they are unjustifiable, and heavily burden the British Treasury; also the "Impeachment of the House of Brunswick." The excessively short Autobiography which he published in 1873 is naturally very interesting, but not very satisfactory, on the whole. An imposing row of volumes is filled with accurate reports of his theological discussions and law proceedings. He has devoted many pamphlets to Commentaries on the Bible. His descriptions of the life of David, Jacob and Jonah are highly amusing. Of his contributions to purely Atheistic literature the most striking are: "Is there a God?" "Confession of Faith of an Atheist," "A Plea for Atheism."

Many members of the "better" circles of society hold views identical with or akin to those of Bradlaugh; if, nevertheless, he is constantly attacked and apparently despised by these very circles, it is because, to quote Taine, "he has carried his views out of the drawing-room into the street;" because he has striven to popularize theories the knowledge of which the "higher" classes would fain limit to a select number of the initiated; because he chatters out of school of the modern Eleusinian mysteries. "If it be asked whether, as a propagandist, he acts in good faith, and whether he is true to his convictions, we must answer that, in the various frays of which he has

been the centre, hero, or accessory, he has not always acted with the perfect chivalry of a knight-errant," but that he has always striven bravely and manfully for what he believes to be truth, and it can hardly admit of doubt that he will be rightfully regarded by posterity as one of the most remarkable figures of his time and of his country.

LEOPOLD KATSCHER.

THOMAS HART BENTON.

WHY is it that all things run so much in streaks? It is a curious fact, yet still a fact avouched by universal experience and observation. Philosophers have not thus far explained why it is that diseases, steamboat disasters, railway mishaps, financial failures, marriages, murders, robberies, suicides, arsons—all things, even down to the most trivial concerns of everyday life—run in streaks; why

“—They come not single spies,
But in battalions.”

“It never rains but it pours,” “a feast or a famine,” are old saws expressive of the same truism.

The fact is conspicuous especially, it seems, in the case of men, great and little men alike. For example, take up any college catalogue. How often, or rather how invariably, do you find a class of alumni noted for the *large* number of its members who rose to eminence, the distinctive characteristic of the class? And then you may turn page after page, and scan the roll of class after class, under the tuition of the same preceptors, too, before the eye falls on one prominent name; and, when it does, that name is usually found in company with other names equally distinguished in the diversified fields of labor and of life. Take, again, the epochis for further illustration and fuller: Shakspere and Bacon were contemporaries; Milton and Jeremy Taylor were contemporaries; Pope and Addison and Swift were contemporaries; Franklin and Du Fay were contemporaries; Fulton and Longstreet simultaneously applied steam successfully to the propulsion of boats on navigable waters; Leverrier anticipated his rival philosopher by a few days only in telling the astronomer where to point his telescope in the heavens in order that he should disclose to the eye of sense the planet Neptune, already revealed to the mind's eye of each philoso-

pher; Luther and Raphael were born the same year; so of Napoleon and Wellington. How prolific of wits was the age of Queen Anne! What mental grandeur haloizes the reign of the Third George! The era of our struggle for independence presents a constellation—an unmatched galaxy—of grand men. The year 1782 gave birth to Calhoun, Cass, Webster, Lowndes, Van Buren, Benton, and other American statesmen and politicians scarcely less illustrious in our annals. Like instances might be cited—for the list is capable of almost indefinite extension—but those given sufficiently illustrate the fact that great men come in “streaks,” just as fish run in schools, or cattle in herds, or quails in coveys.

Whilst on the stage of public life—and a stormy one it was—few actors performed a more conspicuous part than did Thomas H. Benton; few filled a larger space in the general eye. It was impossible for it to have been otherwise. A person of his rare combination of mental gifts, great attainments in useful and polite learning, untiring energy, physical and intellectual industry, unequaled save in the case of Lord Brougham, sustained by a natural constitution that loved labor and laughed at fatigue, all stimulated by an inordinate ambition, could not have spent his three score and ten years in obscurity, no matter where born, nor what may have been his vocation. He may not be remembered as long—certainly not as lovingly—as some of the mighty giants with whom he shivered lances in the Senatorial arena; still, generations will come and go before his name shall fade from the memory of men.

No person of his day—himself only excepted—accorded to him a place in the front rank of statesmen. Posterity is likely to indorse the judgment of the contemporaneous majority. But all men will concede to him a foremost place in the second rank.

His was not an original mind. As Theodore Parker, less truly, said of Daniel Webster: “He invented nothing. To the national stock he added no new idea, created out of new thought; no new maxim, formed by induction out of human history and old thought.”

And yet we are not afraid to say that he better knew how to translate the thoughts of great thinkers into a dialect which the multitude could interpret and understand than any other politician of his time. They read his words and comprehended their meaning. It is related that when Mr. Webster sent under his frank a copy of his speech on the Presidential Protest to David Crockett—each a member of Congress at the time—the latter acknowledged its reception in a charac-

teristic autograph letter, wherein he stated: "It's the only big speech I ever read and *learnt* easy without looking in the dictionary to hunt out the meaning of the big words. I *knowed* the bearing on sight." Webster esteemed that homely commendation of the untutored critic as a feather in his oratoric cap. Benton was master of our mother tongue; spoke and wrote it in its purity, power, simplicity, and all men understood "the meaning" and "the bearing."

During his long term of service in the Senate—longer, consecutively, than that of any other Senator—we recall no great measure, to say nothing of any large system of policy, which he originated or wrought out. His force, more negative than positive, could not create, but it could destroy; could not build up, but could pull down what was already built up, sometimes what was well built up.

We have seen it stated, and upon no less respectable authority than "Appleton's New American Cyclopædia," that Benton "enjoyed few advantages of education." Of course, we interpret the author to mean *academic* education. On the contrary, our impression had been that his academic advantages were unusually good for a youth of his day and section—that they were not only grammatical, but literary. His connection with the University of North Carolina as a student for a considerable term is historic. That institution, then as now, was among the foremost of our schools of learning in the Southern States. The foundations of his rare and ripe scholarly acquisitions and accomplishments must have been laid early in life, because laid so deep. His busy and tempestuous manhood life afforded little leisure, if it did not utterly destroy the taste, for cultivating the more elegant studies and pursuits wherein he was confessedly so proficient, and whereof on all occasions he made such ostentatious, oftentimes obtrusive, display. With exception of Choate and Everett, he was perhaps the most critical and finished classical scholar who has occupied a seat in the Senate of the United States—nor, in making those exceptions only, do we forget Pinkney, Randolph, Berrien, Preston or Sumner. In that line of elegant attainment he excelled any of them. The records of the House of Representatives are rich in exemplars of that beautiful culture—illustrated by Legaré, Verplanck, Marsh, Kennedy, Ingersoll, Mann, and others. Benton was almost abreast with some even of these—not quite. His writings and speeches are abundantly enriched by the aptest and happiest classical allusions, drawn fresh, not taken second-hand, from the great masters of Athens and of

Rome. He was not content with picking up "eleemosynary scraps." He seldom drank of the stream below the fountain-head—never when, from constant stirring, the waters were muddy. A dewy freshness lent brightness and beauty to his utterance whenever he called to his aid the treasures of the ancient classical lore and literature.

His knowledge of general political history was prodigious. He had studied it as sedulously "in the minutiae of its details" as he had mastered it "in the vastness of its comprehension." We doubt, John Quincy Adams alone excepted, if any other one of our statesmen was so perfectly familiar with the facts of Roman, English, French and American political history—their causes, their adjuncts, their surroundings, their influences—as was Benton. Like Macaulay, it seemed next to impossible for him to forget anything he ever read or heard. His memory was leak-proof and seep-proof—a capacious storehouse wherein were garnered up for future use, without confusion, the facts of history, the striking incidents of biography, the fine passages and grand images of general literature, whether of prose or of verse. And no one could more readily or accurately call them up, or turn them to weightier account. It was for this reason chiefly, we think, that he never spoke to an inattentive ear, no matter whether addressing the Senate or the populace. Every one recognized the variety and the extent of his knowledge. The wary only saw that his passions, on occasion, swayed his reason and warped his judgment; it was they only who perceived that he was a learned rather than a wise man, and, that while a powerful advocate, he was not always a safe counselor.

Before he appeared upon the theatre of Federal politics, while a member of the Tennessee Legislature, he moved and engineered through that body one salutary and humane measure—the granting to slaves the right of trial by jury. It was not, however, an original conception of his own. Others in other States south of the Potomac had advocated it before, without success. The battle was a hard one to win in Tennessee; he did win it, and plumed himself on the victory. In the light of subsequent experience—the surest test of truth in the school of politics, as well as elsewhere—we wonder why a measure so just and beneficent should have been so persistently opposed by many of the ablest of statesmen and best of citizens, especially why it was so stubbornly antagonized by that class of Southern men who, above all others, professed to be, and really were, the tried and trusted friends of the slave. Undoubtedly they were sincere in their convictions. Among the reasons of their opposition was that it would be

unsafe to trust the slave's interest, of whatever character, to the verdict of a jury who in most cases would be composed of a majority of non-slaveowners, between whom and the slave, it was alleged, there existed little sympathy or kindly feeling. Anterior to the war between the States, the fact was undeniably true to a large extent; but the event proved its utter futility as a ground for withholding the right of trial by jury from the slave. Jurors, in the long run, above all other officials, are the surest conservators of the peace of society, the safest guardians of property, and the best friends of citizen liberty, because the most reliable dispensers of "equal and exact justice to all men." So thought Blackstone, and so thought Jefferson.

Equally insensate was the policy of keeping the colored person from the witness stand. The competency and the credibility of the witness are two very distinct things. Courts and juries of the vicinage are abundantly able to judge of the credit to which a witness is entitled. How often have the ends of public justice been defeated and the common matters of right between man and man wrongfully determined by excluding from the witness stand persons of color? The murderer of the venerable Chancellor Wythe, of Virginia, escaped "unwhipt of justice" through the impolicy of the local law, which disqualified the only witness to the transaction from giving testimony in the case solely on account of race and blood.

Benton's public career may be said to have commenced in 1813. It did not close, virtually, till his death in 1858. The first ten years of that career, however, were, as Sheil said of Saurin, "years of exfoliation." He first appears prominently upon the field of Mars. His military record, though not specially brilliant, is unspotted. An aide to General Andrew Jackson at the beginning, he soon attracted the notice of "the iron-hearted chieftain," and so far won his favor and confidence as to enlist his interest in obtaining from President Madison appointment to the office of lieutenant-colonel in the regular army. Subsequently he was tendered the rank of colonel—worthily, too—but declined it, and resigned his commission in 1815. We have heard that at one time he contemplated becoming the historian of his own exploits in that war. Pity the purpose was abandoned, if ever seriously entertained! Pity facts and incidents were lacking! Pity we have no American narrative of military operations to put alongside the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, or the *Commentaries* of Cæsar!

Benton's brief journalistic life is not remarkable for anything save the multitude of personal broils and quarrels in which his ardent

temper and uncontrolled passions constantly involved him. Even his fatal duel with Lucas had no influence to restrain his tongue or his pen. Terribly aggressive at all times, he seemed to go in quest of a quarrel, always seeking a "foeman worthy of his steel." He had no toleration for opposition of any sort, no matter howsoever trivial his purpose or plan, nor trifling his wish or whim. His street fight with Jackson in Nashville sent him to St. Louis. None sooner saw than he that he had met more than his match. Then it was he first weighed the fact that "desperate courage makes *one* a majority." He wisely appreciated and practically applied it. Two such men at deadly feud could not live in the same community; could not live in the same State. Benton struck his tent and moved to Missouri.

To an adversary he could not concede common honesty of motive; there was nothing good in the man—all was total depravity. In personal denunciation he invariably employed vitriol instead of vinegar, as a matter of choice, when vinegar had compassed his end as well. Charity for what he conceived others' sins was a stranger to his breast; her form he never saw, her voice he never heard. His exaction and his motto were: "Death, tribute, or the Koran." Not utterly devoid of the quality of magnanimity himself, he greatly admired any exhibition of it in others. He was a fast and faithful friend, and as a "good hater" he was a man after Dr. Johnson's own heart—indeed, he would have made that old encyclopædical growler ashamed of the eulogium he pronounced upon that type of bipeds. It was not, however, always and altogether a manly hate which stirred up his ire. Scorn of, or indignation at, what is mean or vile in character or conduct was not always mixed in its elements. The *who* quite as frequently as the *what*—the *man* quite as frequently as the *measure*—kindled his wrath, without regard, at all times, to the merits or the demerits of the cause he espoused or antagonized. He was blind alike to the faults of a friend or to the virtues of a foe. Like Thackeray's Snob, he was capable of "meanly admiring a very mean thing" upon occasion. Passion and prejudice were his master and his demon, controlling his opinions, blindfolding his judgments, directing his actions. They were scales over his mental eye which beclouded his vision, just as the film over the rattlesnake's eye in August shuts off sight. Unfortunately, Benton, unlike the serpent, had no power to slough off the dead skin in season, and be able to *see* again. He seldom forgave an enemy, even after conquering him, unless the contrite wretch came to him with dirt upon his knees and a collar

round his neck. Hard conditions, but the only conditions of forgiveness, friendship or fraternization.

The "Thirty Years' View," a work which he imagined would be immortal, is that whereon he mainly rested his hopes of future fame. The cream of his best speeches is therein collected. In many respects it is a valuable contribution to the political literature of the times, and supplies an important desideratum in our annals. But is it not straining panegyric somewhat to denominate the work history? For ourselves, we cannot concede to it that appellation unless we accept the late General Benning's characterization of history as correct: "History," said he, "is true in general, and false in every particular." "The View" is full of inaccuracies, some of them too gross for pardon. In too many instances personal feeling gives tinge to statement of fact. The truth is not presented in *white* light, not because the author did not mean to be candid, for his instincts were honest, if not generous, but because it was simply impossible for him to be impartial. As before intimated, such was the fervor of his untutored and unrestrained passions that he could discern nothing but excellence in a friend and nothing but villainy in a foe. "Lukewarmness" in anything was not among the elements of his nature. He would have escaped, at any time, the rebuke given to "the Angel of the Church at Laodicea."

Benton hated Calhoun with a perfect hatred. He impeached his patriotism by calling him John *Catiline* Calhoun. He arraigned his mental sobriety by characterizing him as "a metaphysical maniac." He sneered at his courage, personal and civil, by saying he was "a coward cur that sneaked to his kennel when the Master of the Hermitage blew his bugle-horn." Howsoever severely Dr. Blair may have condemned this canine metaphor as "mixed," yet it suited Benton, did not disgust Mr. Calhoun, nor disturb the equanimity of his friends.

And, just here, a word or two of that monarch in the realms of thought. We are not afraid to affirm, in any presence, that Mr. Calhoun was "the best abused man" and least understood statesman of his day and generation. In the South, he was partially known to many, thoroughly known by but few; in the North, he was almost totally unknown, misunderstood and unappreciated. "The View" would have posterity believe that Calhoun was an enemy, *per se*, to the Union of the States, and disingenuously parades garbled extracts from his speeches to prove the fact, as it is somewhat equivocally asserted. Heterodox as the opinion may be deemed to be by many

to day, John C. Calhoun was in no sense of the word a disunionist. He was ardently attached to the Union. No truer friend to it than he was ever took an oath to support the Constitution—the bond of Union. He believed it could be best preserved by *practicalizing* the theory which he so often urged and expounded in the Senate with prodigious power of argument and illustration. He believed that the foundation stones of the Union were State rights, State sovereignty, and local self-government. He believed in the State veto, generally called nullification, and clung to it as an inalienable right, the necessary offspring of its parent—self-preservation, the first law of nature. He believed if that right were universally acknowledged, no occasion would arise for its exercise; or, if it did, like the brake on a locomotive, it would serve to check headlong speed and save life when dangerous obstacles lay on the down-grade track. He believed the Union to be a Federal Government of consent on the part of the States that framed it, not a nation of constraint, to be controlled by force, according as the whim of *hoi polloi* might bid the tide ebb or flow. He believed each State an integral of the family—a creator, not a creature, of the Federal Government. From such premises he deduced his conclusions as to the *right* of the State veto. Again: "The View" would make the impression that Calhoun defended the institution of African slavery and advocated its extension solely from selfish motives; that, after his rupture with Jackson, he felt that all chances of attaining the Presidency were lost; that he then ceased to be a national, and turned to be a sectional, man; that, so intense was his passion for power and place, if he could not be Archon of Athens, he must be chief of some refractory province; and in order to win local favor and popularity he made a hobby of the slavery question, or, rather, attuned it into a sort of harp to whose music Southern prejudice and pride would caper and dance whenever he flung his fingers across the strings. Now, he who would form such an estimate as this of Mr. Calhoun knows little—absolutely nothing—of the man. True, he was ambitious. What noble nature, conscious of its parts, is not? But will not those who knew him well say his was the ambition of Cicero in defending the Constitution, and not that of Catiline trying to subvert the whole fabric of Roman liberties? He believed that the institution of African slavery, as it existed in the Southern States, was, upon the whole, a wise and beneficent one. He believed that under the system, by the union of capital and labor, the natural antagonism betwixt them could be properly and safely adjusted, and thus that vexed problem which

had baffled the wit of political philosophers throughout all the centuries find in his section, at least, satisfactory solution. He believed that the institution, like piles driven in the ground, gave stability to government. He believed, as he confessed, that, although the compensation was inadequate, the punctuality of its payment and the practical inviolability of the sanction, were of themselves sufficient to prevent "strikes," suppress labor mobs, and in so far would tend to preserve the peace of society. He believed personal interest, vitalizing local law, would insure protection to the slave, alike in infancy, sickness and in old age. Hence his recorded utterance: "Slave labor in the South is better rewarded than serf labor in Europe, and as well rewarded as unskilled manual labor anywhere."

Howsoever greatly Mr. Calhoun may have been in error in his opinions of these subjects, candid men who knew with anything of nearness of knowledge will avouch his perfect sincerity and honesty. Time only, which brings along with it the infallible test of experience, can determine how far he was right or wrong.

When once thoroughly enlisted in a cause—and a small one sometimes kindled his zeal into as hot a flame as a great one—Benton's pertinacity was unexampled; his industry was unflagging; he never felt fatigue. It is said that he instigated his colleague in the Senate, Dr. Linn, to move the refunding of the thousand-dollar fine imposed by Judge Hall on General Jackson, at New Orleans, in the martial law affair. He pressed that motion with all the vim he displayed in a far more grave and important transaction—a transaction which, in the words of S. S. Prentiss, "finally resulted in that worse than felon act, the desecration of the records of the Senate"—the adoption of the "Expunging Resolution." What a commentary that deed is upon the frailty of humanity and the madness of majorities! There was method, however, in Benton's madness quite as obtrusive as in Hamlet's.

How often it happens that men affect qualities which they do not possess. It is eminently the case with vain men, not so much the case with proud men; still, the case with all men, more or less. Benton laid claim to the virtue of moderation in all things. He considered himself the very apostle of conservatism. We think it was an honest conviction, for he *could* believe anything he wanted to believe. But, the truth is, he was extreme in all his passions, pre-dilections, opinions, actions. The flame ever burnt with a white heat. And, while unconscious of the fact himself, he despised, *ab imo pectore*,

the man who would heed the injunction which Ovid puts in the mouth of the Sun Charioteer: "*In medio tutissimus ibis.*" He never saw the golden mean, much less traveled it. He did not know the meaning of the word "compromise," and never appreciated the weight of Burke's aphorism: "All our blessings are bought at a price." It never occurred to him that the law of compensation is as universal in its application as the law of gravitation. He did not weigh the fact that aggression begets resistance; that they never strike hands till they meet on the common ground of mutual concession, and can only rest quietly together when put to sleep in the bed of Justice.

How it was that Andrew Jackson and Thomas H. Benton buried hatchets and became friends again after their desperate personal rencontre at Nashville, with the immediate sequel of which neither party was satisfied, is an unauthenticated chapter in their lives. Two versions of the reconciliation are given, as much unlike as the battle reports of opposing generals. Benton, in one of his letters, written shortly after he and Jackson became compeers in the United States Senate, gives this version: "Well, how many changes in this life! General Jackson is now sitting in the chair next to me. There was a vacant one next to me, and he took it for the session. Several Senators saw our situation, and offered mediation. I declined it upon the ground that what had happened could neither be explained, recanted nor denied. After this we were put upon the same committee. Facing me one day, as we sat in our seats, he said to me: 'Colonel, we are on the same committee; I will give you notice when to attend.' [He was chairman, and had the right to summon us]. I answered: 'General, make the time to suit yourself; it will be convenient for me to attend at any time.' In committee we did business together, just as other persons. After that he asked me how my wife was, and I asked him how his was. Then he called and left his card at my lodgings—Andrew Jackson for Colonel Benton and lady; forthwith, I called at his and left mine—Colonel Benton for General Jackson. Since then we have dined together at several places, and yesterday at the President's. I made him the first bow; he held forth his hand, and we shook hands. I then introduced him to my wife, and thus civil relations are perfectly established between us. Jackson has gained since he has been here by his mild and conciliatory manner." We have heard another version of the affair, which would leave the impression that it was Mahomet that first signified a willingness to go

to the mountain. However that may be, they did come together again, and were the warmest of friends, personal and political, till the day of Jackson's death. Each, we doubt not, grew tired of the alienation. Benton saw Jackson's rising fortunes. Jackson had work for Benton to do. The old hero's sagacity in judging of men was equal to Washington's. He invariably chose the fittest man to accomplish his aim. He had consummate tact in transforming a formidable foe into a useful friend when there was need of his service. Recall how easily he weaned off from Clay his *protégé*, Amos Kendall—the most efficient person in his vocation at the time, to each, the entire country could show. This instance is but one among many that might be mentioned. Jackson had use for Kendall's pen; he had use for Benton's tongue, and wielded the one and wagged the other at will.

Benton lent Jackson powerful aid in the warfare waged against the United States Bank. It may be doubted whether the hero of New Orleans, with all his unrivaled popularity, could have weathered the storm that followed the removal of the deposits without the help which Benton gave him in the Senate. That, till then unparalleled, usurpation of power—we have seen grosser usurpations since—joined in wedlock the sword and the purse of the Republic. Benton said, and made a majority of the people believe, it was "a divorce of the bank from the State." Surely, he knew better, as did the sane mind of the country. The most terrible philippic we ever read in the English language is the speech of Mr. McDuffie, arraigning the President's conduct in that matter of removing the deposits. It was a demonstration, if there be one in Euclid. In point of logic, eloquence, irony, sarcasm, honest indignation, manly scorn, nothing in our Congressional debates equals it. For a space it spread and burnt like fire in a prairie. It swept over the entire country like a tornado. Clay, Calhoun and Webster gave all the weight of their voices and influence to swell the volume and force of the tempest. Nothing but here and there a stalwart hemlock seemed to be left standing in its hurricane path. Benton was one of the hemlocks which its rage could not, or did not, uproot. The iron fibres of "Old Hickory" momentarily gave signs of tremor. But he had gone too far for Fabian strategy; retreat was ruin; Cortez had burnt his ships; Warwick had stabbed to the death his steed. Aggressive warfare only could win. The bugle-charge was sounded from the White House; it was caught up by Benton in the Senate, and reëchoed by Kendall through the press. These men, by opposing, shifted the winds and calmed the storm.

What a formidable triumvirate! Jackson, Benton and Kendall! They recall Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus! Augustus, Antony and Lepidus!—triumvirates all.

Benton's hostility to the Bank of the United States was intense and inveterate. He loved to hate it. Nor was that feeling of bitterness confined to the corporation itself only. It embraced the persons who were concerned in its management and control as well. Next to Calhoun, Benton hated Nicholas Biddle, the President of the Bank. He denounced Mr. Biddle and his associates as so many rogues, robbers and ruffians, epithets as ill-becoming the dignity and decorum of the Senate chamber as they were undeserved and untrue with respect to the men themselves. The story ran for a while that the real secret of Benton's personal enmity to Biddle was the latter's scornful refusal to approach and appease Benton when it was suggested to him to do so. Biddle's pride was too lofty to stoop to such an expedient, while Benton's wounded vanity wreaked its rage in personal defamation. There is some semblance of truth in the story. Years after the Bank itself was crushed, and Biddle himself was a private citizen, Benton continued to pour out vials of wrath upon his head on all occasions—in the Senate, on the hustings, in common conversation. With a sort of hyena rapacity he pursued Biddle to the grave, and strove to heap obloquy upon the memory of that able financier, honest man and faithful public servant.

Because of his untiring, relentless, venomous warfare upon the bank, his enemies were the first to call Benton "Old Bullion." It was done in derision, just as the British soldiers in the "times that tried men's souls" called the rebel men of Lexington and Concord "Yankees." Nicknames, we know, albeit for diverse reasons, are generally distasteful to sensitive men, no matter how honorable the incident or meritorious the cause whereby acquired; they are odious to all men to whom applied when generated of anything contemptible or little. Jackson was proud of the service he did the country which made men call him "Old Hickory," yet he did not relish the nickname. Harrison surely had nothing to be ashamed of in the part he bore at Tippecanoe, yet it almost offended the "log-cabin, hard-cider" man of North Bend to be called "Old Tip." The sobriquet "Old Rough and Ready" had as much to do as anything else, outside of the Van Buren defection in New York, in elevating Taylor to the Presidency, yet he is said to have rebuked a Buena Vista comrade for addressing him: "General Taylor—no, I take that back—

'Old Rough and Ready' is your name—" "Give me my *proper* title, sir," said Taylor, instantly interrupting; "then you can't mistake." Scott, whose Christian name was Wingfield Scott, dropped the "g" after the affairs of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, changing it to *Winfield* Scott, at once a type and a name. Although proud enough of his Chippewa feathers, he told Greeley, his ablest and most influential champion for the Presidency in 1852, never to put "Old Chippewa" in the columns of the *Tribune* again. It was not as grateful to him during the canvass as "that rich Irish brogue" or "that sweet German accent." *E contra*, Benton was delighted with his *sobriquet*; he dilated to the point of bursting whenever the bank-death was mentioned in his presence. His heart clove unto the man or woman who called him "*Old Bullion!*"

Was Benton a consistent politician? To ask the question is to answer it. Now, we can see the force of the argument which would convince a strict constructionist of the unconstitutionality of undertaking internal improvements of any sort by the Federal Government. But we are not casuist enough to distinguish how it was Benton so stoutly opposed, on what he termed constitutional grounds, the construction of the Cumberland and of the Maysville roads, at that time necessary great national thoroughfares, and afterward advocated the building of the Pacific Railroad. A common principle covered the cases, and an equal necessity demanded the building of all the roads. Again, at one time he put his foot upon the doctrine of legislative instruction. Subsequently, he turned about, and became the staunchest champion of that doctrine, claiming that instruction is a sacred seal upon representation. Yet, again, he shifted positions, if not sides, time and time again on the slavery question; finally, he took the ground of opposition to the agitation of the subject in Congress and to the extension of the institution. This was neither flying nor lighting; it was hovering. And yet he would not "divide honors," as whist players have it, even with John Randolph of Roanoke, in the matter of a *consistent* public record.

We believe it was Lord Brougham who said that eloquence had gained little, and business lost much, by set speeches in deliberative assemblies. It may be true; still, they are needful and often serve valuable purposes. Set speeches bear to off-hand, running-debate speeches in our Congress pretty much the same relation which the prepared sermon bears to the extemporized prayer in church—each has its special use and end.

Benton was not a ready debater. Although his mind was full enough, and his memory rarely, if ever, at fault, it required time for him to collect his resources, to marshal his forces, to burnish his armor. So unflagging was his industry, however, and so prodigious his power of application and endurance, that an incredibly short time was necessary for preparation. He fortified his position with an array of facts that was appalling to even veteran valor; every gun was in its place, prepared to send its missile to the mark; he always clearly saw the target, and seldom missed his aim. In all his set speeches he enriched the argument with a wealth of original research and a copiousness of learning that were alike admirable and marvelous; his illustrations, drawn from a wide range of reading and the closest observation of men and events, were felicitous and fresh; his statement was simple, exact and luminous—not approaching Calhoun in power of condensation, but almost equaling Webster in apt and elegant amplification. His party well knew wherein his chief power lay, and invariably called it forth in every crisis of exigency or emergency. *That force lay in his power to produce a studied, cogently reasoned speech,* and one intended usually not so much for the ear of the Senate as for the eye of the country. All the authorities of law, fact, precedent, to be gathered from history, biography, literature, were sure to be collected and produced. When he had concluded, little remained for his coadjutors to say. Scarce a sheaf was left to be gleaned. A scythe wider in sweep and keener in edge than their's had reaped the field.

When we consider the vastness and variety of his knowledge, his love of labor, his fondness of public display, we wonder why his name is not conspicuously linked with some of the great anniversaries of our history; some grand era of the "passing time of America;" some striking event in the Republic's life, the recollection whereof, the patriotism, the gratitude, the admiring love of posterity, "will not willingly let die." Who ever thinks of Daniel Webster without recalling Plymouth Rock, Bunker Hill Monument, Adams and Jefferson, the Capitol at Washington! Benton's name is not associated with one such historic memory. Why? We know not why unless it be, as Goldsmith said of Burke, that he

"— to party gave up what was meant for mankind!"

The question has been often asked how it was that Benton acquired such controlling influence over Van Buren. It has not been satis-

factorily answered. They were antipodes in their methods and in their norms of conduct. They differed on absorbing questions of policy quite as frequently as they agreed. Van Buren had fully as much of will as Benton had, but it wrought its work in a different way. "*Suaviter in modo*" was the maxim of the one; "*fortiter in re*" was the motto of the other. They were both rivals for Jackson's favor, and both ardently aspired to the Presidency. Nothing, naturally, was in common between them. Certainly, that sure bond of personal union—the *idem velle et idem nolle*—of Sallust was lacking. But their differences, howsoever radical at first, were never permanent. Benton, in the long run, prevailed; Van Buren yielded; and, when surrender came, the one said it meant Victory; the other said it was "Compromise." We heard the late Howell Cobb say it was Benton who persuaded Van Buren to postpone, against his expressed wishes, and against the counsels of a majority of his cabinet, the settlement of the McLeod-Caroline affair and the adjustment of the Northeastern boundary question to a future day and another administration. Reasons, personal and party, as well as considerations of strong local propriety, it seems to us, were against any postponement—any unnecessary postponement—of those matters; still, they were postponed, and at Benton's bidding.

Again, consider his absolute supremacy over Polk. It was an ascendancy so pronounced and indisputable that Jackson, to whom Polk owed, above any other one man, his nomination for the Presidency, could not, in the face of Benton's opposition, name the official organ, nor secure the job of the public printing for his friend—Blair. Polk, along with most of his political advisers, reluctantly receded from the line of "Fifty-four-forty or Fight," and accepted "Forty-nine" as the Northern boundary of Oregon. Benton forced them to the concession, and that, too, in point-blank violation of the pledges of the platform and in the teeth of the Inaugural Address, wherein it was so stalwartly asserted that "our title to the whole of Oregon is clear and unquestionable." So, too, of the "masterly inactivity" policy with respect to the Mexican war. Polk and Calhoun were in perfect accord on that line until Benton came to the front and compelled the administration to prosecute a war of invasion and conquest. It was, in reality, Benton, not Polk, who ordered the "army of occupation" to pitch tents between the Neches and the Rio Grande. Opposed as he was to the manner in which Texas was annexed to the Union, entrapped by a delusion and a snare into voting for it, as he

declared, yet—when the deed was done, could not be undone, and war must come—it was he that first touched the country's pride and stirred her passion with the words: "Let us conquer a peace!" Patriotic, manly sentiment! But what a peace for so many years it was!—recalling the peace that reigned at Warsaw!—the peace that Napoleon bulletined when he said: "The empire is peace!" —the peace whereof Tacitus wrote two thousand years ago: "*Soliditudinem faciant, pacem appellant*"—when they make a waste they call it peace!

Benton was not a Senator when Pierce became President. Another, and in many respects a fitter, person for that office had displaced him. He appealed from the vote of the General Assembly to the people of Missouri. Defeated for Senator, he sought to be Governor of the State. A more signal failure was the result of that canvass. Still, was his eye not dim nor his natural force abated. He stood for the Lower House of Congress, and was elected. His first business was to try to gain the upper-hand of Pierce, as he had done with Van Buren and Polk, but the wand, once so potent, had lost its spell and its charm. Pierce was true to the party and to the principles that put him in power. Benton could not persuade or intimidate him, and, of course, they quarreled.

Although there was the stuff of Dionysius of Syracuse in Benton, he had amiable and generous qualities. He felt the sincerest sympathy for the poor and destitute; he commiserated the condition of the worthy unfortunate among any of his fellow-beings; his heart melted in pity for virtue in distress. He once gave his last dollar to a widowed mother and her children on a Mississippi River flatboat, and then borrowed money wherewith to pay his own hotel bill at the landing place. Such little acts and incidents of one's life show generous impulsions and kindly instincts more, far more, than ostentatious displays of charity. They, after all, prove the real mold wherein character is fashioned and evidence its true bent and nature. What stronger proof that his heart was not as bad as so many believed it to be can be required than is furnished in the fact of the high estimation wherein he was held by such men as William H. Crawford, John Randolph, and Nathaniel Macon? Base coin could not be palmed off on those men. They never confounded mere glitter with pure gold; they knew the ring of the real metal, the sparkle of the true stone. Each of them has left recorded testimony of his exalted appreciation of Benton's character and worth, and of the warmest

personal friendship and attachment. They all knew his weaknesses, appreciated his merits, and could say with Burns:

“Who made the heart, 'tis He alone
Decidedly can try us;
He knows each chord, its various tone,
Each spring, its various bias.
Thence at the balance let's be mute,
We never can adjust it;
What's done we partly may compute,
But know not what's resisted.”

Vanity was at once his weakness and his strength. Dean Swift said of a person: “He is too proud to be vain.” The converse of the remark is true with respect to Benton—he was too vain to be proud. He was the vainest man who “has lived in the tides of time.” Cicero’s vanity was as shadow to substance compared with his; Erskine’s was not the shadow of a shade. No human being—man or woman—was more easily tickled by the straw of flattery; it was meat and drink to him. You could not convince his reason as to the wickedness or wisdom of a measure when personal feeling was in the way; you could not drive him by force, nor intimidate him by threat; you could not win him over by the ordinary appliances of kindly offices, felt or feigned, which sycophants, hypocrites, demagogues or friends sometimes employ to carry their points; you could not bribe him with money; yet, there was one sure avenue to his heart’s core; it ran through the channel of his excessive—his inordinate—vanity. That gate was ever open to all comers; and all who chose entered. Shade of Sir Boyle Roche! pardon the invasion of your special domain, when we venture upon the iricism in saying that Benton’s vanity exhibited a *weakness* which was stronger than his *strength*!

Benton lived frugally. He was not at all improvident in the use of money. He was a stranger to wine, never frequented the gaming table, and had no expensive habits. With abundant opportunities during his long term of public service to “gather gear” by wiles not justified by honor, he left the Senate, after thirty years of unequalled labor, as poor in this world’s goods as he was when he entered it. Noble fact! showing in striking contrast with the conduct of some of his contemporaries, and that of so many others who have since his day fretted their busy hour upon the political boards. He despised public office as the means of making money. Fame, not funds, was the object of his idolatry.

We know of nothing more delightful of its kind than the sketches of

deceased compeers and contemporaries which are interspersed here and there in "The Thirty Years' View." Thrown off, evidently, *currende calamo*, they are, without exception, admirable—all are discriminate, delicate and just—not portraits, but engravings—the marble, not the canvas.

We had meant at the outset to say a word or two of the "Abridgement of Congressional Debates"—especially to note some sins, both of omission and of commission, perpetrated in that valuable work—but desist, for the reason that this paper has already far exceeded the limits originally prescribed to it.

JAMES D. WADDELL.

THE WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE RATE OF ITS INCREASE.

IT is obvious that the wealth of an industrious and prosperous community should increase faster than its population. The wealth of the country being the aggregated wealth of its citizens, any increase of their income over their expenditures adds to the total wealth of the country. That this is continually on the increase is too apparent to require discussion. Every year adds to our stock of labor-saving machinery and increases its usefulness; waste lands are being rapidly reclaimed and devoted to the service of man, and better modes of culture are continually being adopted. Means of transportation are rapidly being extended, and by their means capital is constantly being handled to greater advantage, and markets for agriculture and manufacturing products are continually being extended.

At what rate has our country been increasing in wealth? That it has been in excess of that of population is the general belief, founded on good grounds, and this in spite of the immense immigration to our shores of the poverty-stricken peasants from the Old World.

In the following pages I have collected certain data bearing directly or indirectly upon the question of the valuation of the country at past periods since the beginning of the century, and have attempted to make estimates of the valuation from these data at the end of each decade. Of course, estimates of this kind can lay no claim to accuracy; they can be regarded only as the merest approximations from which only general conclusions can with safety be drawn.

Looking over the ground for material on which to base estimates, we find first that the censuses of 1880, 1870, 1860 and 1850 give at once the principal item sought for—the total valuation—in the first three, divided as real and personal property. These figures are as follows:

	<i>Assessed valuation.</i>			<i>True valuation.</i>
	<i>Real estate.</i>	<i>Personal property.</i>	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1880.....	\$13,036,512,692	\$3,866,242,941	\$16,902,755,893	\$40,000,000,000
1870.....	9,914,780,825	4,264,205,907	14,178,986,732	30,068,518,507
1860.....	6,973,006,049	5,111,553,956	12,084,560,005	16,159,616,068
1850.....	.....	.....	.....	7,135,780,228

These true valuations show a rate of increase of wealth as follows: From 1850 to 1860, 126 per cent.; from 1860 to 1870, 86 per cent.; from 1870 to 1880, 33 per cent., being a rapidly-decreasing ratio, until, in the decade 1870 to 1880, the increase in wealth is but a little greater than that of population. Examining, however, the changes in assessed value of real estate, a more constant ratio is detected. Thus, from 1860 to 1870 the increase was 42 per cent., while in the succeeding decade it was 32 per cent.

The valuation of 1850, as above, is, it may be premised, very uncertain. It was the first attempt made by the General Government to obtain the total valuation of the country, and, as will be shown further on, there are very good grounds for suspecting that it is much below the true valuation. Prior to 1850 the figures bearing upon this point are very scanty; indeed, the only figures that are at all complete consist of the valuation of houses and lands made in 1798 for the purposes of taxation for the support of the General Government. This valuation, which may be regarded as representing the real estate of the country at that time, showed a total of about \$620,000,000. In 1815 and 1817 valuations were made of the real estate in a number of the States for a similar purpose, but, unfortunately, this was not done generally, as a provision in the law allowed the Governments of such States as preferred, to assume their share of the amount to be raised by the tax, and, therefore, in these States there was no valuation made.

A comparison between the valuation of real estate in 1798 and that in 1860, 1870 and 1880 will suffice for the determination of the average

rate of increase between these dates in valuation of real estate. This, however, predicates little or nothing regarding the increase in valuation of the personal property, which, while it has undoubtedly been greater than that of the real estate, has not, by any means, been dependent upon it. In order, therefore, to form an estimate of the valuation of the country prior to 1850, it would be necessary to look elsewhere and approach the subject indirectly.

There are a number of classes of data—elements, as they may be called—of the national wealth which give indications of its condition. Among these may be mentioned its imports and exports, the receipts from customs duties, the capital invested in banking and the banking circulation, the amount of specie, the amount of tonnage employed in the foreign trade, and the expenses of carrying on the General Government. These different classes of statistics may separately give very different and contradictory results regarding any special period; still, their average may fairly be considered as representing the approximate condition of the country's resources. The amount of imports may be regarded as affording a tolerably direct indication of the financial condition of the country. When in prosperity the country spends money freely, especially in luxuries, most of which are obtained from abroad, while in the reverse condition, as might be expected, the amount of imports would decrease to the minimum consistent with supplying actual necessities. The amount of customs duties varies to a certain extent with the amount of imports, and, other things being equal, is rather an exaggeration of them, as the duties are levied mainly upon luxuries. This factor is, however, dependent upon the tariff as laid by the Government. The amount of exports is scarcely inferior, as an indication of wealth, to the imports, but it is less sensitive to the oscillations of the financial situation. In a time of prosperity our products are at first used more freely at home, so that a certain degree of prosperity is generally attained before it shows itself by an increase in exports. Again, the exports are largely controlled by the state of the foreign markets. Of course, if we cannot pay freight, and at the same time sell as cheaply in foreign countries as the products of those countries can be sold there, we cannot afford to export. The amount of shipping engaged in our foreign trade is, of course, closely allied to the total of exports and imports, and as such plays but a secondary part in any estimates.

The amount invested in the banking business and the amount of bank circulation can be considered simply as elements of wealth

without affording any general indication of the condition of the country, excepting so far as they indicate greater or less activity of capital. The amount of specie in the country is of very little value as an indication of the national wealth. This is especially true of the United States, inasmuch as the immense production of gold and silver in this country during the last thirty years has been vastly in excess of any other element of wealth. More than that, our statistics regarding the amount of specie in the country are very vague and scanty. The estimates which have been made for early periods are very discordant. Mr. Knox, the Comptroller of the Currency, quotes an old estimate made for the year 1776, of \$4,000,000. For 1791 estimates range from \$9,000,000 to \$16,000,000. In 1821 the amount may be given with greater confidence as between \$18,000,000 and \$20,000,000. An estimate by Tucker places the amount in 1841 at \$57,500,000, while in 1879 Mr. Burchard places the amount at \$398,541,683, and in 1880 at \$501,555,711. These figures, if they indicate anything, show a ratio of increase of nearly or quite 5,000 per cent. since the beginning of the century.

The expenses of the General Government might be expected to keep pace in some degree with the valuation of the country, and would unquestionably do so were there no disturbing elements introduced; but, as a matter of fact, wars and other events calling for abnormal expenditures will inevitably produce abnormal disturbances in the governmental expenses. Still, the results given by this class of statistics cannot be considered as by any means valueless, and they have been used, in connection with the other classes of statistics mentioned, in the belief that the abnormal variations will be to a greater or less extent counteracted and overbalanced by the others.

The following table gives, in millions and tenths of millions, the expenses of the Government, the bank capital and circulation, net imports and domestic exports, customs duties, and the tonnage employed in American trade for each decade from the beginning of the century. In the cases of imports and exports and customs duties, in order to avoid accidental variations due to minor local causes, the mean of the ten years extending from the fifth year preceding the period in question to the fifth year after it, has been taken excepting in the case of 1880, where I am perforce obliged to use the figures for that year only.

In regard to the tonnage employed in American trade, I have been unable to obtain the amounts employed in 1840 and 1850.

Decades.	Expenses of Government.	Bank capital.	Bank circulat'n.	Net imports.	Domestic exports.	Customs duties.	Tonnage employed in American trade.
1800.....	\$10.8	\$31.3	\$10.5	\$49.7	\$37.4	\$8.7	807
1810.....	13.6	50.0	25.0	53.6	32.6	10.7	987
1820.....	19.3	137.2	44.9	70.8	56.8	19.0	880
1830.....	24.6	145.2	61.3	77.9	65.4	23.1	1005
1840.....	24.3	358.4	107.0	108.0	99.2	21.2	....
1850.....	40.9	217.3	131.4	183.4	175.8	41.3	....
1860.....	63.2	421.9	207.1	279.6	277.9	57.1	5000
1870.....	293.6	630.0	294.0	489.1	465.2	171.5	6270
1880.....	264.9	660.5	343.8	741.5	833.3	182.8	15240

All the columns in the above table show one marked feature in common, a gradual increase from 1800 up to 1850 or 1860, and from that date to 1880 a very rapid increase, almost a leap. The increase in the expenses of the Government from 1860 to 1870 is, of course, due to the war of the Rebellion. The increase in the banking business, as indicated by its capital and circulation, in the imports and exports, the customs duties and tonnage, imply an immense extension of active capital, and show that, while our progress has been steady and sure during the first five or six decades, in the last two or three it has been extremely rapid.

In the four following tables is shown the rate of increase of each of these seven elements; first, with relation to the status in 1880; second, related to that in 1870; third, to that in 1860, and fourth, to that in 1850. The figures are given in percentages:

RATE OF INCREASE FROM THE SEVERAL PERIODS TO 1880.

Decades.	Expenses of Government.	Bank capital.	Bank circulation.	Net imports.	Domestic exports.	Customs duties.	Tonnage employed in American trade.
1800	2353	2010	3174	1392	2128	2001	1788
1810	1848	1221	1275	1283	2456	1608	1444
1820	1273	381	666	947	1367	862	1632
1830	977	355	461	852	1174	691	1416
1840	990	84	221	587	740	762	....
1850	548	204	162	304	374	343	....

RATE OF INCREASE FROM THE SEVERAL PERIODS TO 1870.

Decades.	Expenses of Government.	Bank capital.	Bank circulation.	Net imports.	Domestic exports.	Customs duties.	Tonnage employed in American trade.
1800	2619	1913	2700	884	1144	1871	677
1810	2059	1160	1076	813	1327	1503	535
1820	1421	359	555	591	719	803	613
1830	1093	334	380	528	611	642	524
1840	1106	70	175	353	369	709	....
1850	618	190	124	167	176	315	....

RATE OF INCREASE FROM THE SEVERAL PERIODS TO 1860.

Decades.	Expenses of Govern- ment.	Bank capital.	Bank circula- tion.	Net imports.	Domestic exports.	Customs duties.	Tonnage employed in Ameri- can trade.
1800.....	485	1248	1872	463	643	556	520
1810.....	365	744	728	422	752	434	407
1820.....	227	208	361	295	389	201	468
1830.....	157	191	238	259	325	147	398
1840.....	160	18	94	159	180	169	....
1850.....	55	94	58	52	58	38	....

RATE OF INCREASE FROM THE SEVERAL PERIODS TO 1850.

Decades.	Expenses of Govern- ment.	Bank capital.	Bank circula- tion.	Net imports.	Domestic exports.	Customs duties.	Tonnage employed in Ameri- can trade.
1800.....	279	594	1151	269	370	375	....
1810.....	201	335	426	242	439	286	....
1820.....	112	58	193	159	210	117	....
1830.....	66	50	114	135	169	79	....
1840.....	68	Loss 39	23	70	77	95	....

The following table gives the means of the above rates of increase:

MEAN RATES OF INCREASE.

1800-1880.....	2121	1800-1870.....	1687	1800-1860.....	827	1800-1850.....	506
1810-1880.....	1591	1810-1870.....	1210	1810-1860.....	550	1810-1850.....	322
1820-1880.....	1028	1820-1870.....	723	1820-1860.....	307	1820-1850.....	142
1830-1880.....	847	1830-1870.....	587	1830-1860.....	245	1830-1850.....	102
1840-1880.....	564	1840-1870.....	465	1840-1860.....	130	1840-1850.....	49
1850-1880.....	323	1850-1870.....	205		*		

The valuation of houses and lands in 1798, compared with the assessed valuation of real estate in 1880, 1870 and 1860, shows the following rates per cent. of increase: 1798 to 1880, 2003 per cent.; 1798 to 1870, 1499 per cent.; 1798 to 1860, 1025 per cent.—results which agree quite well with those above deduced, when the fact is considered that this is but one of the two elements of the valuation.

From these tables showing rates of increase, and from the valuations of 1880, 1870, 1860 and 1850, as given by the census, are deduced the following valuations at the different decennial epochs. In the first table these valuations are deduced by reduction from the valuation in 1880, the second from that of 1870, and so on. The range among the results for each period is, of course, due in the main to the character of the valuation from which the reductions are made, and shows that the valuations of 1880, 1870 and 1860 are in a high degree accordant with one another; while that of 1850, on the other hand, is decidedly too small, all the determinations made from it being only about two-thirds as great as those from the other census determinations. Moreover, the results for the valuation of 1850, as determined from the census figures

of 1880 and 1870, although not agreeing closely, are much larger than those given by the census of 1850. On these accounts I have decided to adopt the result given by comparison rather than the census figures.

The amounts are given in millions of dollars.

Decades.	Valuation as deduced from the census valuation in			
	1880.	1870.	1860.	1850.
1800.....	\$1801	\$1683	\$1743	\$1178
1810.....	2365	2295	2486	1691
1820.....	3578	3653	3970	2949
1830.....	4224	4377	4084	3533
1840.....	6024	5322	7026	4789
1850.....	9456	8238	....	....

Taking the means of the above results, with the exception of those derived from the valuation of 1850, we obtain, as the approximate valuations at the several epochs in question, the following, which are placed in juxtaposition with the decennial rates of increase, the population, its rate of increase, and the per capita valuation:

Decades.	Valuation, millions.	Per cent. of increase	Population.	Per cent. of increase	Per capita valuation.
1800.....	\$1742	....	5,308,483	....	\$328
1810.....	2382	37	7,239,881	36	329
1820.....	3734	57	9,633,882	33	386
1830.....	4328	16	12,866,020	34	336
1840.....	6124	41	17,069,453	33	359
1850.....	8800	44	23,191,876	36	379
1860.....	16160	84	31,443,321	35	514
1870.....	30068	86	38,558,371	23	780
1880.....	40000	33	50,155,783	30	798

It will be seen that the rate of increase of wealth is everywhere greater than that of population except in the decade between 1820 and 1830, where it falls very decidedly below it, and that the amount per capita which is reached in 1820 is greater than at any subsequent period up to 1860.

As was pointed out before in this article, the first half of the century witnessed a gradual, but tolerably steady, growth. During this period the average increase in wealth exceeded but little that of population, the average ratio being as 39 is to 34½. The most salient features of this half of the century were the unusual rise between 1810 and 1820 and the period of great commercial depression between 1820 and 1830, as illustrated by a gain of but 16 per cent. In the decade between 1850 and 1860 the valuation of the country appears to have made an immense advance, which was continued from 1860 to 1870 in spite of the war—or was, more probably, fostered by it—until the

past decade, when the long-continued commercial depression, with the accompanying shrinkage of values, reduced the rate of increase, as shown above, to 33 per cent. The past decade cannot, therefore, be considered as a normal one, and it is believed that the census of 1890 will show a valuation which will bring the average of the period between 1870 and 1890 more nearly to an equality with those immediately preceding.

The great increase in valuation between 1850 and 1870 was, however, due, in all probability, only in part to an increase in intrinsic values, a part being caused by a relative decrease in value of our circulating medium by which all values are measured, caused by the immense amounts of gold and silver produced by California and the other western states and territories, during that period.

HENRY GANNETT.

BISMARCK'S PLAN FOR INSURING 'GERMAN LABORERS.

ON the 23d of May, 1863, German Social Democracy was born. Little importance was attached to the event at the time. A few men met at Leipzig and under the leadership of Ferdinand Lassalle formed a new political party called the Universal German Laborers' Union. That was all. Surely no one could be expected to ascribe great weight to the fact that a handful of workingmen led by a dreamer, a sort of romantic knight-errant, had met and passed a few resolutions; resolutions, too, as modest in their expression of purpose as they were harmless in appearance. It was simply declared that the laborers ought to be represented in the different German parliaments, as only thus could their interests be adequately cared for and the opposition between the various classes of society terminated; and, in view of this fact, it was resolved that the members of the Union should avail themselves of all peaceful and legal means in endeavoring to bring about universal suffrage.

But it was soon discovered that the members of this Union, the first organization in Germany of social democracy, desired political power only as a means of overthrowing entirely the existing order of the production and distribution of wealth. Lassalle, whose influence soon

extended far beyond the limits of the Union, never tired of representing in vivid colors the injustice of the present social organization. The crimes, selfishness and heartlessness of the *bourgeoisie* were unfailing topics in his agitation. The laborers were told that they had no right to be contented with their lot. It is this damnable, easily-satisfied disposition of you German laborers which is your ruin, they were told. The phlegmatic German laborer was moved. His anger and discontent became permanent and terrible in proportion as it had been difficult to arouse him. He was not to be easily pacified. He soon showed strength and determination in such manner as to attract the attention of the entire civilized world. Statesmen grew pale and kings trembled.

Lassalle's historical importance lies in the fact that he was able to move the German laborers so deeply. It had been thought that a workingmen's party might perhaps be formed in England or in France, but that it was hopeless to attempt to form one in Germany. The German laborer was looked upon as a model of humble contentment.

Lassalle himself did not live to see the fruits of his labors. He met with some success, and celebrated a few triumphs, but the Union did not flourish as he had hoped. At the time of his death, in 1864, he did not appear to have a firm, lasting hold on the laboring population. There then existed no social democratic party with political power. Although Lassalle was removed in a duel which had its origin in a love affair, and not in any struggle for the rights of labor, he was canonized at once by the workingmen. He took his place among the greatest martyrs and heroes of all times. His influence increased more than ten fold as soon as he ceased to live. From that time to this the progress of social democracy has suffered little interruption.

Since the organization of the German Empire the social democratic votes for members of the Imperial Parliament (Reichstag) have numbered as follows: 1871, 123,975; 1874, 351,952; 1877, 493,288; 1878, 437,158. In 1877 the entire number of votes cast was 5,401,021, so that the social democrats cast over one-eleventh of all the votes; which signifies a great deal when it is remembered that there are at least ten distinct political parties in Germany. The votes of the social democratic party have been so scattered, however, that the party has not had its proportionate number of representatives in the Imperial Parliament. The social democratic members of the Reichstag numbered 2 in 1871; 9 in 1874; 12 in 1877, and 9 in 1878. The total

number of members is about four hundred. It will be seen that the social democratic party advanced in strength as represented by votes until 1878, when the decrease was only slight. In this year two attempts were made on the life of the Emperor William, and the social democrats had to bear a good share of the blame. There was a considerable popular indignation manifested; private employers, as well as Government, discharged laborers who entertained social democratic principles, and in the elections following the police put every obstacle in the way of the party. In the Reichstag the celebrated Socialistic law of October 21, 1878, was passed. It gave Government exceptional and despotic powers to proceed against social democracy. The severity of the Government appears to have done more harm than good. In spite of what can fairly be designated as persecution, the elections which took place in the last three months of 1881 were more favorable for the social democrats than any previous ones. In November they secured thirteen seats, the largest number they have ever gained.¹ This is very significant when it is remembered that the "Exceptional law" (*Ausnapmegesetz*) allows measures against the social democrats which directed against any other party would be illegal; and the Government has been thereby enabled to suspend all their party papers, to prohibit the sale of their books and pamphlets, to suppress all public agitation of the party, and to imprison their orators. Thus associations were dissolved, and for a hotel-keeper even to rent them rooms for a meeting was made an offense punishable with imprisonment for a time varying from one month to a year.

Bismarck has acknowledged that the measures which the Government has adopted up to this time have not proved successful in weakening social democracy, or in checking in any effectual manner its spread among the people. But he claims that he has not as yet carried out his full programme. This is true. During the discussion upon the Socialistic law of October 21, 1878, he declared distinctly that he did not expect to cure the masses of the disease of social democracy by repressive measures alone. Something more than external remedies was needed. The social democrats had built upon well-grounded discontent of the people, and he proposed to win back the masses for King and Fatherland by removing the grounds of discontent. These

¹ This was when the votes were cast in districts in which there had been a tie in October. As one social democrat was elected in two districts, a vote was taken in one of them again in December, and this time the social democrats lost, which reduced the number of their seats to twelve.

grounds were of an economic nature. Wages were low, taxes high, work scarce, and the entire economic existence of the lower classes uncertain and full of anxiety. But what was to be done about it? No one knew exactly, but all looked forward with eagerness to Bismarck's proposals. Two years passed away without bringing any of his plans to light. People began to think that the promises of relief to the poor had been thrown out as a bait to catch votes for the bill which became the Socialistic law. But Bismarck has a good memory and a strong will. When he has once made up his mind to pursue a certain course of action he is not to be diverted therefrom. More than once Germany has thought that he had forgotten some threat or resolve because he allowed years to slip by without making any public move toward the execution of his plans. In such cases she has reckoned without her host. It appears Bismarck meant all he said when he promised to use the power of the state to relieve the poorer classes. He had not for a moment forgotten his promise, but was only working out his plans and waiting for an opportune moment to execute them.

Early in the year 1881 the Reichstag obtained an earnest of Bismarck's socialistic plans in the Accident Insurance bill. We see thus that this celebrated bill is merely an episode in the history of German Socialism. It is as such we treat it. The principal points in the Accident Insurance bill are the following:

The Empire is to establish and conduct on its own account an Insurance Institution (*Versicherungsanstalt*), in which are to be insured all laborers, officers and overseers in mines, salt-works, all establishments for separating ores from foreign material, quarries, earthworks, dockyards, factories and foundries, as well as those engaged in the erection of buildings and the preparation of material for them, in all cases where their salaries do not exceed two thousand marks per annum.¹ The same regulation applies to those engaged in other employments in which steam-boilers or "elementary power," as water, steam, gas and hot air, are used. Railroads and steamboats of all kinds are excepted.

The rates and conditions of insurance are to be determined by the Imperial Federal Council (*Bundesrath*), in so far as they are not fixed by the bill.

The insurance is intended to provide compensation for the economic

¹ A mark is 23.8 cents. Where it is not necessary to be very accurate, four marks are generally considered as equivalent to \$1.

damages which arise from death by accident, or from a bodily injury causing inability to work for more than four weeks.

The indemnification in case of accident causing bodily injury is to consist of all the costs occasioned by the endeavors to cure the injured laborer after the fourth week, and in an allowance made to him at the beginning of the fifth week, said allowance to continue during the entire period of disability. If the disability is complete, the allowance is to consist of two-thirds of the income of the injured person. This allowance continues during the period of complete disability, however long that may be. If the inability to work is only partial, the allowance is to be proportioned to the economic injury sustained by reason of the partial disability. It is, however, in no case to be less than 25 or more than 50 per cent. of the income of the injured person. The yearly income is computed to be three hundred times the wages for one day.

If death ensues, the indemnification consists of (1) 10 per cent. of the yearly income to defray the funeral expenses; (2) of all expenses incurred on account of the illness of the injured person, beginning with the fifth week, and in an allowance of two-thirds of the salary or wages of the party, beginning at the same time and continuing until death; (3) of a pension granted to the family of the deceased, beginning with the day of his death. This pension amounts to 20 per cent. of the income of the deceased for the widow, and continues until her death or remarriage. She receives, beside, 10 per cent. of said income for every child of the marriage under fifteen. This allowance lasts until the child has completed its fourteenth year. The entire pension, however, must in no case exceed 50 per cent. of the income of the deceased. If parents or grandparents were entirely dependent upon the deceased, they may receive a pension amounting to 20 per cent. of his income provided wife and children do not claim the highest amount which can be granted in pensions—that is, 50 per cent. of the income of the deceased.

The premiums are to vary according to the danger of the business in which one is engaged. They must cover the entire expenditures of the Insurance Institution.

If the income of a laborer or officer does not exceed seven hundred and fifty marks, two-thirds of the premium is to be paid by his employer and one-third by the poor rate. Where the yearly income exceeds seven hundred and fifty marks, one-half is to be paid by the employer and one-half by the person insured.

Laborers who are required to be insured may insure themselves for 50 per cent. more than the compulsory insurance, in case they choose, but must bear alone the expense of the extra insurance. Laborers upon whom insurance is not compulsory may likewise insure themselves in the Imperial Insurance Institution for pensions amounting at the most to six hundred marks per annum in case of complete disability, and four hundred and fifty marks in case of death.

The Imperial Insurance Institution may, with the approval of the Federal Council, insure the lives of those working for others in factories, etc., to the amount of six thousand marks. The extension of the business of the Insurance Institution so as to insure for the case of inability to work, caused by sickness or old age, is to be provided for by further legislation.

If an accident is due to gross culpability of the employer, he must indemnify the Insurance Institution for all expenses incurred under this law. If an employer fails to report his employés to the proper official with a view to having them insured, he is likewise bound to meet all the expenses of providing for any injured employé, according to the provisions of the law.

The employer pays the premiums for the laborers and deducts their share from their wages.

The three weightiest points of the bill are the compulsory nature of the insurance, the centralization of the business in the hands of the Imperial Government, and the distribution of the costs between laborer, employer and the public treasury of the State, or some part of it, as township, city or province.

The first characteristic of the bill to attract attention is its socialistic nature. No one is better aware of this than Prince Bismarck. It has been deliberately decided that private individuals, or voluntary combinations of private individuals, are unable to perform all the duties of society toward the poorer classes. The State is to become a benefactor and protector of the weak and needy. Bills introduced by Government are always accompanied with so-called "motives," explaining and defending them. The "motives" accompanying the Accident Insurance bill opened with these words:

That the State should care for its poorer members in a higher degree than it has formerly done is a duty demanded not only by humanity and Christianity—and all the institutions of State should be penetrated through and through by Christianity—but it is also a measure required for the preservation of the State. A sound policy should nourish in the indigent classes of the population, which are the most numerous and least instructed, the view that the State is a beneficial, as well as a necessary, arrangement. Legislative measures must

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bring them direct, easily-perceived advantages, to the end that they may learn to regard the State not merely as an institution devised for the protection of the wealthier classes, but as one which likewise ministers to their needs and interests.

Bismarck proposes, then, to conquer social democracy by recognizing and adopting into his own platform what there is of good in its demands. There can be no doubt that he believes in a large measure of socialism, and that his chief objection to social democracy lies in the violent overthrow of existing society which it advocates. Germany under his guidance has been moving very rapidly toward socialism. The last move in this direction was the purchase by Prussia of the Prussian private railways. It is manifest that, if this process is continued until the State has absorbed all kinds of business, the socialistic ideal will be realized. All production will be carried on by the State, and every man will be a civil service officer. If any one, considering all this, were still inclined to doubt Bismarck's proclivities, the fact that his favorite adviser in economic matters is now Professor Adolf Wagner, the most socialistically inclined of the professional socialists (*Kathedersocialisten*), ought to be satisfactory. Wagner has long admired Bismarck, and now he is *persona gratissima* with him.

Nor does Bismarck make any secret of the high estimate he put upon a man like Ferdinand Lassalle. He even took occasion once to express his admiration publicly in the Reichstag. The writer was in Germany at the time, and remembers well what a sensation his words created. He spoke as follows:¹ "Lassalle was one of the most gifted

¹ On the 17th of September, 1878.

and amiable men with whom I have ever associated; a man who was ambitious on a grand scale, but not the least of a republican; he had a very marked inclination toward a national monarchy; the idea toward the attainment of which his efforts were directed, was the German Empire, and in this we found a point of contact. Lassalle was ambitious on a grand scale, and whether the German Empire should close with the House of Hohenzollern or the House of Lassalle, that was perhaps doubtful, but his sympathies were through and through monarchical. * * * Lassalle was an energetic and exceedingly clever man, and it was always instructive to converse with him. Our conversations have lasted for hours, and I have always regretted their close. It would have given me great pleasure to have had a similarly gifted man for a neighbor in my country home."

It will be readily understood that those who object to the bill on the ground of its being socialistic make little impression upon Bismarck. Wagner himself called it socialism, but says it is a "piece of sound,

healthy socialism." It is true, moreover, that the charge of socialism is not sufficient to prove the injustice or even the inadvisability of the bill. As Wagner has pointed out, modern States all abound in socialistic and communistic arrangements. Many of the institutions of which modern civilization is most proud are types of the purest communism, as the public schools, public parks, public museums, etc., etc. Each one contributes according to his ability, and receives the use of them in proportion to his requirements. Many of the provisions of the Mosaic legislation were socialistic—as the prohibition of interest, the return of land, the freeing of slaves, and the relief from debt in the year of Jubilee. But it is not necessary to dwell long on the question of the justice of such a measure. If the state, when in danger, is allowed to demand the life and blood of the citizens, it can certainly require a small contribution from them to alleviate the dangerous discontent of the poorer classes. But in this concrete case it is especially just that a portion of the taxes should be used to benefit the laboring classes, since the taxation of Germany bears upon them with exceptional heaviness. This becomes apparent when we consider the amounts raised in England, France and Germany by indirect taxation and the articles upon which indirect taxes are laid.

In Germany, 57.1 per cent. of the revenue is derived by indirect taxation; in France, 50.4 per cent.; in England, 62 per cent.¹ But let us divide the articles taxed into three groups. The first group comprises the necessary articles of consumption, such as salt, grain, lard, herrings, pork. The second group embraces articles which have been consumed for such a long time by the masses that they have become almost necessities, such as coffee, tea, petroleum. The third group consists of luxuries in general use, as beer, wine, spices, tobacco, brandy. The first group yields 8.8 per cent. of all that is raised by taxation in Prussia; in France, only 2 per cent.; in England, nothing. Articles of the second group yield 15.7 per cent. of the revenue derived by taxation; in France, 11.1 per cent.; in England, 7.1 per cent. But when we come to articles of luxury we find the order reversed. Articles of the third group constitute 22.8 per cent. of the revenue derived from taxation in Prussia, 29.3 per cent. in France and 54.6 per cent. in England. I will give only one example to show how much more heavily indirect taxes of the kind used in Prussia bear upon the poor. The tax on tobacco is forty pfennigs a pound, whether it costs originally forty pfennigs or four

¹ I take these figures from the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* of October 20, 1881.

hundred. In the one case the poor man pays a tax of 100 per cent., and the rich man escapes with one of 10 per cent. Professor Wagner advocates the introduction of the tobacco monopoly in Germany with a view to using the entire profits therefrom for the alleviation of the condition of the laborers; in particular, to assist them in insuring themselves against accident, inability to work on account of old age or sickness, etc. He desires further that the entire revenue of certain taxes bearing with special severity on the laborers should be used in a similar manner, holding that even then they would bear their full share of the burdens of government.

But, it may be asked, even if it is just that the State should contribute to the insurance of workmen, is it right to force the employers to do so? At first sight nearly every one would give a negative answer to the question. The matter is not, however, so simple as it appears. To make this evident it is only necessary to state that Bismarck's bill is modeled after one drawn up by a large employer of labor, that employers are quite inclined to favor it, and, furthermore, that there are those who accuse them, although unjustly in the opinion of the writer, of being moved altogether by selfish motives in so doing. We shall not be able to form an intelligent opinion about this provision of the bill without inquiry into the present position of employers and the changes which would be effected in this position if the bill should become a law.

The present position of employers respecting accident to employés is determined first of all, and chiefly, by the law of June 7, 1871, called the *Haftpflichtgesetz*. This law compels the employer of laborers in mines, quarries and factories to indemnify them in full, or, in case of death, any who may have been dependent upon them, for all accidents which may happen to them in his service, provided that he himself or those whom he may have placed in charge of any of his laborers are to blame therefor. According to this law, an employer is held responsible for an accident which is not due to the laborer's carelessness—some higher power, as, *e. g.*, a tornado, or some circumstance over which he had no control. Whenever any necessary precaution has been neglected the employer is considered responsible. If a boiler which was known to be unsafe should explode, the employer would undoubtedly be held responsible for all injuries which his laborers thereby sustained. There are factory inspectors in Germany whose business it is to visit the factories and notify the owners of them of any change in the arrangements which the safety or health of the

laborers may require. Employers are held responsible for accidents which happen by reason of neglecting the instructions of the factory inspectors. The object of this law, which is said to be due to the exertions of members of the wealthier classes, is to make employers more regardful of the lives of laborers than they have usually been hitherto. The law is inforced in such manner that employers are held responsible for about one-fifth of all accidents which occur to laborers in such establishments as are mentioned by the law. The Accident Insurance bill would, if passed, annul this paragraph of the law of June 7, 1871. Employers would hereafter be held responsible only for those accidents due to their gross culpability (*grobes Verschulden*), or when an employer should in anger push or strike a laborer so as to cause him to fall into the machinery.

The annulment of this law would be a considerable saving to factory owners and other employers of laborers therin enumerated. Since the law was passed there have sprung up a number of private accident insurance companies. Employers generally insure laborers in these for those cases in which they themselves are responsible. Some of the larger and more generous factory owners have insured their laborers in these companies against all accidents. However, the law leads to numerous lawsuits, occasioning embitterment between labor-giver and laborers, lays a burden upon manufacturers which hampers them, it is said, in international competition, and, after all, provides for only one-fifth of those injured by accidents. It has led to no inconsiderable dissatisfaction. It has been proposed to increase the severity of this law so as to include all employers, and make them responsible for a larger share, or even all, of the accidents happening to those in their employ. There are those who urge the justice of this on the ground that the laborer is to be considered, in certain respects, as a machine or a horse. If an accident happens to a machine, the man in whose service it is working bears the loss. The same is the case with the horse. Why should this not hold so much the more with the human laborer? If it were the case, employers would be far more careful of the well-being of their hands. But, entirely apart from any considerations of abstract justice, it is urged on the other side—and with undoubted truth—that the law could not be carried out if its severity were increased as proposed. It would generally ruin a small carpenter, for example, able to employ perhaps two hands, to be required to support one of these for life because this one had been permanently injured while working for him. Compe-

tition would make it impossible for him to carry such a burden, even with the best will. The Accident Insurance bill, if it became a law, would put an end to the agitation for extending the *Haftpflichtgesetz*, and recommends itself to the employing class on this account.

But there are other burdens which German employers are compelled to bear for their laborers.

Laborers in mines, salt-works, establishments in which ore is separated from foreign substances, and often in quarries, are by law compelled to join a *Knappschaftskassen*. This is an insurance organization, which undertakes to provide for the laborers' assistance in time of sickness, inability to work on account of accident or other cause, and funeral expenses in case of death. Frequently they do a great deal more, granting pensions to widows and orphans, and providing free schools for the children of the laborers. The owners of the mines, salt-works, etc., are obliged by law to contribute one-half as much to the *Knappschaftskassen* as their men. Generally they contribute as much, and sometimes even more.

Again, every township in Germany has a legal right to force all laborers within its limits to unite for the purpose of insuring themselves against sickness in a so-called *Krankenkasse*. Every employer of labor can be required by the township to contribute one-half as much to the *Kasse* as his laborers. The Accident Insurance bill proposes to relieve to a certain extent employers of the burdens they are at present bearing. As far as this bill provides for laborers, other provisions would not be required to be made for them.

One purpose of the bill has been already stated. It is hoped that it will improve the condition of the poorer classes, remove dangerous discontent, and restore harmony and good-will between the various classes of society. Certainly no effort were too great which could attain so praiseworthy an object. The second leading purpose of the bill is to relieve the townships (*gemeinden*) of a part of the poor rates. In many places the burden of caring for the poor has already become so heavy as to cripple their finances seriously. It is becoming a grievous load everywhere in Europe, and particularly in Germany. The aims of the bill are good. It remains to be considered whether it is likely to accomplish what is expected of it by the Government.

There is no reason to doubt that it will afford relief to the local political bodies which are now charged with the care of the poor. Laborers are generally so poorly paid that they are not able to make provision for the future. Where they might do it they are often so

thoughtless as to neglect it. It must be confessed, too, that it appears difficult to save much out of a laborer's wages in a country where many a strong man jumps at a chance to work for twenty-five cents a day. Even in factories, where a large part of the labor is skilled, no one claims that wages average over one hundred and eighty-five dollars a year. The result is that as soon as any accident happens to a laborer the town is very often obliged to support him and his family. As already stated, the burden is a heavy one. What are we to do with our poor? has already become one of the questions of the day in Germany. Now, if the laborers are forced to provide for their own future, even with the assistance of their employers and the poor rate, it may relieve the townships. If the Imperial Insurance Institution is so arranged that it grants assistance chiefly in cases where there would otherwise be a call for public charity, it is manifest that the poor rates would be considerably lowered. At any rate, the care of a large body of the poor would pass from the local political bodies to the Empire.

But would the bill accomplish its first, its main, purpose? Would it give greater security to the economic life of the poorer classes, and render them happier and more contented? The answer to these questions is difficult. The advisability or the inadvisability of the proposed measure depends upon this answer.

Although the bill we are discussing represents only one part of Bismarck's programme, it would accomplish a great deal if it made adequate provision for those who were injured in factories, mines, etc. Probably no one who has not given the subject his attention has any idea of the number of lives that must be sacrificed in order that we may be clothed, housed and fed. The following table, taken from the Journal of the Prussian Statistical Bureau, gives the number of serious accidents which have happened to persons in Prussia during the last ten years:

	Number of accidents which happened both to those who were engaged in pursuing their trade or calling at the time, and to those who were not.		Number of accidents which happened to those who were engaged in pursuing their trade or calling.		
	Total number.	No. which proved mortal.	Mortal.	Not mortal.	Together.
1869	5,999	4,769	2,292	833	3,125
1870	6,127	4,708	2,375	1,110	3,485
1871	6,433	5,078	2,455	1,003	3,358
1872	6,805	5,234	2,622	1,245	3,867
1873	7,883	5,513	2,769	1,757	4,526
1874	8,771	5,761	2,807	1,347	5,154
1875	11,438	6,086	2,812	4,514	7,326
1876	13,600	6,141	2,745	5,588	8,333
1877	.....	.....	2,476	.....	.....
1878	.....	.....	2,502	.....	.....

But only a comparatively small proportion of the accidents come to the notice of the proper authorities. The more serious ones, particularly those involving loss of life, are, of course, reported far more regularly than those which are less grave in their consequences. The factory inspector of Hanover calculated that 1,700 serious accidents happened in Hanover in 1879, of which only 116 were reported. A large employer of labor estimates that from 60,000 to 80,000 laborers are seriously injured every year in Prussia while engaged in pursuing their avocations. Professor Schmoller, of Strassburg, considers that the estimate is not an exaggerated one.¹ It has been calculated that in Berlin, according to the statistics from 1876 to 1879, 1 per cent. of the laborers in that city are injured seriously by accident every year.

Now, the success of Bismarck's project depends upon the manner in which these injured laborers and their families are cared for. If they are simply kept from starving, and are made to feel that they are receiving a favor in obtaining the minimum necessary to support life, they will certainly not be grateful. The poor law does thus much for them now without their having to make a special contribution to the poor fund. If the law were administered in this manner it would be nothing else than a device for shifting a large part of the poor rate upon the shoulders of the laboring classes. A number of Bismarck's liberal opponents claim that it is nothing else. It is certain that it does not make generous provision for those whom it claims to benefit. In the first place, the bill would confer no benefit on those whose injuries rendered them incapable of work for less than four weeks. The Accident Insurance Institution is designed to confer advantages only on those whose injuries render them incapable of work for more than four weeks, such advantages to begin with the fifth week, and on the families of those who die from the effects of the accident. Calculations made in the Prussian Statistical Bureau show that only one-third of those injured in their work by accidents are rendered incapable of labor for over four weeks. Two-thirds of those injured by accident would receive no benefit from the Imperial Accident Insurance Institution, however long they might have contributed to it. We have seen already that townships have a right to force all laborers dwelling within their borders to contribute to a fund for the maintenance of the sick. It is expected that this fund, or the "sick fund" (*Kraukenkasse*) of some voluntary association to which the laborer

¹ Materialien zum Arbeiterversicherungswesen in the Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft. V. 1. (1881.)

may chance to belong, will keep him the first four weeks. But the truth is that there are no such funds in many of the townships. They are allowed to create them, but are not compelled to do so. Where they do exist they appear to care for the sick in a very indifferent manner, and to grant their aid rather as a matter of charity than as something to which the laborers have a legal claim.

To see better how this measure will operate, if adopted, let us suppose the following case. A factory laborer, with a wife, and two children aged respectively four and six years, is injured by the machinery so that he dies after an illness of thirteen weeks. His daily wages are what would be called good in Germany—we will say sixty cents. For the first four weeks he receives no assistance whatever from the Imperial Accident Insurance Institution. As he has suffered misfortune before, he has only a small sum in the savings bank. He receives from some "sick fund" an allowance of twenty-five cents daily; but, as he has been severely injured, he requires a considerable medical attendance from a good physician. The family must also live, and the wife is unable to earn money since her whole time is required to nurse her husband. The result is that at the expiration of four weeks the fifty or sixty dollars the laborer had in the savings bank are all gone. At the beginning of the fifth week the laborer begins to receive some returns from the money he has been spending during the last fifteen years for insurance. For the remaining nine weeks of his illness the entire cost of medical treatment, inclusive of medicines, is borne by the Accident Insurance Institution, besides which he receives from the same source forty cents a day. This is not a very munificent allowance to support a sick man and a family, but it might possibly be made to do in Germany. If it were granted to the man as his right, without any complaint, it would be better than to be thrown upon the town. The entire family might experience some feeling of gratitude to the State that they were not dependent upon charity. At the expiration of the thirteenth week the man dies. The widow receives eighteen dollars to defray the expenses of the funeral, which might possibly suffice in Germany. Remaining a widow for two years, she receives a pension of twelve cents a day, besides six cents a day for each child. The annual income of the family is seventy-two dollars. It would perhaps be barely possible to live on this, though to do so would hardly conduce to a contented and grateful state of mind on the part of the widow. She would probably be obliged to earn money herself, but this would be no peculiar hardship, as the wives of laboring

men in Germany are generally compelled to contribute to the support of their families even while their husbands are living. If, however, grief at her husband's death and the weakness and reaction following upon the constant nursing of a sick husband for thirteen weeks should result in confining her to her bed for any length of time, the family would certainly become partially dependent upon charity. We suppose that the widow remarries at the expiration of the second year. Each orphan then receives six cents a day until he or she has arrived at the age of fifteen. This sum is entirely inadequate to the support of any child. The children are not allowed to earn any money, as the German School law—very fortunately, too—keeps them in school until they are fifteen. The case given is more favorable than perhaps the majority would be under this law. In many cases the laborers have absolutely nothing ahead. It would frequently happen in such cases that the assistance of the Accident Insurance Institution would come too late. The inadequate provision made by the "sick fund" for the first four weeks would not enable him to receive proper treatment, and at the beginning of the fifth week the best physicians would find his case hopeless. Again, it occurs often enough that a man's average income does not exceed thirty cents a day. In such cases the widow's daily pension would be six cents—that of each child three!

It cannot be claimed that the workings of the measure would be very satisfactory to the laboring population. It appears, however, that they would be rather better situated than at present in cases when accidents did occur; but it may be fairly doubted whether its beneficial effects would be so marked as to produce a change in the sentiments of the working classes, and convert them from social democracy. The disease which troubles Germany is of such a kind as to require heroic treatment. Half-way measures will only increase the existing embitterment by exciting hopes and expectations which cannot be fulfilled. The workings of the insurance institution must be extended so as to benefit very perceptibly large classes of the people if it is to introduce, as hoped, a new era of peace and good-will. In fact, the friends of the Accident Insurance bill look upon the insurance against accidents as only a beginning. Insurance is contemplated to provide for the widows and orphans in case of death from any cause, to defray funeral expenses, to meet the needs of the time when one is unable to work on account of old age, sickness or other cause, and, finally, even to protect one against inability to find work owing to "hard times". The

laborer himself in Germany is unable at present to defray the necessary expenses of such extensive insurance. If it is to be carried out, it would be advisable to set apart certain taxes to assist workingmen to insure themselves. This, as already stated, is what Wagner and others propose. The tobacco monopoly in particular is advocated for this purpose. Wagner calculates that it would yield a clear annual profit of one hundred and thirty millions of marks at once, and eventually one of two hundred millions. This would be a great help in carrying out his ideas. He calls the monopoly the "patrimony of the disinherited" ("*Patrimonium der Enterbten.*")¹ It is because the insurance against accidents is looked upon as only a beginning that the proposal finds so much favor among the social democrats. Bebel, perhaps now the leader of the social democrats, was one of the most earnest supporters of Bismarck's Insurance bill in the Reichstag a year ago. Kayser, another social democrat, declared recently that he would let no one "bulldoze" him—he would defend Bismarck! All this makes a very strange impression upon one who is acquainted with political affairs in Germany. It reminds one of an ancient prophecy: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock."

In judging the plan of compulsory insurance it is necessary to remember that it is not something entirely new for Germany. It has existed to a greater or less extent for centuries, and its workings have not been altogether unsatisfactory. The most prominent case of compulsory insurance is the *Knappschoffs Kassen*, which can be traced back to the thirteenth century. Every miner is forced to belong to them. In 1878 they expended in Prussia over twelve millions of marks in the relief of the laboring classes. Insurance is also compulsory for all civil service officers. It is a great benefit to these classes, and I believe no one would dream of abolishing it for the civil service.

No other country is so interesting to the political economist as Germany. One obstacle in the way of economic investigation is the difficulty of making experiments. We cannot separate and combine our factors, as in physics. Experiments in the field of political economy involve the welfare of thousands and millions of human beings. They can never be made merely *as* experiments. But the past and the present life of the world is necessarily a vast economic experiment. The

¹ To speak of the laboring classes as "the disinherited" originated with the social democrats. It is curious to remember that a few years ago Government gave as one reason for prohibiting the sale of a certain book in Germany the fact that it called the laboring classes "*die Enterbten*". Now it has become a favorite expression in governmental circles!

political economist must advance his science by studying this. In doing so he will have his attention constantly drawn to Germany. The weightiest economic experiments are being made there with a rapidity which fairly makes the observer hold his breath. It behooves us Americans to follow diligently the course of these experiments, for we may be sure that the same social problems which now vex Germany will one day confront us.

RICHARD T. ELY.

THE JURISDICTION OF NEW JERSEY IN THE GUITEAU CASE.

IN view of the reasonable doubt that exists as to the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia to try the case of Guiteau,¹ and of the undoubted fact that the Federal Courts have no jurisdiction in the case at all,² it becomes a matter of considerable importance to ascertain how far the tribunals of the State of New Jersey can exercise the right to try and punish the murderer of James A. Garfield.

The positive conclusion arrived at by Mr. Lippitt, in the April number of this Review, against the right of New Jersey to exercise such a jurisdiction, conduces to render the situation still more alarming, and make us wonder whether this appalling crime, though not unusual in its legal ingredients, shall, after all, go unpunished except, it may be, by an infuriated populace. But a cursory examination of the law upon this subject has convinced me that Mr. Lippitt's conclusions are not legally or morally tenable.

It may be admitted on all sides that this was a case of murder; that the victim was fatally shot in the District of Columbia; that his death occurred in the State of New Jersey; that the accused has not been within the State of New Jersey since the time immediately preceding the shot; and that he is not a citizen of the State of New Jersey.

¹ *The United States vs. Bladen*, 1 Cranch, Circuit Court, 548.

² The jurisdiction of the District of Columbia is, in any case, exclusive of the United States (see Revised Code of District of Columbia, p. 508, § 4); and, if we consider the question with regard to the place where the death occurred, the fact that that portion of the offense took place within a State ousts the Federal jurisdiction. [See Revised Statutes of United States, p. 138, § 730; *United States vs. Jackalow*, 1 Black, 486; *United States vs. Baker*, 5 Blatch., Circuit Court, 6.]

In order to provide for such a case, the Legislature of New Jersey passed an act,¹ the material parts of which are as follows:

Where any person shall be feloniously stricken or poisoned upon the sea, or at any place out of the jurisdiction of this State, and shall die of the same stroke or poisoning within the jurisdiction of this State, * * * an indictment thereof found by jurors of the county within the jurisdiction of this State in which such death, stroke or poisoning shall happen, * * * shall be as good, etc. * * * as if such * * * stroke, etc. * * * had happened in the same county where such indictment shall be found.

As it is therefore obvious that such a law exists, and that its language is clear and ample for the present case, the only objections to the jurisdiction of New Jersey are founded upon the proposition that it is beyond the scope of the Legislature to make such an act.

In support of this proposition the following reasons are offered:

1. That the act is repugnant to common sense.
2. That it is opposed to the law of nations.
3. That it is unconstitutional.
4. That it exerts extra-territorial jurisdiction.

The second and fourth reasons more properly belong to the same head, viz., of international law, but seem to have been considered separately.

The first reason in its legal aspect can be dismissed summarily. The Legislature of a sovereign State may pass any law, however nonsensical; and when passed, if constitutional, it must be obeyed. The only method by which legislative nonsense may be removed is to remove nonsensical legislators.

"If there be no constitutional objection to a statute," says Kent, "it is with us as absolute and uncontrollable as the laws flowing from the sovereign power under any other form of government."²

This brings us naturally to the third reason, and raises the inquiry whether any constitutional objection to the statute exists.

To authorize a court to declare a statute unconstitutional it should be able to point out the part of the Constitution violated, and the infraction should be clear and free from a reasonable doubt. Surely no authority is needed to sustain this assertion. The Constitution is a restraining, not an enlarging, power, as far as Legislatures are concerned. If, therefore, no affirmative objection is made to an act, it must be constitutional.

The case supposed by Mr. Lippitt, on page 397, of an act of New Jersey authorizing the arrest of an offender in New York, by a

¹ Revised Statutes, p. 282, § 78.

² Kent, 448; and see 1 Blackstone, * 91.

New Jersey constable, for an offense committed in New York, is an apt instance of an act which, being in contravention to an express provision of the Federal Constitution,¹ would be declared unconstitutional.

Nor do the words, "The legislative power shall be vested in a Senate and General Assembly," cited from the New Jersey Constitution,² prove anything more than that the Senate and the General Assembly have been invested with the amplest legislative powers.

The third and fourth objections may be answered at the same time.

Admitting the general principles of international law to be that "the Legislature of every country is territorial; beyond its own territory it can only affect its own subjects or citizens,"³ it by no means follows that the courts of a State can overturn the will of the sovereign people, as it is voiced by their Legislature, and declare an act void merely because it opposes those general principles.

"When, therefore," says Dwarris,⁴ "the supreme power of a community decrees anything which may even be injurious to one, or to a few, of its subjects, it is their duty to acquiesce and not to disturb the peace of society, attempt to subvert the constitution of their country, or to diminish the veneration for its laws, which would be bringing a greater evil upon the whole community."

A fortiori, does this apply to an act alleged to be injurious to aliens only?

Consistently with this rule, the principles of international law are invoked not to subserve a statute, but to assist in its interpretation.⁵

And it is only in cases where the language of the act is doubtful that such principles are allowed to predominate.⁶

This rule is illustrated by many of the English cases cited by Mr. Lippitt on page 394 of his paper. It will be observed that the offenders in crimes committed outside of England, and who might be tried in England under the statute,⁷ were restricted to citizens of Great Britain, because the statutes, one and all,⁸ *in terms* restricted them to that class. The question was always one of construction,

¹ Art. IV., § 2, ¶ 2.

² Page 396.

³ *Rose vs. Himely*, 4 Cranch Rep., 241.

⁴ Potter's Dwarris on Statutes and Constitutions, p. 37.

⁵ Maxwell's Interp. of Statutes, 122.

⁶ I can do no better than to refer to the authorities cited by Mr. Lippitt on pp. 399 and 400. Bluntschli, *Droit Int.*, 847; The Zollverein Swabey Admiralty Rep., 69; Wells Jurisd. of Courts, 319, and Cases.

⁷ 9 Geo. IV., c. 31, §8.

⁸ 28 H. VIII., c. 15; 33 H. VIII., c. 23; 43 Geo. III., c. 113.

interpretation or applicability, and never touched upon what the courts there knew was beyond their province—that is to say, upon the validity of the acts.¹

As a matter of fact, no such act as that of New Jersey ever existed in England.

Even if we disregard, for the purposes of the argument, these well-established rules, it is not entirely clear that this act would be opposed to international law.

Hertius and Voet both say that crimes committed in one State may, if the criminal is found in another State, be, upon demand, punished there.²

All that remains, in order to comply with this rule, is that the District of Columbia shall give Guiteau to the State of New Jersey and demand his trial there.³

The mere fact that a State exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction is not one at which the citizens of this country need shudder with any great apprehension.

The courts of every State are constantly and beneficially exerting such jurisdiction. Where an offense is committed partly in one State and partly in another, each State may try the offender for the *whole* offense if the offense in question admits of no division.

For example, in a case of uttering forged coin, the offender can be punished as a cheat by the State and as a forger by the Federal Government, because the crime may be looked at in those two aspects.⁴

But where, as in homicide especially, the offense is bi-jurisdictional, but indivisible, the sovereign who first tries *absorbs* the jurisdiction of the *whole offense*, and a plea of *autrefois convict* under that trial will be a bar to prosecution by the sovereign against whose peace and dignity a part of the offense was committed.⁵

In discussing these objections to the New Jersey statute I have hitherto assumed what is not exactly true. I have assumed that the offense in question was committed out of New Jersey.

I submit that Guiteau's offense was against the peace and dignity of New Jersey, as well as of the District of Columbia.

¹ *Reg. vs. Lewis*, 7 Cox Crim. Cases, 277; 5 Law Rep., Privy Council, 198, App. Cases; *Rex. vs. Depardo*, 1 Taunton 17, etc.

² P. Voet de Statue, § 4, ch. 2; Hertius 6, p. 123, ed. 1715.

³ Martens, B. 3, ch. 3, § 22; Vattel, B. 2, ch. 2, § 76.

⁴ *Fox vs. Ohio*, 5 How. U. S., 410; *U. S. vs. Marigold*, 9 How. U. S., 560.

⁵ 13 Mass., 245; 49 Ga., 375; 3 Mo., 414; 40 Ind., 343; 5 Wheat., 184; 6 McLean, 355; 4 Am. L. J., 164; 13 Mass., 455; Halleck, 175; Woolsey, § 77; Hélie, *Traité de l'Instruction Criminelle*, p. 621,

It is a clear legal error to say that "it was the shooting, and the shooting only, that constituted the criminal act."¹

Criminal homicide consists in the unlawful taking by one human being of the life of another, in such a manner that he dies within a year and a day from the time of the giving of the mortal wound.²

Here are two equally important component parts to the offense—the death and the blow.

The injury must continue to affect the body of the victim until his death. No repentance or change of purpose after inflicting the injury, or setting in motion the force by means of which it is inflicted, will excuse the criminal.

That the death alone of the victim is against the peace and dignity of the sovereign may be well inferred from those acts in England that gave jurisdiction to the county where the death occurred, "and yet though the *cause* of his death began in the other county."³

"The death which ensued on the stroke makes the felony."⁴

The reason that offenses committed in two counties could not, at common law, be tried in either, was that the grand inquest of either county could not *inquire* of the whole offense.⁵

It has never been asserted by Lord Hale or Lord Coke that the death was not against the peace of the sovereignty where it occurs.

Whatever is an absolute ingredient of a crime is, without doubt, against the peace of the sovereignty which it offends.

Nor is this theory anything but reasonable on general principles. The breach of peace in many crimes is necessarily constructive.

But, apart from this, cases may easily be imagined in which the death is the real cause of offense to the sovereign. An illustration of this would occur if I gave some one in the State of New York a powder, representing it to be a beneficial drug. The recipient of the powder puts it in his pocket and leaves me, and I never see him again. Without my knowledge he goes to New Jersey, there swallows the powder, which is poison, and dies upon the street. In such a case I may ask,

First, Whose peace have I actually broken; that of New York, or that of New Jersey?

Second, Did not the victim go to New Jersey entirely without my

¹ See Mr. Lippitt's article, p. 391.

² 1 Hale P. C., 475; *People vs. Adams*, 3 Denio, 207.

³ Fitz. Ab. Corone, 373; 2 and 3 Edw. VI., c. 24.

⁴ Bulwer's case, 7 Co. Rep., 51, 18 E. 3, 32.

⁵ 1 Chitty Crim. L., 178; 2 Id., 733; 1 Hale P. C., 651; 1 East Cr. L., 361.

consent or knowledge; and yet was not nine-tenths of the crime actually committed there?

It is not necessary that the accused should be acting maliciously against the particular State that seeks to try him. If I deliberately throw a big log from a height into a crowded street, though I may have no actual malice, and if the log kills a passer-by, it is murder, and the law will imply the malice for me.

Nor is it more than sophism to say that if the place of the death had jurisdiction "it could never be found out until the victim dies by what law the offender may be tried," for that is the law at present, and a reasonable law.

In conclusion, I beg to call attention to the Massachusetts and the Wisconsin cases,¹ which I will not cite at length, because it is admitted that they sustain my position in every particular. Speaking of a precisely similar statute in Massachusetts, Judge Gray says: "There is no more reason against holding the wrongdoer criminally liable in the State where his victim dies from the continuous operation of the mortal blow than in those to which the flowing water carries the injurious effect of his nuisance to property, or the circulation of his libel extends the injury to reputation."²

In 1878 the case of *Hunter vs. The State of New Jersey*³ brought up the question of the validity of the act fairly and squarely before the highest tribunal of that State. To be sure, the blow was in New Jersey, while the death occurred in Pennsylvania. But the act was construed and tested as a unit, and the reasoning of the Court applies as well to one set of circumstances as to the other.

It is significant, if for nothing else, to show a complete revulsion of feeling on the part of the judiciary in that State when the opinions expressed are contrasted with the *dicta* in Carter's case.⁴

It was held in Hunter's case that the act was a reasonable one in all its provisions, but at the same time there was no doubt that the Legislature could pass such an act, whether reasonable or unreasonable.

There was no dissenting voice to the long and elaborate opinion which was filed by Chief Justice Beasley, and concurred in by the Chancellor and twelve associate justices.

In conclusion, let me quote the language of Mr. Lippitt himself (p. 393):

¹ *Com. vs. MacLoon*, 101 Mass., 1; *Tyler vs. People*, 8 Mich., 320.

² *Com. vs. MacLoon*, *supra.*, p. 6.

³ 11 Vroom, 495.

⁴ 3 Dutch., 499.

The common sense principle is that an offense is committed, not always where the offender personally stands, but where his act is intended to take effect, and does take effect. It is on this principle that courts have based the doctrine of constructive presence in the commissions of crimes, and adhere to it the more firmly perhaps in consideration of the fact that, *without such recognition of a constructive presence, certain offenses could never be punished at all.*

To which let me add that while, on the one hand, it should be the care of the legislator to respect the rights of foreign nations and of the sister States in the fashioning of the local laws, it is, on the other hand, the duty of the interpreter of those laws to disregard, as far as he reasonably may, the boundaries of States of a country which is, after all, one great nation, having a community of political and social interests, and a common feeling that an offense committed in any one part is, after all, actually, if not constructively, an offense against the peace, dignity and sovereignty of the whole body of its citizens.

LINCOLN L. EYRE.

BOOK REVIEWS.

“CYCLOPÆDIA of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States.”¹ The editor of this work, in his preface, says: “Neither American nor English literature has hitherto possessed a cyclopædia of political science and political economy. The want of a work of reference on these important branches of knowledge has long been felt, especially by lawyers, journalists, members of our State and National Legislatures, and by the large and intelligent class of capitalists and business men who give serious thought to the political and social questions of the day. The present work, which will be completed in three volumes, is the first to supply that want. It is also the first political history of the United States in encyclopædic form. The French, the Germans, and even the Italians, are richer in works on political science and political economy than the Americans or the English. The Germans have Rotteck and Welker’s *Staatslexikon*, Bluntschli and Brater’s *Staatswoerterbuch*; the

¹ Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States. By the best American and European writers. Edited by John J. Lalor. Vol. I. Abdication—Duty. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 1881.

French, Block's *Dictionnaire Général de la Politique*, and the celebrated *Dictionnaire de l'Economie Politique*, edited by Guillaumin and Coquelin." The editor remarks, further, that the "Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States" is intended to be to the American reader what the above-named works are to French and German readers. It is true that English literature has hitherto had no cyclopædia like the present, devoted to political science and political economy, and that the want of one has long been felt. It is also true that the political history of the United States has never been presented in a manner so convenient for reference as it is here. Opinions will differ as to what should be the plan of a special cyclopædia like the present, as to what articles should properly find a place in it, and what should not. This is to be expected. No reasonable objection, however, can be found to the plan adopted by Mr. Lalor. With special dictionaries and cyclopædias on politics and political economy before him, edited by very distinguished men on the other side of the Atlantic, it was scarcely possible for the editor of the present work to go astray in the selection of a plan. If he has erred here, he has erred with the most distinguished writers on political economy and political science, engaged with precisely the same task as himself. Considering that the cyclopædia is to be limited to three volumes, we do not see how the general plan of the work could be much improved. In its principal features the plan is a judicious combination of those of Bluntschli, Block and Coquelin. There is one feature of the present work, however, peculiar to it. It is a political history of the United States. The articles in this first volume are, in nearly all cases, written by specialists and signed by the writers. A glance at the first volume shows that the cyclopædia of political science is intended to cover politics in general, the political systems of the various countries, as well as the political history of the United States, international law, parliamentary law, the living questions of the hour in this country, etc. Among the American writers we notice the names of Edward Atkinson, of Boston (Banks, Function of); Horatio Burchard, Director of the Mint (Coinage); Judge Thomas M. Cooley (Bar, Corporations); Dorman B. Eaton (Civil Service, etc.); Max Eberhardt (Bundesreth, Aliens, etc.); Henry George (Chinese Emigration); William E. Griffis (China, Corea); E. S. Isham (Economic Aspects of Corporations); John A. Jameson (The Constitutional Convention); John J. Knox, Comptroller of the Currency (Banking in the United States, National Banks); Henry D. Lloyd (Clearing

House); Judge Lowell, Chestnut Hill, Mass. (Bankruptcy); A. R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress (Academies, Ballot, Budget, Congress); Simon Sterne (Administration of American Cities); E. J. James (Customs Duties, Banks of Issue); John P. Townsend, of New York (Savings Banks); R. P. Porter (Debts); J. D. Weeks (Conseil de Prud'hommes); David A. Wells (American Merchant Marine, Distilled Spirits); Horace White (Commercial Crises); Frederick W. Whitridge (Political Assessments, etc.); Talcott Williams (Apportionment); H. B. Witton (Dominion of Canada); Theo. S. Woolsey (Blockade). The articles on the Political History of the United States are all, or nearly all, written by Alexander Johnston, of Norwalk, Conn. Mr. Y. E. Cliffe Leslie, the distinguished English Economist, has furnished articles on Cost of Production, Definitions in Political Economy, etc. All the articles by the above writers are of the highest order of merit. We do not hesitate to say that those, for instance, by Comptroller Knox, Horace White, Talcott Williams, John P. Townsend, David A. Wells, H. B. Witton, Dorman B. Eaton, Henry George, E. J. James, Frederick A. Whitridge, Simon Sterne, Henry D. Lloyd and Judge Jameson are superior, on their subjects respectively, to any others in the language; and that they are, like those of Mr. Leslie, destined to be of permanent authority. We can say as much of Mr. Alexander Johnston's articles, which are models of accuracy and conciseness, so far, at least, as we have been able to examine them. Based, as the Cyclopædia is, on French and German Cyclopædias of a similar nature, Mr. Lalor, the editor, has drawn largely from the latter. As a rule, however, the only thing foreign in the translated articles is the name of the writer. Several of the articles in the department of political economy were written a good many years ago. This detracts nothing from their value. We have examined several of them, such as "Accumulation of Wealth," "Distribution of Wealth," "Demand and Supply," "Credit," "Appropriation," "Agents, Natural," "Banks," "Capital," "Charity, State," etc., etc., and we find them as instructive, accurate and fresh as if written yesterday. As to many of the articles in the department of politics, such as "Aryan Races," "Aristocratic and Democratic Political Ideas," "Absolutism," "Democracy," "Representative Democracy," etc., etc., by the celebrated Bluntschli, we doubt if they could be improved; and the principles laid down in them are as applicable here as in Europe. In a few instances, but very few, statistics might have been brought down to a later date. So, for instance, in the article "Credit

Foncier;" and the question of "Divorce" might have been more profitably treated by an American writer for the benefit of our legislators. But even what we have here on "Credit Foncier" and "Divorce" is good. Our only criticism is that it might have been better. There can be no doubt that the Cyclopædia of Political Science, for the bringing out of which the Messrs. Rand, McNally & Co. deserve high praise, is destined to obtain a permanent place in American literature.

"American Statesmen—John Quincy Adams."¹ Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have planned a series of "books which shall, when taken together, indicate the lines of political thought and development in American history," and not be mere personal biographies. The series has the high ambition "to combine with the results of profound study the quality of agreeableness for the general reader." Noted names form the list of material ready and in preparation. Hamilton, Calhoun, Jackson, Randolph, for early publication; Madison, Monroe, Clay, Gallatin, Patrick Henry, in preparation; while such names as Von Holst, President Gilman, Professor Sumner, Carl Schurz are in the list of writers of the biographies. In the volume before us we have the initial volume of the series. It is a book of high worth for the youth who has the kind of interest that will lead him to see what is in it, full of encouragement for a boy who wants to do something, but does not see how. We can see some danger of discouragement to the ordinary boy when he sees what a letter the ten-year-old John Quincy Adams could write, and when he sees the opening that trips to Europe made for him. We can see that the belligerent type of heroism developed in the circumstances of his time may have a tendency to extol the rougher virtues at the expense of amenities and kindly courtesy. Yet, on the whole, we incline to think that the youth from ten to twenty who will read the book will be morally stronger for its perusal. Almost every boy, as he begins to learn what he can do, finds also that he lacks in some direction, and there is a point of struggle more or less marked in deciding whether to earn a little more of immediate compensation, or to put by the offer till a better foundation is laid. When John Quincy Adams, taught but little in formal schools, could turn his back on European opportunities to go home and strengthen himself by a college course, every boy who has had to

¹ American Statesmen—John Quincy Adams. By John T. Morse, Jr. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 16mo, 315 pp. \$1.25.

balance between immediate wages and more education appreciates the situation. It is encouraging, too, to the boy of limited privileges, as we talk nowadays, to see this sturdy fellow enter in an advanced college class. Too much hair-splitting grading hurts intellectual digestion, and the boy who sets out to learn does not depend on his teachers to smooth out the difficulties. The book is valuable to more mature readers who wish to strengthen their knowledge of our history. The events in which such men as Mr. Adams took part constitute the authority by which his biography is worth something to those outside his family, and these events make our national life. The enforced brevity of such a biography can but suggest the mass of material which was available in this particular instance. It is the intention to have every detail historically accurate, so as to make each book of the series an authority so far as it goes.

We welcome the series as typified in this volume as a valuable addition to the material now in reach of our youth, and of adults who cannot have free access to voluminous original authorities, or who would lack the time if the books were at hand. For books of essay and general discussion, good tables of contents may be sufficient; but a large amount of labor put upon an index for such works as these biographies will bring its reward. The index should be more nearly exhaustive. For example, for "Wise, Henry A." we have only "Treatment of Mr. Adams, 295." To this might have been added, at least, "Acrimonious debate with Mr. Adams, 284-7" (Wise is named on every page from 284 to 287); "Opinion of Twenty-sixth Congress, 293." This is a matter easily adjusted in later editions.

"Physical Education, or the Health-Laws of Nature."¹ This is an energetic book, written by a man who feels cramped and hindered by the physical tendencies of religious abuses; charging, a little extravagantly sometimes, to religious ideas that which would remain if religion were cast off entirely. Such a strong way of putting the warnings of a physician is largely justified by the apathy with which any one who sounds the alarm on bad eating, bad drinking, bad breathing and bad clothing finds himself received. The intolerant laws of the Middle Ages, sometimes brought down to the present day, are denounced in the style of Buckle, from whom many verifications

¹ Physical Education, or the Health-Laws of Nature. By Felix L. Oswald, M. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882. 12mo, pp. 257.

of ascetic cruelty to self and to society are taken. The work has a good table of contents. Its chapters treat of "Diet," "In-door Life," "Out-door Life," "Gymnastics," "Clothing," "Sleep," "Recreation," "Remedial Education," "Hygienic Precautions," "Popular Fallacies." It is an intensely suggestive book, and cannot fail to awaken profitable thought and improve sanitary action in any case where one takes interest enough to read it with care. Dr. Oswald does not believe the puny condition of the vast majority of city boys is necessary. Mothers would find the chapters on clothing, on exercise, and on food profitable, yet most of them would have to lay down the book with something of the condemnation that reached David when Nathan said to him, "Thou art the man." The whole work is a vigorous protest against conventional abuses, and a plea for Nature's modes. "If I should name the greatest danger of childhood, I would unhesitatingly say, Medicine." "Christian mothers reproach themselves with neglecting their duty to their children if they do not constantly interfere with their movements." "The disease itself is a cry for help. But not for drugs. Instead of '*taking* something,' something ought to be *done*, and oftener something habitually done ought to be *omitted*." "If the baby won't stop crying something ought to be done about it. Yes, and as soon as possible; remove the strait-jacket apparatus, * * * let him roll, tumble and kick to his heart's content, and complete his happiness by throwing the paregoric bottle out of the window." Here is a warning for children of a larger growth: "I venture the assertion that in nineteen out of twenty cases of comatose sunstroke it will be found that the victims were persons who had gone to work in the hot sun after a meal of greasy viands. One to two P. M. is the sunstroke hour." The pithy final paragraph will end our quotations: "The religion of the ancients exalted vice as well as nature. Our present religion suppresses nature as well as vice. The religion of the future will teach us to distinguish between vice and nature."

"Dictionary of the English Language."¹ How can we adequately characterize this great quarto, with its almost 2,000 pages, in any space at our command? The mere description of its vocabularies of usual words, of scripture and of classical names, its geographical lists, its philological discussions, the supplements by which the publishers aim

¹ Dictionary of the English Language. By Noah Webster, LL.D. Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam.

to meet the constant demand for growth, would occupy more than we can command, even without a word of comment. Fortunately, a kind of autobiographical note is at hand, most aptly meeting the need. It is brief, but it suggests vastly more than it says. It indicates how deeply the name of Noah Webster and his work are identified with the growth and the education of even our old men. It reminds us how the affections of scholars cling about the books which are identified with their struggles and their successes. The present honored and useful position of the writer is a lesson to youth who feel that they have a hard lot, shut off from advantages, to make close friends of men whom they can never meet face to face by an intimate association with their grand literary achievements, making them private counselors in the expression and in the molding of their own best thoughts and feelings:

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1881.

Webster's Dictionary has been my *vade mecum* for more than fifty years. The first book that I ever bought, and which was bought with the proceeds of an article produced by me on the farm, was a copy of Webster's School Dictionary. I carried it home from Albany in a handkerchief, and prized it almost as highly as I did my Bible. The Dictionary has been of incalculable value to the language and literature of this nation.

(Signed,)

JOSEPH P. BRADLEY,
Justice of Supreme Court, U. S.

The recognized educational force of Webster through his Dictionary in the past is but a hint of what the boys of to-day may make it do for the nation in another half century.

THE
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JUNE, 1882.

THE GENESIS OF MODERN ABOLITIONISM.

THE Anti-slavery movement of this country may properly be divided into two dispensations. The first had its beginning soon after the introduction of slavery into the colonies, and ended, with only partial results, near the close of the last century. The second began early in the present century, just as slavery was entering upon its baleful career of domination, and closed with its destruction by the power of war, for which the nation had been prepared by the moral and political agitation which preceded the final conflict. Each of these dispensations has its history, and should be studied in the light of its distinguishing facts.

It is gratifying to know that the evils of American slavery were never without their witness. As early as the year 1688, some German Quakers in Pennsylvania lifted up their voices against the traffic in men. This was seconded by the official action of the yearly meeting for the Colonies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1696. The earliest official action of the New England Quakers against the slave trade was in 1715. William Burling was the first anti-slavery Quaker of any note in this country, and was followed by Ralph Sandiford, who wrote against slavery in 1729, and by Benjamin Lay, who wrote and spoke against it in 1737. The labors of these anti-slavery apostles were followed by those of the untiring and ever-faithful Anthony Benezett and his powerful coadjutor, John Woolman, whose traveling ministry of more than twenty years bore witness to his faithfulness, and largely aided the complete emancipation of the Society of Friends from the evil of slavery, which was

accomplished in the colonies in which he labored soon after his death.

In 1733 General Oglethorpe, who was the friend of Granville Sharpe, landed in Georgia with one hundred and twenty emigrants, and made a vigorous effort to save that colony from the scourge of slavery. In this effort he had the coöperation of John Wesley, but the colonial charter was taken away, and slavery triumphed. The decided stand taken by Wesley and Whitfield while in the colonies is well known. The former said "slave-dealers are man-stealers, and men-buyers exactly on a level with men-stealers." Jonathan Edwards belonged to the same class of abolitionists, and declared that slaveholding is "a greater crime than fornication, theft or robbery." Dr. Samuel Hopkins, in 1769, took equally strong ground on the subject. Hostility to slavery and the slave trade so increased in the colonies that those of New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia petitioned the throne for the abolition of the foreign traffic, and their Legislatures passed laws against it; but the parent country turned a deaf ear to their wishes. As the era of independence approached, the anti-slavery tide reached its flood, as was shown by the non-importation resolves of the Continental Congress of 1774, and the concurring action of the separate colonies. The year before Thomas Paine electrified the country by his "Common Sense" he wrote an anti-slavery article, which appeared in Bradford's *Pennsylvania Journal*, in which he predicted the separation of America from Britain, and expressed the hope that our gratitude for the event might be shown by "an act of continental legislation which shall put a stop to the importation of negroes, soften the hard fate of those already here, and in time procure their freedom." During the Revolutionary war, and up to the year 1789, slaves escaping from one colony to another became free. The champions of independence were the chief foes of the slave trade and slavery, while the revolutionary movement had its strongholds where the slave population was smallest and the institution in a state of rapid decline. Indeed, it is safe to say that in a very important sense independence had its genesis in the anti-slavery opinions and labors which preceded it, and that this honor ought freely to be accorded to the abolitionism of the colonial period. It is true that the struggle for independence was political; but the Declaration of Independence is proof positive that its basis was the inborn rights of man, or, as Madison phrased it after the struggle was over, "the rights of human nature." It was the religious conviction that liberty is the birthright

of all men which inspired the anti-slavery zeal of the colonists, and prepared them to abdicate the power which asserted the right to bind them in all cases whatsoever.

This view is well supported by historic facts. In the year 1774 the Pennsylvania Abolition Society was formed, of which Benjamin Franklin was for years the president. John Jay was the president of a similar society in New York, organized a few years later. Abolition societies were formed in Maryland, Virginia, New Jersey, Delaware, Rhode Island and Connecticut. At the beginning of the Revolutionary struggle, and during its continuance, the churches were all anti-slavery. In 1784 the ordinance of Jefferson, prohibiting slavery after the year 1800 in all "the Territories ceded already or to be ceded by individual States to the United States," only failed by an accident, while three years later the famous ordinance, incorrectly attributed to him, forbidding the introduction of slavery in all territory then under the jurisdiction of the National Government, was adopted by the unanimous vote of the States then represented in Congress, including Georgia and the Carolinas. At that time slavery had already been abolished, or measures were soon afterward taken for its abolition, in seven of the colonies, while in the six remaining it was understood to be in a course of speedy and inevitable decay. The new Constitution provided for cutting off the foreign supply, the source of its life, while private emancipations were going on in all the States under the prevailing spirit of liberty, which had gathered new life in the struggle for independence. The Constitution made concessions to slavery, but they were only agreed to because of the perfect assurance everywhere felt that the evil was to have simply a transient sufferance, a brief hospitality, pending the adoption of measures for its peaceable, but total, extirpation; and these concessions never would have been made if the framers of the Constitution could have foreseen that the power thus abetted would treacherously demand perpetuity, and assert its absolute political supremacy in the Government. The anti-slavery spirit of the times was so dominant that in the year 1791 Granville Sharpe, the head and front of English abolitionism, was made a Doctor of Laws by the University of William and Mary, in Virginia.

Such was the first anti-slavery dispensation. It was not a struggle or a conflict, but a reform. It was supported by public opinion, and only opposed by a fraction of society. It was as easy to be an abolitionist then as to be in favor of prison reform, or the improvement of the condition of the aborigines. Slavery had not yet become a great

political and moneyed power. It was not supported by powerful ecclesiastical backing. It attempted no social outlawry. It was not preëminently a respectable institution. The men who sought its abolition were not obliged to encounter brickbats and unmerchantable eggs. The age of martyrdom was yet in the distance, and no one then dreamed of the dispensation which was to startle the civilized world in the following century, and involve the land in a baptism of blood.

But the reaction which followed the heat and strain of a long war naturally cooled the ardor of the people. The moral ravages of the conflict were visible in every phase of society and life. The return of prosperity and the rapid accumulation of wealth palsied the spirit which had supported the colonies in "the times that tried men's souls." The action of Congress upon the petition of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, in 1790, denying its power to abolish slavery in the States, disappointed the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, while reminding the slaveholders of their vested rights under the Constitution. The excesses of the French Revolution caused timid and halting patriots to turn an averted face upon the principles of popular liberty, for which they had contended against the mother country. The invention of Whitney's cotton-gin in 1793 created a new motive power in the interest of slavery by making the production of cotton exceedingly profitable through the breeding of slaves for its cultivation. The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 opened to slavery an immense area of fertile soil in latitudes remarkably adapted to the growth of this plant, and thus afforded an additional incentive to the breeding of slaves on every southern plantation. In the meantime, the project of African colonization had been started, through which the consciences of thousands were put to sleep. This insidious and subtle scheme of imposture and inhumanity took the form of a national organization in January, 1817, and through its matchless cunning and audacity actually succeeded in beguiling the great leaders of abolitionism on both sides of the Atlantic, and harnessing them in its service. The Missouri struggle in 1820 revealed the fact that slavery had now become a great political power, while the abolition societies, once so flourishing, had been disbanded or lost their spirit. The startling political apostacy on the slavery question, which had been gradually approaching its climax, was accompanied by a like apostacy in the churches, which at last became the bulwarks of the slave power; and this power was finally interwoven with the whole fabric of American

society and institutions. The church and the state joined hands with it as the new trinity of the nation's faith. It dictated our policy at home and abroad, and made and unmade politicians. To oppose it was to face mobs, persecution and death. It was to give up reputation, honors, ease, and forsake all the prizes of life which worldly prudence or ambition could covet. It was to take up the heaviest cross yet fashioned by this century as the test of Christian character and heroism. This second anti-slavery dispensation, which Harriet Martineau aptly characterized as "the martyr age of America," cannot properly be compared to that which preceded it. It stands by itself. Its work was thoroughly accomplished, but at a terrific cost. The men who undertook it began their labors with the lapse of the nation from the grand ideas of the revolutionary era, and they never ceased or slackened their efforts; while to their moral appeals, unflinching courage, and unfaltering faith, the Republic is primarily indebted for its salvation.

It is pleasant to note the steadily-growing disposition in all directions to do fitting honor to these pioneers and leaders in a great and holy cause. Oliver Johnson's book, entitled "Garrison and the Anti-Slavery Movement," has been given to the public in a second and improved edition. It is charmingly written by an intimate friend and fellow-laborer in the cause, who naturally displays his unbounded admiration for its great moral leader. Elizur Wright, himself an able, faithful and time-honored pioneer, has prepared and published an interesting sketch of Myron Holley, one of the earliest leaders and champions of organized political action against slavery, and a man of singular rectitude, real ability, rare courage, and captivating eloquence, I understand that a new life of Benjamin Lundy is in contemplation, by Mr. Z. Eastman, his intimate friend and associate in the later anti-slavery labors of his life. Hon. E. B. Washburn has recently given us the life of Edward Coles, the anti-slavery Governor of Illinois, who successfully resisted the establishment of slavery in that State, in the years 1823-24, by a scheme of organized border ruffianism akin to that which in later years came so near making Kansas a slave State. It is understood that General William Birney is preparing a life of his father, James G. Birney, the distinguished leader of the Liberty party, and its candidate for President in 1840 and 1844. Other lives are yet to be written, and, although a trustworthy history of the anti-slavery movement cannot be expected till we are further from the strifes and passions with which it was unavoidably connected, yet it is not too

soon to insist upon justice and fair play in dealing with its real founders and apostles.

Our accepted histories and manuals agree in according to William Lloyd Garrison the honor of first proclaiming, on this side of the Atlantic, the doctrine of "immediate and unconditional emancipation." They also agree in awarding to Benjamin Lundy the credit of publishing the first anti-slavery newspaper of this century, and of being the pioneer abolitionist of the United States. These statements are now received without question, and supported by Johnson's "Life of Garrison," Greeley's "History of the American Conflict," Wilson's "History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," Von Holst's "Constitutional and Political History of the United States," and various other authorities. It is the chief purpose of this article to controvert these alleged facts, and to show that Charles Osborn, an eminent minister in the Society of Friends, proclaimed the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation when William Lloyd Garrison was only nine years old, and nearly a dozen years before that doctrine was announced by Elizabeth Heyrick, in England; and that Mr. Osborn also edited and published the first anti-slavery newspaper in the United States, and is thus entitled to take rank as the real pioneer of American abolitionism. These statements may appear surprising, but, if true, they should be so recognized. If the current of history has been diverted into a false channel, it should be turned into the true one. The story of the great conflict should be made thoroughly accurate and trustworthy. When a great victory has been won, every general should have his due share in the honor of its achievement, and, if the heroism of any brave man has been slighted, and the fact can be shown by newly-discovered evidence, the record of the battle should be made to conform to the truth. It can scarcely be necessary to say that I have no desire whatever to do the slightest injustice to Garrison and Lundy. Their exalted place as heroes in the grand army of human progress is irreversibly established; and Garrison and Lundy themselves, if living, would be the last to deny to a fellow-laborer in the great cause the share of honor he had fairly earned in its service.

Before proceeding with my task, let me rapidly sketch the principal facts of the life of Charles Osborn. It appears, from the published journal of his travels, that he was born in North Carolina, on the 21st of August, 1775. In his nineteenth year he removed to Tennessee, where he made his first appearance in the ministry about the year 1806.

He soon took rank as a preacher of considerable gifts, and traveled and preached extensively in North Carolina and Tennessee, taking an active part in the anti-slavery societies of these States. He removed to Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in 1816, where he published a religious and reformatory newspaper, and continued his work in the ministry. In 1819 he settled in Indiana. He took an active and leading part, as an orthodox Friend, in the movement against Elias Hicks and his followers, and after this made a religious visit to Great Britain and a part of the continent. He sat at the head of the yearly meetings of this country for about the third of a century, and the like honor was accorded him, though unsought, by Friends on the other side of the Atlantic during his sojourn among them. From his earliest years he was known as a thorough-going abolitionist, and an abstainer from the use of slave-grown produce; and, in his later life, he became involved in a controversy with his society on the slavery question, which resulted in his separation from it in testimony of his unflinching devotion to the slave.

Respecting Mr. Osborn's connection with the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation, I submit the following facts:

1. In the month of December, 1814, he took the lead in organizing the "Tennessee Manumission Society." It was formed at the house of Elihu Swaine, his father-in-law, and its purpose was the immediate and unconditional manumission of the slaves. Rachel Swaine, now known as Rachel Davis, a daughter of Elihu Swaine, still survives and resides in Wayne county, Ind.; and she was present at the organization of this society, and knows the facts I have stated. I have personally known her many years, and know her to be an entirely trustworthy witness.

2. The Rev. John Rankin, of Ripley, Ohio, now in his ninetieth year, but with his faculties remarkably preserved, is a life-long abolitionist and a native of Tennessee, where he resided till the year 1817. He says the Anti-Slavery Society which then existed in that State avowed the doctrine of immediate and unconditional abolition. He also says that afterward, on his removal to Kentucky, he preached that doctrine to large congregations, and that in 1824, after his removal to Ohio, he published a series of letters setting forth the sinfulness of slaveholding, and avowing the same principle. These letters were soon after published in book form; and Mr. Garrison read the volume, and in complimentary words acknowledged himself Mr. Rankin's "anti-slavery disciple." These facts are given on the authority of Mr. Rankin.

3. In the year 1841 Mr. Osborn, as I shall hereafter have occasion to show, gave offense to his society by his earnest and uncompromising espousal of the doctrine in question; and the well-known Levi Coffin, in his published volume of "Reminiscences," on page 231, referring to that period, says that Mr. Osborn "preached no new doctrine, had experienced no change, but followed the same course and advocated the same anti-slavery doctrine he had for forty years." He further says, on page 265, that he publicly advocated immediate and unconditional emancipation in Ohio in 1816. Mr. Coffin knew him in his youth, and gave these testimonies from his personal knowledge.

4. In a printed document published in 1843, reviewing certain proceedings of the Indiana yearly meeting in dealing with Mr. Osborn, the following statement is made: "It is well known that the sentiments of Charles Osborn in relation to this subject (slavery) are the same now they were more than twenty-five years ago." This is signed by Daniel Puckett, Walter Edgerton, H. H. Way, Jacob Graves, John Shugart, and Levi Coffin—all perfectly reliable men, and three of them, namely, Puckett, Way and Coffin, were intimately acquainted with Mr. Osborn and his anti-slavery position during the period covering his life and labors in Tennessee and North Carolina.

5. After the death of Mr. Osborn a memorial of his life was drawn up and adopted by the Society of Anti-Slavery Friends, to which he belonged, in March, 1852. That memorial refers to his leadership in the formation of manumission societies in 1814, and declares that, "in endeavoring to lay the foundation principle of these societies, he, at that early day, advocated and maintained the only true and Christian ground—immediate and unconditional emancipation." After this memorial was drawn it was submitted to the monthly meeting, and, according to the practice in all such cases, was scrutinized before its approval. It then had to be sent to the quarterly meeting, composed of the members of different monthly meetings, and again examined and passed. It was then forwarded to the meeting for sufferings, composed of representatives from each of the quarterly meetings composing the yearly meeting, and a certain number to represent the latter. This body of men again examined and approved it, after which it was read in the yearly meeting before the members of the Society *en masse*, who approved and adopted it. In these several meetings were such men as Levi Coffin, William Beard, Henry H. Way, Enoch Macy, and various others who were personally and intimately acquainted with the position of Charles Osborn and his labors in the

manumission cause in Tennessee and North Carolina. They were men of the highest character for integrity, and could not have been induced to sit by and approve statements about which they were well informed if they were false. In my earlier life I knew all these men, and I entertain not the shadow of a doubt as to the perfect accuracy of their statements.

6. The manumission movement in Tennessee awakened uneasiness among the slaveholders, some of whom thought it would be good policy to attach themselves to it as members. In a moment of weakness, and on considerations of expediency, the constitution of the society was so changed as to permit this; and this led to a further compromise, by which the name of the society was changed to that of "Manumission and Colonization Society." Mr. Osborn was present when these changes were proposed and adopted, and gave them his decided opposition. In the language of the Quakers of a later day, he believed "the full enjoyment of liberty to be the right of all, without any conditions," and could not "consent, upon any conditions, that the bondage of a fellow-being shall be prolonged for a single day;" or "say to him he must go to Hayti, to Liberia, or any other place, to entitle him to the full enjoyment of his liberty." The facts respecting these changes in the policy of the manumission movement and Mr. Osborn's opposition are given on the authority of his early friends and anti-slavery associates, already referred to, and are more particularly set forth in Edgerton's "History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends," published in 1856, and in Mr. Osborn's "Journal of His Travels and Labors in the Ministry," published in 1854.

7. In enumerating these proofs I ought to make more special and emphatic mention of Mr. Osborn's hostility to African colonization. He avowed this in his youth, and never afterward faltered. The fact is as honorable to him as it is remarkable that, while the leading abolitionists of England and the United States were caught in this snare, he was never for a moment deluded by any of its plausibilities. His moral vision detected its character from the beginning. "Emancipation," as he used to declare, "was thrown into the cradle of colonization, there to be rocked and kept quiet until the last slaveholder should become willing to send his human chattels to the colony." Benjamin Lundy and other anti-slavery men discussed it as a scheme of gradual emancipation, and as such Mr. Osborn always understood it. He opposed it because it postponed the freedom of the slaves and placed conditions in its way, and if he did not, in so many words,

demand immediate and unconditional emancipation, this was always the ground on which he stood, and was necessarily implied in his action ; and he never uttered a sentiment inconsistent with it. No one, certainly, will insist that he favored gradualism, without a syllable of proof, and in the face of positive and overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

It is not pretended, of course, that Mr. Osborn expected the slave-holders would immediately emancipate their slaves. Without the intervention of a miracle this was impossible. The work of emancipation could only go forward under the inevitable conditions by which it was complicated. It had to become an educational process before it could be realized in fact. What he preached to the slaveholder was the gospel of immediate repentance, and that he had no right to put off that repentance to a more convenient season. That was his well-known position in 1830, when the anti-slavery agitation began seriously to disturb the peace of the country ; and the Indiana yearly meeting, which could not endure this doctrine in 1842, never disputed the fact that he had at all times avowed it. If it be said that it was well known that the honor of first proclaiming this doctrine in this country was ascribed to Mr. Garrison by his friends, and that Mr. Osborn would have contested this claim if he had felt himself entitled to make it, I reply that he was a traveling minister among Friends, engrossed in his peculiar work, and may have known nothing of the matter. It is quite as reasonable to suppose him ignorant of the claim made by the friends of Mr. Garrison as to suppose the latter ignorant of Mr. Osborn's well-known record as an immediate emancipationist. In justice to him it should also be said that he was too modest to blow his own trumpet, and too much absorbed in his work to concern himself about its honors ; and that if this had been otherwise he had no motive to enter into any strife over the question. The champions of immediate emancipation, when it first began to stir the country, and during the life of Mr. Osborn, were obliged to make themselves of no reputation. They were cast out of all the synagogues of respectability, and little dreamed of the honors with which they were finally to be crowned. Mr. Osborn, therefore, could have had no selfish inducement to contest the claim of Mr. Garrison, while either of them would doubtless have been glad to know that the other had avowed this sound and saving principle.

I now come to the proof of my statement that Mr. Osborn edited and published the first anti-slavery newspaper in the United States,

and is thus entitled to the honor of being counted the pioneer of latter-day abolitionism. My task will not be difficult, and it will supply some corroborative proof of his anti-slavery position. We have seen that he removed to Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in 1816. In that year he issued his prospectus for a weekly newspaper to be called the *Philanthropist*, and published at that place; and on the twenty-ninth of August, 1817, the first number was issued. Its publication was continued till the eighth of October, 1818. The tone of the paper was earnestly moral and religious. He devoted its columns considerably to the interests of Temperance and Peace, but the burden and travail of his heart was slavery. I speak by authority, having the bound volumes of the paper before me. It was just such a newspaper as Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered for publishing in Illinois twenty years later. Benjamin Lundy, then residing at St. Clairsville, was one of its agents, as the paper shows. The subject of slavery is discussed from eighty to ninety times, making an average of nearly twice in each weekly number. It was in the beginning of this year that the American Colonization Society was organized, with its headquarters at Washington, and the several anti-slavery societies then existing in this region of Ohio were all in favor of colonization as a scheme of gradual emancipation, as were those throughout the country generally; but Mr. Osborn disagreed with them. He opposed the scheme in repeated editorials, but allowed both sides of the question to be heard. Various articles were admitted favoring the policy of gradual emancipation, but not a line was written by himself in its approval. The limits of this article will not permit numerous or lengthy quotations from the paper, but I offer a few as specimens of its general character, beginning with the editorials. On page 44 of the first volume is the following on colonization:

Without in anywise wishing to forestall public opinion, or give a bias against the intentions of the American Colonization Society, the editor has great doubts of the justice of the plans proposed. It appears to him calculated to rivet closer the chains that already gall the sons of Africa, and to insure to the miserable objects of American cruelty a perpetuity of bondage. The free persons of color in the city of Philadelphia have protested against being sent back to a soil which separation and habit have combined to render disagreeable to them. The communication which follows is inserted because the author's intention is believed to be good, and because every investigation of the subject will tend to open the eyes of the public to the situation of this people. Those who have traveled through the Southern States, and observed the ignorance and vice with which slavery has enveloped the children of Africa, can hardly be persuaded that they are now fit instruments for propagating the Gospel.

On page 37 is the following:

A correspondent says the coast of Africa has been robbed of its natives, who have with

their sweat and blood manured and fertilized the soil of America. If their descendants are now (by way of reparation) to be forced back to that country, whose customs and whose soil are equally repugnant to them—query, are the thieves or the restorers most justifiable?

In the second volume, on page 69, is a strong editorial on the slave trade and slavery. After referring to the action of England and Spain in dealing with this subject, it concludes:

But much remains to be done. The system of slavery is acknowledged on all hands to be an evil of the greatest magnitude; and it will require a degree of energy commensurate with the effects it has upon society to counteract its baleful influence, and now is the time for the advocates of freedom to exert themselves to overthrow that colossal fabric of despotism. Let the enlightened philanthropists of either hemisphere continue to carry on the benevolent work until they have finally accomplished the same, and receive the just reward of their labors, the grateful acknowledgments of millions of their fellow-mortals, whom they behold emerging from the gloomy caverns of despair and assuming the rank among the sons and daughters of men to which they are entitled by the laws of Nature. In the language of one of the greatest orators of the present day, they will then have the satisfaction to know that through their instrumentality a large portion of their fellow-creatures are, politically speaking, “redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the Genius of Universal Emancipation.”

It will occur to the reader as altogether probable that the name of Lundy's paper, which was started several years afterward, was suggested to him by this editorial. I quote the following from the editorial columns on page 154:

A planter in the upper part of Georgia went down to Charleston to purchase slaves. A cargo had just been landed. They were set up at auction, declared to be sound in wind and limb, and were struck off to the highest bidder. This planter purchased his complement, and the driver conducted them off. On the way to Augusta one of the women accidentally saw the man who had been her husband in Africa. The dissevered pair immediately recognized each other, and their feelings at this unexpected meeting may be conceived by those who are acquainted with conjugal affection. The owner of the husband was moved at the scene, and proposed either to sell or buy, that the poor creatures might live together on the same plantation; but the other, hard-hearted man, would do neither. They, of course, were soon parted; the woman was conducted up the country, and soon after died of grief.

This is one of sundry articles on the same subject depicting acts of cruelty similar to those with which every reader of Uncle Tom's Cabin is familiar. In the same volume, on page 181, is an able and thorough article on colonization, from which I make brief extracts:

On entering into this investigation we should bear in mind that we have long been called upon (and the present moment calls loudly) to cease to violate the laws of God and Nature in holding our fellow-men in a state of bondage. It is the *slaves* who are suffering the most consummate misery, and it is the melioration of *their* condition which demands our first attention. Whatever laudable schemes may be formed for prompting civilization on the continent of Africa, or whatever benevolent designs may be entertained for the benefit of the free people of color on this side of the Atlantic, or whether these enterprises are directed by a sound or a visionary philosophy, it is not my present purpose to inquire. The great object still is to devise some system by which *slavery* may ultimately be terminated. If African coloniza-

tion is not directed to this object, or capable of effecting it, we are still left to find some other expedient.

The article then proceeds to show, by facts and figures, the utter impracticability of the colonization scheme, and concludes:

It is true that the plan might produce one very striking effect—it might amuse our minds with the mistaken idea of doing something valuable, until that Almighty Being who observes the conduct of nations and of individuals may in his wisdom and justice deprive us of the opportunity of being the instruments in so laudable a reformation by taking the great work into his own hands. And here my mind is forcibly struck with the sentiment of one of our greatest men: "When I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever, I tremble for the fate of my country."

These samples will indicate the decided anti-slavery character of the paper, while its communications and selected matter will make this equally evident. The first issue contains three selections, one of which, being very brief, I quote:

"I am astonished," said an intelligent Turk, "that the Americans should send a fleet to compel the surrender of slaves in our possession, when, in their own country, they keep thousands of Africans in bondage. They had better clean their hands before they lift them toward Heaven."

On page 18 is an earnest letter on slavery from Anthony Benezett. On page 32 is an address from a member of the North Carolina Manumission Society, of the most radically anti-slavery type. On page 35 is an obituary notice of Paul Cuffer, a successful colored merchant and a man of signal benevolence and enterprise among his race. On page 37 is a strong article, probably written by Benjamin Lundy, over the signature of *Philo Justitia*, and a capital letter from Joseph Doddridge, from which I quote the following:

Can we charge the most sore-handed despotisms in existence with anything worse than the personal slavery of the African race in our country? No! Even in the piratical States of the Barbary Coast, if the Christian slave turns Musselman, he is free. Amongst us, if the slave becomes a Christian brother, he nevertheless still remains a slave.

Passing several brief articles, we find on page 76 the beginning of a lengthy one, by an intelligent colored man named William Blackmore, who discusses the question with considerable ability. In the course of it, in referring to the enemies of his race and their tribulations in the dying hour, he frames for them the following prayer:

Almighty and incomprehensible Being! Thou knowest a part of Thy creation, the negroes and mulattoes, have long been objects of our contempt; and we have even until this day been occasionally tormented with a sight of their black faces. We have seen many of them in the slave States stripped of every comfort of life, destitute of friends, and knowing not where to flee for succor and safety, and in this deplorable condition we passed by and left them, supposing their complicated sufferings would soon push them out of existence;

but Thou didst put it into the hearts of Thy Samaritans to bring these wretched outcasts into this great inn which we inhabit, and to administer to their necessities. With the assistance of our ally, *Prejudice*, we thought before this to have convinced the world that they were made of more base material than we white people; but Thy great Apostle Paul declared that Thou hast "made of one blood all nations of men." We have long insisted that their color was a sufficient proof that they are of a distinct race greatly inferior to us; but Thou hast permitted Blumenbach, Smith, and others to write so wisely upon the subject that many of the white people themselves now begin to think that climate, state of society, manner of living, etc., have produced the external differences which are apparent between them and us. We have contended again that the negroes are very deficient in point of intellect; but Thou hast suffered it to enter into the hearts of some of Thy believers to give some of them literary knowledge, and so we are likely to be overset in this our favorite hypothesis. We thought because we had the power it would be well enough to take away from them their natural, inherent and unalienable rights and privileges; but Thou hast put it into the hearts of certain persons in this State to think that we ought to do unto all men as we would wish them to do unto us.

Now we are summoned to give up our stewardship, and seeing that we have not succeeded in our attempts to wrest Thy attributes out of Thy hands; and fearing from Thy many gracious promises and declarations in their favor that some of this despised people have been admitted into the mansions of Thy everlasting rest; we therefore humbly pray Thee that Thou wilt be graciously pleased to cast their black souls out of heaven before our spirits reach there; for it has been much against our will to dwell amongst them the few days of this life; and how can we bear the idea of being confined among them to all eternity?

The following is from the *Chester and Delaware Federalist*, quoted on page 113:

All is still as the grave. We boast that ours is the land of freedom. Here liberty dwells; this is the spot where the sacred tree flourishes, spreading its branches east and west, shading, protecting, the whole land. Our Constitution solemnly declares that all men are born equally free. The enslaved and oppressed of Europe are welcomed to our shores as an asylum from oppression. We rub our hands and congratulate one another that we are the most free people on earth. Gracious heavens! and is it yet true that more than twelve hundred thousand of our fellow-creatures are doomed, themselves and their posterity, to hopeless bondage? Where are our abolition societies? Are they weary in well-doing? Where are those intelligent, ardent, benevolent men who exist in every country, who step forward on great occasions, animate their fellow-men to exertion, and direct their efforts to the attainment of noble ends? Are the spirits of Wilberforce, Clarkson and Benezzett extinct? Or is it true that nothing can be done? No—nothing can be done! Go home and repose on your pillows of down; sleep away your lives in indolence and ease; and let the expression, Nothing can be done, satisfy your consciences. Let the husband be separated from his wife, the mother from her little ones. Let the poor slave toil in hopeless misery, and bleed beneath the lash of his taskmaster. It will be useless to disturb Congress with your petitions—nothing can be done.

On page 169 is an article by "E. B.", a Virginian, which ably discusses the question, both in its political and moral aspects. I quote:

It is not only absolutely right to devise some remedy for this evil, but it is absolutely necessary. We have shut our eyes and stopped our ears too long. Can we continue indifferent on so momentous a subject? We are called upon by honor, morality, and religion—by love for our country, ourselves, and our children. Let us not disregard these sacred obligations, but let us enter into a thorough investigation of the subject. Let us unite into select societies for the purpose of digesting a plan for the removal of this enormous evil, and,

thus united in order and coöperating under the ties of virtue, honor, and love of our country, the difficulties attendant upon the subject will vanish before the wisdom of the nation.

* * * It is impossible that one man should be the property of another. The master cannot derive his claim of property from the law of Nature, because by that law all men are equally free and independent. He cannot derive it from the principles of civil government, for government was instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the community, and, when properly supported, admits no man or set of men to the possession of exclusive privileges. He cannot refer to contracts with individuals, nor to conveyances from parents for their children, for no one will pretend to the existence of such contracts, and their validity could not be supported if they really existed. It cannot be rested upon law, for such a law must be, technically speaking, unconstitutional. The Constitution defines the object of government and the rights of individuals. These form barriers which legislation can never pass. It may, therefore, be boldly affirmed that slaves are not property. They are injured human beings, whose sufferings call loudly on their country for redress.

Mr. Osborn was one of the very first men of this country to oppose the use of slave-grown produce, and he continued personally faithful to this principle during his life; while the *Philanthropist* is believed to be the first newspaper in the United States which espoused this duty. From an article copied from the *Westchester Recorder*, on page 174, I quote the following in reference to the slave trade:

This great fountain of human blood that hath been flowing on the continent of Africa for ages, whose streams have stained the shores of America and the West Indies, is kept in motion and supported by the consumers of the proceeds of slavery. They are the subscribers that furnish the fund by which the whole business is carried on. A merchant who loads his vessel in the West Indies with the proceeds of slavery does nearly as much at helping forward the slave trade as he that loads his vessel in Africa with slaves. They are both twisting the rope at different ends. * * * It is something paradoxical that a man will refuse to buy a stolen sheep, or to eat a piece of one that is stolen, and should not have the same scruples respecting a stolen man.

But I need not multiply these extracts, which I have given merely as illustrations of the spirit and make-up of the paper. I must not fail to mention, however, a very able and eloquent oration on slavery, by Thomas H. Genin, delivered at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, on the eighteenth of May, 1818, which is printed in the second volume, beginning on page 77. Mr. Genin came from New York to Ohio the year before, and was the intimate friend of Mr. Osborn. He also shared the friendship of Charles Hammond, Benjamin Lundy, and De Witt Clinton. He had considerable literary gifts, and was the correspondent of Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams; and, although the rhetoric of his oration is a little florid, he discusses the slavery question with great thoroughness, and evinces a surprising insight into the nature and working of the institution. All the arguments and sophisms of the slaveholders with which the country has been made familiar in later times are taken up and disposed of in this effort of

sixty-four years ago as if he had been in the midst of the great conflict which so long afterward stirred the blood of both sections of the Union. The speech is prophetic, and deserves to be preserved as a choice relic of the literature of abolitionism in its pioneer days. Let me add, that I find scattered through the pages of the *Philanthropist* frequent selections of anti-slavery poems from Cowper, Shenstone, Montgomery, and others, and I entertain no doubt whatever that its anti-slavery character is quite as clearly defined and uncompromising in tone as Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, or James G. Birney's *Philanthropist*, published in Cincinnati in later years.

The priority of Mr. Osborn in the establishment of this paper has already been shown. He sold his establishment to Elisha Bates, and not to Elihu Embree, as Mr. Greeley states in his "Conflict"; and Lundy, not liking the anti-slavery character of the paper under his management, as he declares in his account of these matters, began the publication, at Mount Pleasant, of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, in January, 1821, being three years and a half after the issue of the first number of the *Philanthropist*. These facts are given in "The Life of Benjamin Lundy," compiled by Thomas Earle, and published in 1847. We there learn, on the authority of Lundy, in speaking of the previous establishment of the *Philanthropist*, that "proposals were issued by Charles Osborn for publishing a paper at Mount Pleasant, to be entitled the *Philanthropist*. He stated in his prospectus that he should discuss the subject of slavery in the columns of the paper. The idea now occurred to me that I might act efficiently for the cause of emancipation—that I could select articles (for I did not think of writing myself) and have them published in the *Philanthropist*, and that I could also get subscribers to the publication. Engrossed with these thoughts, I went to work with alacrity. My leisure moments were now fully employed. When I sent my selections to Charles, I sometimes wrote him a few lines. After he had published the *Philanthropist* a few months I was surprised at receiving from him a request that I should assist in editing it. The thought that I could do such a thing had not then even occurred to me. But on his repeating the request I consented to try, and from that moment, whenever I have thought that something ought to be done, my maxim has been, though doubtful of my ability, *try*. Although I resided ten miles from the office, and was extensively engaged in other business, I continued for some time to write editorial

articles for the paper. At length Charles proposed to me to join him in the printing business, and to take upon myself the superintendence of the office. After some deliberation I consented to accept the offer." It seems, however, from the narrative, that Lundy never joined Osborn in the printing business, owing to circumstances which soon after drew him to Missouri, and that his only connection with the *Philanthropist* was that of an agent for the paper, and the writer of occasional articles over fictitious signatures. He had nothing to do with originating it, or superintending its management, and acted solely in the capacity of a subordinate, and a diffident, but sympathetic and faithful, disciple; and on his own showing the establishment of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* would never have been attempted if Mr. Osborn's successor had maintained the anti-slavery character of the *Philanthropist* under its previous management, when Lundy himself was its agent and zealous friend. He is, therefore, himself my witness that the honor now so generally claimed for him of being the first of our anti-slavery pioneers is altogether unwarranted by facts.

I have thus demonstrated my proposition that Charles Osborn was the first to proclaim the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and that he, and not Lundy, became the pioneer of modern abolitionism by editing and publishing the first anti-slavery paper in the United States. On these points history has been made to bear false witness, and its record should be corrected. This correction will not pluck a single laurel from the saintly brow of Benjamin Lundy. It will be his imperishable honor that in his youth he surrendered a lucrative business and the sweet joys of home at the bidding of his conscience, and made himself a wanderer on the earth in the effort to rouse the consciences of men to the sin of slavery. His devotion to humanity was a divine fascination, and he literally gave up all for the slave. He is also entitled to the signal honor, as Oliver Johnson says, of "putting the burning torch of liberty into the hands of the man raised up by Providence to lead the new crusade against the slave power;" but Mr. Osborn kindled the blaze which lighted this torch of his Quaker disciple. When Lundy afterward met Garrison in Boston, in 1828, Mr. Osborn was his reference; and in 1847, when Mr. Garrison, in Cleveland, Ohio, met a son of Mr. Osborn, who still survives, he said to him, "Charles Osborn is the father of all of us abolitionists." He was, in fact, the real germ of the grand movement that drew into its service so many heroes and martyrs as it advanced, and finally swept slavery from the land, just as the quiet lakelet at the head

of the Mississippi is the source of the great river which is swelled by its tributaries till lost in the gulf. Nor can the claim thus made weaken in any degree the historic position of Mr. Garrison as the moral hero of the movement. His indebtedness to Lundy he always frankly acknowledged; and, if the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation was announced by others while he was a schoolboy, it cannot be set down to his discredit, nor does it follow, by any means, that he borrowed it from any one. I believe it was the inevitable outcropping of his moral constitution, and came to him with the authority of a divine command. He did not need to take it at second-hand, while his overmastering personality popularized it, and imparted to it a meaning and power which quite naturally won for him the honor of its paternity.

In justice to my subject, I must not conclude this article without a brief reference to the controversy already alluded to, in which Mr. Osborn became involved in his later life with the society in which he had so long been a prominent member. In dealing with this subject, I shall speak plainly, but in no unfriendly spirit, respecting this most comely and praiseworthy body of religionists. Of Quaker parentage and training myself, my predilections incline me strongly in their favor. During my protracted connection with anti-slavery politics in one of the strongholds of these people in eastern Indiana, they were unitedly and earnestly my friends, and in what I shall now say I am conscious of no other motive than the service of the truth.

The year after Mr. Osborn sold his newspaper establishment, he removed to Indiana. Several considerations induced him to abandon the publication of his paper. He desired to go further west, where his small resources would enable him to procure land for his children. He also felt that the influence of his paper was seriously thwarted by the mischievous and unmanageable scheme of colonization; while he believed he could more effectively serve the cause of freedom in the wider field of the traveling ministry, in which Woolman had labored with such remarkable results. In 1832, when the anti-slavery agitation had reached its fervent heat under the inspiration and leadership of Garrison, Mr. Osborn gave his heart to the work with renewed zeal. While in England in that year he met Elliott Cresson, an agent of the American Colonization Society, who begged him not to say anything that would hinder the raising of funds in aid of its work; but Mr. Osborn replied that he would not cease to expose its evil designs at home and abroad, and he made Cresson's mission a failure. His

anti-slavery zeal fully kept pace with the multiplying aggressions of slavery, and, in the winter of 1839, he visited the Eastern States, where he found the dominating influences among Friends decidedly opposed to his testimonies, and inclined to keep him silent; but he would not be fettered, and spoke out his whole mind freely. Some of his sermons were reported for the anti-slavery newspapers, and these lines of Whittier, inspired by a similar circumstance, were quoted as fitly applying to this intrepid assertion of the right of free speech:

Thank God for the token! one lip is still free—
One spirit untrammeled, unbending one knee;
Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm,
Erect when the multitude bend to the storm;
When traitors to freedom, and honor, and God,
Are bowed at an idol polluted with blood;
When the recreant North has forgotten her trust,
And the lip of her honor is low in the dust—
Thank God that one arm from the shackles has broken!
Thank God that one man as a *free-man* has spoken!

On his return to the West he found the ruling spirits in the Indiana Yearly Meeting had also taken a very decided stand against the abolitionists. The colonization members of the Society, by some strange and unaccountable means, had gained the ascendancy over its anti-slavery members, and he was greatly troubled in mind respecting the situation in which he found himself placed. In the year 1841 the Indiana Yearly Meeting sanctioned a letter of advice which had been previously issued by the Meeting for Sufferings to its monthly and quarterly meetings, forbidding the use of their meeting-houses for anti-slavery lectures, and the joining in anti-slavery organizations "with those who do not profess to wait for Divine direction in such important concerns." The Meeting also advised against anti-slavery publications by Friends without first submitting them to "the examination of a Meeting for Sufferings." This advice was unauthorized by the discipline of the Society, and directly opposed to the well-known practice of Friends on both sides of the Atlantic. It showed that the power of slavery, which had taken captive other religious denominations throughout the country, had at last crept into the Society, and was dictating its action. Charles Osborn was then a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, which is a delegated body in the Society acting under appointment, like a committee, to transact important business in the interim of the regular sessions of the Yearly Meeting; and he and seven other anti-slavery members occupying the same posi-

tion declined to obey this prohibitory advice. In doing so they justified themselves by the discipline and usages of the Society and its own well-known testimonies against slavery. They felt imperatively bound by their consciences to take this course, and that to do otherwise would be to recognize the infallibility of the Yearly Meeting and its right to bind them in all cases whatsoever. For this action these eight members were summarily removed from their positions as "disqualified," and their places filled by those who were willing to become the instruments of the Yearly Meeting in its warfare against the abolitionists.

What was to be done? These men had not violated the discipline of the Society, or gone counter to any of its recognized practices and testimonies. They were not accused of any unsoundness in doctrine; and yet, without any formal charges of misconduct in any particular, and by an act of wanton usurpation, they were degraded from the places they had held. They begged that the reasons for this action might be spread upon the minutes as a matter of simple justice to themselves, and in order that they might not stand recorded as transgressors, and Mr. Osborn pleaded for this in a speech of much power and full of pathos and tenderness; but this petition was disregarded, and the perfectly unprecedented and arbitrary proceeding was carried out. If they submitted to this act of despotism they would be sharers in the apostacy of the Society from its testimonies, and fellow-laborers with it against the slave. If they persisted in their disobedience they would, of course, be disowned for thus obeying their own consciences. They saw but one honorable or decent alternative. As lovers of the Society of Friends, and sincere believers in its doctrines and discipline, they could go out of the body which had cast them off for their anti-slavery principles and violated its discipline for that purpose, and organize a Society of their own, with its machinery of monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, and free from all pro-slavery domination. This they did, styling themselves the Society of Anti-Slavery Friends. They were driven out of the old body for their abolitionism, and Charles Osborn was spoken of as "gone, fallen, and out of the life," for no other cause. This occurred in 1842, at the yearly meeting which gave Henry Clay, the owner of fifty slaves and President of the American Colonization Society, a seat among the ruling Elders, and who, in a public speech the day before, had declared that "the slaves must be prepared for freedom before they can receive that great boon," and that "the Society of Friends take the right stand in

relation to this subject." History was thus repeating the old story of "Pilate and Herod friends," and illustrating the desire of the Society, as expressed by its meeting for sufferings in 1841, to "retain the place and influence" which it had "heretofore had with the rulers of our land." There was a peculiar sting in the saying of Mr. Osborn afterward that these Friends "deemed it a departure from the well-known principles of the Society to do anything in the anti-slavery cause without a divine impulse and clear opening in the light of truth leading thereto; but for their opposition to the abolitionists they had no impulse, no opening, to wait for."

It will probably be news to thousands that the Quakers thus succumbed to the power of slavery; but such is the melancholy fact, and they have no right to "escape history." Among the rank and file of the body in Indiana there were doubtless very many true anti-slavery men; but at the time of which I speak the chief rulers believed in colonization and gradual emancipation. They took special pains, in dealing with legislative bodies, slaveholders and the public, to inform them that they had no connection, in any way, with abolitionism. They so assured Henry Clay while in Richmond. Leading members frequently reiterated the charge that abolitionists had "put back the cause of emancipation;" and some of them insisted that aiding slaves on their way to Canada involved men in the crime of man-stealing. Many of the rulers of the denomination in the Eastern, as well as the Western, States had "their ears filled with cotton." They discoursed very piously about the attempt of abolitionists "to abolish slavery in their own strength," and argued that paying men for anti-slavery lectures was opposed to the Quaker testimony against a "hireling ministry." Ministers, elders and overseers, took the lead in these reactionary proceedings; and it was one of the curiosities of human nature to find the followers of John Woolman and Anthony Benezzett laboring with their brethren for attending anti-slavery meetings, closing the doors of their churches against anti-slavery lectures, and setting up a system of espionage over the publication of anti-slavery articles by members of the Society. Such men as Isaac T. Hopper, among the Hicksite Friends, and Arnold Buffum, among the Orthodox, were disowned for their fidelity to the slave. This work of proscription was generally based upon some false pretense, as was the fact in the case of Mr. Buffum. In dealing with Mr. Osborn and his associates the Indiana yearly meeting did its best to cover up the ugly fact that they were degraded on account of their anti-slavery

principles. With great dexterity in the use of Scripture, much circumlocution, and a cunning and tergiversation that would have won the heart of Tallyrand or Loyola, they played their game of ecclesiastical tyranny ; but the facts of the transaction, as now seen in the clear perspective of history, leave them perfectly unmasked. I have carefully examined the documents and papers pertaining to the controversy on both sides, and speak from the record. Strange as it may seem, the claims of justice were so completely subordinated to the peace and unity of the Society that even a deputation of English Friends, who came over as mediators in this trouble, utterly refused to look into the merits of the controversy, and insisted upon the unconditional return of the seceding members to the body which had so flagrantly trampled upon their rights. Humanity was forgotten in the service of a sect, and Quakerism itself disowned by its priesthood.

But the anti-slavery movement took an unexpected turn. The annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico roused the country, and poured a flood of light on the character and designs of the slaveholding interest. The anti-slavery agitation of 1848 and the passage of the Fugitive Slave act of 1850 brought large reinforcements to the cause of freedom. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the struggle to make Kansas a slave state still further enlightened the people. The dullest scholars began to get their lessons. Slaveholding madness so annotated the eyes of the people that the cloven feet of abolitionism disappeared, and the Quakers, like other religious bodies, began to take a new view of their duties. "The world," on which they turned their backs in 1841 to avoid its "contamination," had at last taught them more wisdom than any "divine impulse" had ever been able to impart. They became themselves abolitionists, and gloried in the very cause which provoked their contempt during the ugly apostacy they had parenthesized into the beautiful anti-slavery record of the sect.

But did they do justice to the men they had persecuted for righteousness sake ? Did they make any official acknowledgment of the wrong they had done, as did other religious denominations in like cases ? No. Individual members solicited the seceders to return to the fold. They said to them, "Come back to us ! No questions will be asked, and no conditions exacted. Make no disturbance, but come and go with us." Most of the seceders finally returned, but some of them demanded an amendment of the minutes of the society which should recognize the injustice done them for their anti-slavery fidelity.

This was denied in all such cases, and they stand on the records as "disqualified" members. Charles Osborn died in 1850, a grieved and heart-broken old man, and his grief would not have been assuaged if he could have foreseen the action of the society in refusing to correct its records after it had espoused the very principles for the advocacy of which he had been exiled from its bosom. Harshly and unjustly as he had been treated, he would scarcely have believed this possible. But the Society was handicapped by its record. Much as it owed Mr. Osborn, morally and spiritually, its love of consistency and the cravenness of human nature triumphed over its conscience. It could not do him justice without condemning itself. It could not espouse his cause as a faithful minister of the Gospel and an anti-slavery prophet without advertising its recreancy to humanity and its injustice to a great-hearted and brave man.

But the friends of humanity, irrespective of sect or party, should join in fitly honoring him. During his life abolitionism was a despised thing. He did not live to see the glory which was so soon to come, nor anticipate its coming. As to his reputation, he took no thought for the morrow. The newspaper which proves his right to be ranked as the first of our anti-slavery pioneers seems only to have been preserved by an accident. The memory of other faithful pioneers has been carefully and lovingly guarded; but history has slighted his record, and Liberty, in searching for her jewels, has strangely overlooked his name. Touched by these facts, and believing that "no power can die that ever wrought for truth," I have felt commanded to do my part in the work of adding a new star to the galaxy of freedom, a new name to the roll-call of reformers. If I have succeeded in any degree in this labor of love, I shall rejoice; but, in any event, I shall share the satisfaction which attends a sincere endeavor to serve the truth.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

THE PROGRESS OF SOME WESTERN STATES AND CITIES.¹

THE progress of the Western States and cities of America may be taken as typical of the great advancement of the English-speaking race during the present century. The population of Great

¹ Some of the facts and figures used in this article are taken from "The West in 1880." R. P. Porter. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

Britain and North America has increased from a little over 20,000,000 to nearly 100,000,000—an increase of almost 400 per cent. While the progress of England has not been so rapid in the last two decades, its development during the whole period has been no less marked. We who have watched the progress of the Western States are accustomed to talk of growth as though it were something peculiar to our own section, or that, at any rate, it ended at our own borders. At the opening of the present century England, though politically a first-class power, had accomplished none of her prodigious industrial progress. Manchester was not glorying in her tall and ever-smoking chimneys, but was "an inland town of no pretensions for beauty, and at some distance from the sea;" she consumed but small quantities of cotton to work into fustians, vermillions and dimities. Liverpool had scarcely any of her glorious docks; the great ocean steamers which now almost daily ply between New York and England had not yet found their way to her harbor. Leeds and Bradford were not very conspicuous either for trade or manufacture. Even London, the only place of real importance in the kingdom, had not a tithe of the shipping and commerce which now enrich the banks of the Thames. Of British industries, the cotton was as yet probably the least conspicuous. The iron industry had not made much progress. The quantity of coal annually raised in Great Britain did not exceed 10,000,000 tons, while to-day it is more than 140,000,000 tons. The high cost of carriage made the abundance of coal unavailable excepting within a few miles of the pit. Personal communication was hindered in the same way, and the traveler in civilized England (as did the pioneer of our Western States a generation after),

"O'er bog or steep, through straight, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursued his way,
And swam, or sunk, or waded, or crept, or fled."

But with the dawn of the present century gradually, says Levi,¹ a rapid and wonderful change was produced in commerce and industry by the expansion of some of the leading commercial towns. Liverpool derived enormous benefits from the extension of manufactures in Lancashire, from the rapid increase of population on this side of the Atlantic, from the new acquisition of England in Canada, and the extended cultivation of the West Indies. Birmingham felt all the advantages of the opening of the Staffordshire and Worcestershire

¹ History of British Commerce. Leone Levi. London.

canals, which enabled her to receive all her supplies of coal and materials for manufacture and building at prices much under the usual carriage rates. Watt was producing his wonderful engines with increasing success. Manchester became the great center of a cluster of manufacturing towns, all busy and thriving. Bristol, for a long time without a rival, was carrying on a considerable foreign trade, and enjoying all the benefits of the confluence of many rivers, whilst Glasgow greatly extended her relations with the West Indies.

Before these wonderful changes were wrought the mother country had but little to give to foreign countries. She was not overcrowded with people; she had not much capital to spare for investments in regions so distant as the United States, and her future was clogged with the difficulty and expense of defending the extensive territory which had then so recently been added to the empire. "If," says Levi, "the 3,000,000 pounds of tea then imported have swollen to 130,000,000 pounds, and the 4,000,000 pounds of cotton into 1,400,000,000 pounds and upward, it is because British industry has succeeded in giving a wonderful development to national resources." The period which saw the birth of the great Western States was certainly a period of commercial transition in the world. Ancient commerce, with all its adventures and romance, had passed away. A new era had begun; new nations were taking the place of the old, and England was certainly fast assuming the foremost rank. It was at this time in the affairs of nations that the United States became conscious of its strength and resources, and alive to the noble destiny which awaited it, and resolved to be a free and independent nation.

Then began the great era of progress for those English-speaking races that has extended over two generations, beginning with the opening of this century, and taking a fresh start with the discovery of gold in Australia and in California, and the opening of the first World's Fair on the banks of the Thames. "The great Exposition of 1851," says a recent writer, "has truly symbolized the course of the epoch which it was meant to herald. Paris and Vienna in Europe, Philadelphia beyond the Atlantic, and now Sydney and Melbourne at the Antipodes, have followed the example of London, while the grand feature of the intervening period has been the growth of that international trade which it was the special object of the great Exhibition of 1851 to glorify and promote." In short, commerce—in itself developed, and in this work aided, by the marvelous inventions of locomotive and instantaneous verbal communication—has now brought the

ends of the earth together, and California and Australia, the uttermost parts of the globe, are now familiar, not only in name, but in thoughtful purpose, to even the uneducated masses of the English-speaking world.

It is not the first part of this century that witnessed the great progress of the ten Western States—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska. The third quarter of the nineteenth century, by far the most prosperous period which modern Europe has experienced, or doubtless which the world ever beheld, has also witnessed the conversion of a vast wilderness into one of the richest countries in the world, the grain fields of which bring forth annually 2,000,000,000 bushels of grain, over 70 per cent. of the total grain product of the United States. And this expanse of country—especially in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Indiana—has passed the pioneer stage in agriculture, and is progressing toward true agricultural improvement, based on scientific principles and practical economic methods.

And yet this region is not purely an agricultural one. A few weeks ago, while in conversation with the Honorable Mayor of Birmingham, Mr. Alderman Avery, and Mr. Bunce, of the *Birmingham Post*, they both urged that such a purely agricultural region as the Western States of America must eventually wheel round on the side of free trade, and at the same time they seemed surprised to think that the Eastern manufacturers could control any protection support in the West. The writer replied that the extension of manufacturing in the West had been so great and the actual migration to the West of Eastern manufactories so frequent of late, that in his opinion the reverse would be true. Though both these gentlemen were most intelligently informed on American affairs, they were greatly surprised to hear that immense iron rail industries, second only to Pennsylvania, had grown up in the midst, as it were, of these grain fields; that some of the largest Bessemer steel works were located here; that extensive furniture factories stood on the very edge of the fast-disappearing forests; that since 1850 the value of the products in the manufacture of agricultural implements had increased in the United States more than \$60,000,000, or over ten fold, and that the bulk of the increase had been in the Western States—Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin producing in 1880, in round figures, \$45,000,000 out of the \$70,000,000 product for the entire country, or 64 per cent. In 1850 New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts

were the great agricultural implement manufacturing States, but to-day they have changed places with the prairie States of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana. Many of the Eastern States have actually decreased in this industry, while the West has gone steadily along, first overtaking, and now far surpassing, its Eastern competitors in the number of hands employed and the value of the product produced.

Population in the United States, as in England,¹ seems to seek life for the brain; and such inducement as cities afford proves too attractive for the rural population. The tendency of modern civilization is to mass population. The strong lights and shadows of our cities, the love of society, the satisfaction of better shelter, better roads, stronger institutions, lead men to crowd together even when unable to be anything but dependents in the system to which they unite themselves. Great enterprises demand massed efforts. The individual often sinks his own will, his own property, his own happiness, present and prospective, in the tenement-house of the city, when he might have been an independent man, with a fair competence, had he been content with a rural life. The preëminent success of the few in the vast commercial enterprises, in manufactures, in public affairs, tempts those in scattered homes to the centers of population, and hopefulness keeps them there till many of them can not get away.

Urban population of these States sufficiently indicates that the Western States are becoming as important for the manufacturer as for agriculture. See what the per cent. of increase has been in urban population since 1860:

	<i>Per cent. in- increase between 1860-70.</i>	<i>Per cent. in- crease between 1870-80.</i>	<i>Per cent. in- crease between 1860-80.</i>
Ohio	57	42	124
Indiana	102	39	180
Illinois	122	52	238
Michigan	92	54	197
Iowa	108	36	183
Wisconsin	61	52	146
Minnesota	149	142	504
Missouri	108	22	154
Kansas	213	42	347
Nebraska	885	135	2213

The agricultural communities of the West are benefited by this increase in the city population, because at present the great influx of

¹ The growth of the urban population of England and Wales, census of 1881, was 17,285,026; rural population, 8,683,260, or 66.4 urban, and 33.4 rural.

foreign immigration supplies the drain that would otherwise occur on the rural regions to meet the demands of the great centers of industry. The predominant characteristics of the larger Western cities in this connection are worth a more minute study. First, come the great grain interests. In 1879 Chicago received nearly thirty-five million bushels of wheat; St. Louis, over seventeen million bushels; Toledo, over eighteen million bushels; Detroit, over twelve millions; Milwaukee, over nineteen million bushels; Kansas City, six and one-half million bushels. Of all kinds of grain, Indianapolis received thirty-five million bushels; and Peoria, nearly twenty million bushels; and of corn, the city of Chicago received nearly sixty-five million bushels; the city of Toledo, over fifteen and one-half million bushels; the city of St. Louis, nearly fourteen million bushels; the city of Peoria, nearly ten and one-half million bushels; and Kansas City, over four million, one hundred thousand bushels. Below is presented a table which gives in bushels the outline of the grain trade of ten of the great Western cities:

	Bushels	Bushels.
Milwaukee.....	38,886,440	44,749,847
Indianapolis.....	34,918,906	46,037,578
Peoria.....	19,030,215	12,046,406
Omaha.....	4,000,000	
Kansas City.....	11,093,262	9,000,000
Chicago.....	125,528,379	
Toledo.....		
St. Louis.....		
Detroit*.....		
Minneapolis (about).....		
Total.....		345,290,493

* Wheat only.

In the case of Detroit, only wheat could be obtained; so that it is safe to add, to the total of over three hundred and forty-five million bushels, ten million bushels at least for the grain other than wheat shipped to Detroit; and, estimating the shipments to St. Paul (a city from which I was unable to obtain definite data) at four million bushels, gives a total of three hundred and sixty million bushels of grain received during that year in these railroad centers of the West. Such figures give an idea of the magnitude of the grain transactions. The pork-packing interests of one of these States amount to a grand total of five million hogs, out of some seven and one-half millions packed in the Mississippi valley.

Correspondence has been held with officials or other prominent citizens in every city, for this article. I have derived important aid from the careful reviews of local commerce and manufactures in *Bradstreet's*. The trade reports of such cities as publish them have been carefully examined; yet, unfortunately, at this writing it is impossible to give the exact figures in relation to the industries of

these cities. This class of statistics has been collected with unusual care for the census of 1880, by the aid of experts and special agents, and the results, when fully published, will be of a more satisfactory character than former estimates. As nearly as can be ascertained, the following table shows the number of establishments, number of hands employed, capital invested, amount paid in wages, value of material used, and value of the manufactures of the cities in the States already named:

Items.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
Establishments	24,921	33,335	86,539	124,763
Operatives	110,501	188,651	497,822	755,286
Capital	\$62,896,995	\$173,955,964	\$523,198,780	\$859,926,976
Wages	30,014,160	57,553,225	179,123,507	271,223,244
Material	80,737,837	203,323,054	627,933,551	1,075,925,249
Product	146,348,545	346,675,290	1,072,933,358	1,819,588,355

The above table has been prepared with all possible care; and, in cases where the exact figures for 1880 could not be obtained, estimates have been substituted. In the preparation of these estimates, to avoid extravagant statements, and to be sure of making the calculations under, rather than above, the actual results, the age of the State, and the growth of such industries as iron, glass, manufacture of agricultural implements, and so on, where exact figures are obtainable, have been taken into consideration, and, indeed, all other elements that have a bearing upon the increase or the decrease of manufactures. Should the figures prove approximately correct, the increase in the number of manufacturing establishments in the ten prairie States in thirty years will be shown to have been nearly one hundred thousand; the increase in the number of hands employed, nearly six hundred and fifty thousand; in capital, nearly eight hundred million dollars; in product, over \$1,670,000,000. Even in the Pacific States and Territories there will have been an increase in establishments of nearly ten thousand, of fifty-three thousand in the number of the operatives, of very nearly one hundred million dollars in capital, and of not less than \$102,-000,000 in products. The figures of 1850, 1860, and 1870, may be regarded as absolutely correct; while those of 1880 will undoubtedly be subject to some revision. The calculation in the following table has been made with great pains, and, of course, in the case of 1850, 1860, and 1870, with the absolute returns of the census as a basis. In 1880 the returns are in a measure imperfect, and in some States are only from some of the larger cities. The table shows the per cent.

of increase and decrease of manufactures for the last three decades. Owing to the massing of capital and the increase of large manufacturing corporations, the percentage of growth in number of establishments would be of no value in such a calculation. The amount of wages paid, and the material used, were, for apparent reasons, excluded, and the three principal elements in industrial progress, viz., the number of hands employed, the amount of capital, and the value of the product, were alone taken into consideration.

The following shows the per cent. of increase and decrease of manufactures in the ten prairie States for the years given :

States.	1850 to 1860.			1860 to 1870.			1870 to 1880.		
	Hands.	Capital.	Product	Hands.	Capital.	Product	Hands.	Capital.	Product
Illinois.....	98	343	248	261	242	257	54	60	65
Indiana.....	47	136	128	176	182	153	15	46	70
Iowa.....	269	465	292	297	209	233	58	40	50
Kansas.....	....	....	....	294	298	170	121	135	243
Michigan.....	148	262	192	174	201	262	58	64	68
Minnesota.....	3,270	2,440	569	431	400	585	210	180	230
Missouri.....	24	133	72	232	300	293	56	62	65
Nebraska.....	....	....	....	693	714	844	173	100	190
Ohio.....	47	97	94	81	148	121	55	83	70
Wisconsin.....	153	368	200	129	165	177	30	38	35

To sum up the statement above given, and in order to show the relative per cent. of increase in industrial effort in the United States, and in the ten prairie States and Territories for the last thirty years, the following brief comparison between the United States and the Western States and Territories will be interesting:

PERCENTAGES OF INCREASE.

States.	1850 to 1860.			1860 to 1870.			1870 to 1880.		
	Hands.	Capital.	Product	Hands.	Capital.	Product	Hands.	Capital.	Product
United States.....	37	90	85	56	109	124	65	80	90
Western States and Ter	109	207	159	122	191	179	52	65	70

In 1850, for which year these facts may be relied upon, the Western States and Territories boasted of 12 per cent. of the number of hands employed in the manufactures of the United States, 12 per cent. of the capital, and about 16 per cent. of the products. Ten years later, they had 18 per cent. of the hands, 18 per cent. of the capital, and 22 per cent. of the products. In 1870, they had increased to 26 per

cent. of the hands, 27 per cent. of the capital, and 28 per cent. of the product. It would be impossible to estimate, without the absolute returns, what the per cent. is now; but it has probably increased to 30 per cent., and most likely to 35 per cent., of the entire manufacturing product of the United States.

The census of 1880 shows that the population of the Western States and Territories was over 19,000,000, and to-day it exceeds 20,000,000 souls. It is this constantly growing population that the Western cities will ultimately supply with all their needs. The woolen and agricultural manufactories of Ohio and Illinois; the Lake Superior iron product of Cleveland; the wagon works of Toledo and South Bend; the varied industries of such towns as Greenville, Fort Wayne, and a score of others; the iron industries of Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati and Springfield; the great distilleries of such places as Peoria; the stupendous milling industries of the northern cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, and, indeed, the manufacturing capabilities of these cities of the West can only be measured by the growth of the population of the vast region embracing all the States north of the Ohio River, Arkansas and the Indian Territory, lying between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains, the three States of the Pacific slope, and all the territories of the United States except Alaska, covering an area of 2,023,820 square miles, or not less than 1,295,244,800 acres. In the opening of this article it was shown how much industrial energy and commerce has done within *this century* for Great Britain. In conclusion, these facts point out how much the strength of will, the sober judgment, and the untiring energy of the pioneers have done within *this generation* for the Western States. In this grand and satisfactory progress the New World should remember that it has not been alone. Other countries have also made great industrial and commercial progress, and, in the words of John Stuart Mill, "it is this progress that first taught nations to see with good will the wealth and prosperity of one another." In the advancement of the wealth and the progress of other countries we can see a direct source of wealth and progress for our own country, and the development of this friendly feeling and the common interest between the Old and the New World is indeed the greatest permanent security for the uninterrupted progress of the ideas, the institutions and the character of the human race.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

PESSIMISM AND THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

"The morning dawns, and the signs of the times will soon become legible."

—GOTTHOLD LESSING.

AN American publisher recently announced the first English translation of the monographs and miscellaneous essays of a man who died about twenty years ago, "abandoned by his pupils, his public and his publishers," in the little village of Rasdorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Main. "Put nothing but my name on my grave," were his last words; "time is the best biographer; it will teach them who Arthur Schopenhauer was."

Time has already fulfilled that prediction. The vindicator of Milton's fame and Cromwell's honor has made the Rasdorf recluse the representative metaphysician of a land whose philosophers founded the peerage that was destined to supersede the aristocracy of birth. Schopenhauer's erudition, his controversial powers, and the penetrative force of his critical genius, have been recognized as phenomenal, even in the century of Humboldt and Bentham. The majestic grace of his style has made him the model of German prose writers. His grave can dispense with a monument.

But his publishers have as yet not changed their opinion. His works won't sell. Perhaps no other writer has so many admirers and so few friends. "You admire him as you would a gorgeous ophidian," says Charles Nizard; "he will fascinate you by a brilliant exordium, and deeply shock you before the end of the second page. Most people simply detest him, especially those who cannot appreciate his glittering skin." And not a few of those who can. The flavor of his pessimism is too *anachronistic*, too rank even for literary taxidermist. It pervades the very fibre and tissue of his works, as well as the double-varnished tegument of a translation. The voices of the American press have only confirmed the general verdict. They recognize the merits of the translation, and, with some difference of opinion as to the incidental value of Schopenhauer's writings, they all agree in repudiating his doctrine. This consensus is perhaps the most distinct manifestation of a tendency whose influence alone can account for the curious analogy of certain moral and literary phenomena of the present century. The spirit of the Olympic festivals has revived, and Passion Plays are going out of fashion. The gloom

of the mediæval dogmas is growing more hateful than all their barbarisms. Sweetness and light are becoming synonymous terms. It may be doubted if the present type of civilization has made the progressive nations more charitable, but it has certainly made them less atrabilious; in the old home of Puritanism, as well as in France, a *fond gaillard* has become the chief condition of popularity. Here and there the owls of the Middle Ages have not yet vanished, but the dawn is getting too bright for them, and their wails, instead of awakening a chorus of sympathetic voices, are now answered only by angry remarks and brickbats, and even nightingales are not safe against such missiles if their strain is becoming too lugubrious. The public's judgment against Rousseau, Shelley and Poe was biased by their consistent misanthropy far more than by the inconsistencies of their moral conduct, for the anathema of a similar judgment threatens to silence even the lyre of Childe Harold.

From a literary point of view the chief interest of this tendency may be found in the implied protest against the tenets of the morpholatrous school, the form-worshippers, who accept the style of a book as the sole criterion of its merits; but, as a sign of the times, its meaning is of transcendent importance. For it signifies even this, that the doctrine of Pessimism has become untenable, that our Earth has awakened from the fever-dream of the Middle Ages, that the healing powers of Nature have at last prevailed against the most terrible disease of the Human Race. The world has grown weary of self-torture; asceticism, with all its brood of chimeras, must return to their native night, and we can no longer doubt that their doom will involve the principal dogma of our traditional religion. The time has at last come when we may venture to name the real cause of modern unbelief and the true significance of the Protestant Reformation. That schism which from year to year has expressed its dissent in plainer and plainer terms was not a protest against prelacy or bigotry, nor even against supernaturalism, but against ANTI-NATURALISM; against that same Nature-hating *Pessimism* which the Aryan nations of Asia have driven into a Mongolian exile, and which everywhere has proved itself a stubborn obstacle to the moral development of the human race, as well as to their intellectual progress and the increase of earthly happiness. The dogma which forced our fathers to risk their lives for their deliverance was in the literal sense an *aspersatio terræ*—an attempt to lure mankind from Earth to Ghostland. The period of its ascendancy was preëminently an age of superstition; but the strangest

riddle in all the enigmas of the great delusion is perhaps the question how its exponents could ever succeed in getting their dupes to confound its interests with those of philanthropy and natural religion. The history of Pessimism is the history of a mad revolt against Nature, a war waged by a horde of religious fanatics whose origin has been traced to the slave-pens of southern Asia, and who received their death-wounds on the battle-fields of the Germanic Reformation. About a century after the foundation of Rome an East Indian enthusiast propounded a doctrine whose center idea has been justly defined as the anti-cosmic principle, the most comprehensive and recklessly consistent Pessimism. According to the gospel of Buddha Nepaulensis, the living world is a huge prison-house, guarded by the fear of death and recruited by illusions. Self-abhorrence is the supreme virtue, and self-denial the highest wisdom, for all worldly blessings are curses in disguise. The chief purpose of morality is not to assist, but to supersede, the pursuit of earthly happiness. A man's natural instincts are his natural enemies; science, industry and the pursuit of temporal advantages are utterly vain; terrestrial life is a "long-drawn agony," a disease whose only cure is death.

A nation of normal human beings would have trepanned the author of such a doctrine, or advised him to cure his disease by his own recipe; but in India, in a social atmosphere loaded with the poison of vice, superstition and slavery, Buddhism spread like a plague, and soon became the accepted religion of all the degenerate nations from Ceylon to China. The manly Scythians, the Afghans and Turcomans¹ rejected it with scorn, but in the servile provinces of Asia Minor it found a more congenial soil, and six hundred years after the death of Gautama the essential doctrines of Buddhism² were preached on the shores of the Mediterranean, and succeeded in forcing their unnatural alliance upon the optimistic theism of the Hebrew law-giver, though his chosen people have never ceased to reject them *in toto*. With an incomparable degree of heroism and disinterested zeal, and by-and-by with as incomparable cruelty, this Buddhanized Judaism was

¹ And at last even the manlier races of its own birthland. In Hindostan and Nepaul Buddhism has been expelled from the homes of the Aryan nations.

² "The essence of Catholicism is the center dogma of the Buddhistic gospel; the doctrine of the worthlessness of terrestrial life. With this difference only, that Christianity dates that worthlessness from the transgression of our apple-eating forefather. This modification implied the fiction of a *liberi arbitrii indifferentiae*, but it was required by the necessity of grafting the doctrine of Buddha upon the mythological dogmas of Judaism."—Shepenhauer, "Die Welt als Wille," vol. II., p. 694; Comp. Clarke's "Ten Great Religions," p. 140; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. VI., p. 271, and vol. VII., p. 40.

then propagated in every direction, while the chaos following the collapse of the Roman Empire favored its progress, till its sway extended from Abyssinia to Great Britain, and from the Hellespont to the shores of the Baltic. The more liberal votaries of the God-idea were thus committed to views and tenets quite foreign to their original creeds; the parental Jehovah, the genial Jove, and the helpful Odin, were merged in an earth-hating tyrant who punished joy as a crime, and who, in the full possession of his omnipotence and omniscience, had endowed his creatures with instincts whose gratification would doom a vast plurality of them to an abyss of eternal tortures. Science, industry, happiness, health and freedom were crushed by doctrines as diametrically opposed to the manful optimism¹ of the Old Testament as to the joyous nature-worship of the ancient Greeks. The attempt to carry such theories into practice led at length to a state of affairs against which the *un-possessed* part of mankind had to combine in sheer self-defense; and, after a struggle in which the very Earth seemed to rise in defense of her children, the enemies of Nature were overpowered, and happiness, freedom and light returned like the flood of a long-obstructed stream. The practical emancipation of the progressive nations is now an accomplished fact. We have found it as impossible to exorcise Nature with a cross as with a pitchfork. The crusaders themselves have tacitly recognized the hopelessness of the task, and we may now estimate the costs of the experiment.

To say, then, that Pessimism is an evil would be a misleading understatement. It is the evil principle itself. The doctrine of Natural Depravity alone has been a more prolific source of human misery than all other delusions and all the hostile powers of the elements taken together. The unfortunates who were persuaded to embrace that doctrine have to be acquitted of all personal responsibility for the crimes against Nature which made the Middle Ages the unhappiest period in the history of mankind. Cruelty, ignorance and slavery were the inevitable results of their belief. Their creed deserves our execration, not their honest efforts to realize its theories. Only the bequests of an elder world, the redeeming influences of that Nature we were taught to despise, have helped us to survive the mil-

¹ "A manful and equitable code."—*Schelling*. The doctrines of anti-naturalism, diabolism and eternal punishment were unknown to the exponents of the Mosaic dispensation. Nay, with the exception of that doubtful passage in Job, the Old Testament contains not a line nor a single word that could be fairly construed into an allusion to the doctrine of a future existence. Its God rewards His servants by temporal blessings, its retributions are earthly retributions, its paradise bloomed on this side of the grave.

lennium of misdirected energies—the restless energy of thousands who with the zeal of God-commissioned martyrs devoted their lives to the suppression of reason and liberty, to the extirpation of imaginary crimes and the promotion of spurious virtues.

Pessimism has turned the garden-lands of the Old World into deserts, and the marvel is that a single acre of European soil has escaped its baneful influence; the neglect of industry and rational agriculture was the logical consequence of the anti-Nature dogma. If this earth was a vale of tears, and heaven our proper home, it would have been folly to waste our time on secular affairs. Pessimism has deluged the earth with the blood of her noblest sons; if heresy had to be extirpated, the end more than justified such means as the wholesale butchery of human beings. If the weal or woe of eternity was at stake, the thousand fold sacrifice of a worthless earthly existence seemed not only a wise expedient, but a duty. From their own point of view, the butchers of the Holy Inquisition probably sinned on the side of tolerance. Truth has never been the enemy of justice, and we should acknowledge that many of the most merciless of men were also the most conscientious and the least selfish.¹

Pessimism has crushed the aspiration of human liberty by crimes that far transcend the atrocities of Pagan despotism. If human nature was essentially evil, men were unfit for self-government, and their own welfare required the suppression of every revolt against the authority of the spiritual powers. For, while the philosophers of ancient Greece found their ideal in the majesty of self-reliant manhood, the ideal of Hebrew-Buddhism was the ultratype of abject self-abhorence and self-distrust. The one-sided moral precepts of the unnatural creed did little to counteract these influences. Without science, without industry, without the principles of personal dignity and natural justice, what could religion become but a system of heartless and brainless dogmas and barren ceremonies? That system has systematically favored the survival of the *unfit* by making self-esteem a stigma and common sense a capital crime. The national degradation of so many Aryan races, their sickening flunkeyism, and their heartless subservience to the caprices of brutal despots, are the direct consequences of a creed which inculcated the duty of self-abasement as an article of faith. The church that abolished slavery in name,

¹ "In their worst acts the persecutors were only the exponents of the wishes of a large section of the community, and that section was commonly the most earnest and the most unselfish."—Lecky's *History of Rationalism*, vol. I., p. 354.

promoted it in fact, for her doctrine implied a divine sanction of despotism, and of an entire disregard for man's natural rights. In systematic, heartless and relentless inhumanity the discipline of the monastic orders has hardly ever been surpassed.¹ The slave barracks of ancient Rome were temples of liberty compared with the dungeons of the hierarchical torture-dens where thousands of Nature's noblemen vainly invoked death and madness as a refuge from the power of a more cruel foe.

Pessimism has waged an unremitting war against science and human reason. The measure of its power has always been the measure of its hostility to intellectual development. If skepticism was a vice, and implicit faith the foremost duty, a submissive mind was preferable to all the wisdom of an unbelieving world. Pious frauds, senseless ceremonies and religious terrorism exhausted their resources to emasculate the human intellect. As the merit of faith was supposed to increase with the absurdity of the dogma, the exponents of Scripture gloried in the disregard of scientific objections. Superstition was systematically encouraged, and there is no doubt that the system was effective enough to arrest the progress of civilization for more than fifteen hundred years. At the end of the sixteenth century the most advanced nations of Europe had hardly reconquered the intellectual status which the citizens of pagan Rome occupied before the death of the elder Pliny. The reign of the patristic dogmas was a perfect *aphanasia*, a general eclipse of common sense and reason, and it is shallow sophistry to ascribe the protraction of that darkness to the innate barbarism of the Christian converts. We could not mistake the significance of the fact that Greece, Rome and Bagdad managed to civilize such barbarians in two or three generations, even if the sunburst of science that followed the triumph of the Protestant Reformation had not revealed the cause of the long eclipse. The history of civilization does not resemble a steady rise of light from darkness, but rather a day with a bright morning and a sunny evening, but darkened at the noontide hour by an all-pervading cloud of poison vapors. Mental progress was incompatible with a creed that enjoined mental prostitution as a praiseworthy act of spiritual humility.

¹ "If any sect," says Ludwig Börne, "should ever take it into their heads to worship the devil in his distinctive qualities, and devote themselves to the promotion of human misery in all its forms, the catechism of such a religion could be found ready-made in the code of several monastic colleges."—Compare: Llorente, "*History of the Inquisition*," pp. 129-142; Rohrbacher, "*Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique*," tome XVII., p. 210; Waschsmuth, "*Der Bauernkrieg*," vol. I., chaps. I-III.

The civilization of the East rose and declined with the influence of Islam; the civilization of the West was crushed by the ascendancy of Anti-naturalism, and revived at the decline of its influence. Two centuries after the conversion of Mecca the sixteen provinces of the Caliph were studded with academies, their culture and prosperity rivaled the Golden Age of the Grecian Republics, and six hundred years later the Moors of Spain were still the teachers of Europe in science and arts, as well as in industry and agriculture. Two centuries after the conversion of Rome the sun of reason had set in a sea of insanity, and that night continued for thirteen hundred years. At the end of the fourteenth century, when the power of the Church had reached its zenith, not a single country in Europe had gained by its conversion from optimistic to pessimistic polytheism. Every school had been turned into a seed-plot of superstition, every jail into a grave of liberty; justice, manhood, science and common sense lay prostrate at the foot of the Cross; mankind slept in a fever-dream, and a swarm of vampires sucked their life-blood with impunity. The sword of Themis had become an instrument of spiritual tyranny, literature a farrago of silly fables, science a sham, the tillers of the toil were treated like wild beasts,¹ thinkers and inventors as criminals, the enemies of Nature were worshipped as the ministers of her God.

Has that creed furthered the progress of Civilization? Since the dawn of modern rationalism the sun of science has ripened more truth in a single year than the light of "Revelation" in any century, and the development of that science has been accomplished in spite of the Church, in spite of her utmost efforts to crush its life in the bud. The victory of Civilization has been won on the battle-field that broke the power of the obscurantists, and the same Church whose defenders are now trying to arrogate the laurels of that victory has aimed its poisoned daggers at the heart of every free inquirer, of every social, political and scientific reformer. The path of progress is strewn with the wrecks of exploded dogmas; the war against the pontiffs of Romanism and Calvinism trained the champions whose

¹ "One sees certain dark, livid, naked, sunburnt, wild animals, male and female, scattered over the country and attached to the soil, which they root and turn over with indomitable perseverance. They have, as it were, an articulate voice, and when they rise to their feet they show a human face. They are, in fact, men; they creep at night into dens where they live on black bread, water and roots. They spare other men the labor of plowing, sowing and harvesting, and therefore deserve some small share of the bread they have grown. Yet they were the fortunate peasants, those who had work and bread, and they were then the few" (while two-thirds of the arable territory of France were in the hands of the Church).—*La Bruyère*; quoted in P. L. Courier's *Pétition à la Chambre des Députés*, p. 19.

sword has reconquered the lost realm of reason; the leagues which dissenters and free-thinkers were obliged to oppose to the power of the hierarchy became the preparatory schools of the Science of Human Rights; Anti-naturalism has promoted the Civilization of the nineteenth century, as the plague has promoted the quarantine. Wherever the revolt of Nature led to a progressive reform, the funeral of dogmatism was the birthday of a happier era.

More than eighty millions of the descendants of noble races Pessimism has reduced to the lowest stage of political and physical degradation. In a world whose blessings were only curses in disguise, it would have been a crime against the interests of the soul to waste our time on secular education, the science of health, or the culture of the manly powers. The inhabitants of the Mediterranean peninsulas were the master-races of the ancient world, and it would be an obvious mistake to ascribe their present degeneration to climate influences. In a warmer climate the followers of the manlier prophet of Mecca have never lost their bodily vigor, and the average North African of the present day is the physical superior of his Italian contemporary; while the forefathers of the same African were mere children in the hands of the Roman whose ethics did not oblige him to despise his body in order to please its creator.

“Where Athens, Rome and Sparta stood,
There is a moral desert now,”

and it would certainly have been better for the nations of Greece if they had been driven into an African wilderness rather than into the desert of Pessimism. After a thousand years' sojourn in the heart of the Sahara, a nation of Nature-loving workers and thinkers would have left to their children a better land than the country which once was the paradise of the Mediterranean.

The ascetic dogmas of the monstrous delusion have darkened the life-light of countless millions, for in the zenith of its power Pessimism rose almost to the climax of a worship of sorrow for its own sake, and, when the sources of earthly misery were exhausted, the Church elaborated that dogma of a Hell of eternal and all but inevitable tortures which destroyed the last solace of the wretched, as well as the peace of daily life. Dissenters were silenced by armed force. Pessimism solved the problem of inflicting the greatest possible amount of misery on the greatest possible number. Every appeal to common sense and mercy was punished as a crime against the authority of an infallible church; every atrocity was sanctioned that

would help to crush the instinct of free inquiry, the dignity of manhood, the sense of justice, the love of joy, freedom and Nature.

When the disease had reached a point beyond which recovery would have been impossible, the northern nations saved themselves by a revolt whose significance can no longer be concealed. Its purpose was not the vindication of broader or higher scholastic theories or ante-Nicene dogmas, but of the rights of man and the long-outraged rights of Nature. The ostensible revolt against Rome was a revolt against Asia. Of an alleged materialistic bias, the causes of that insurrection were as independent as of national prejudices. The God-idea has deeper roots than the germs of the Dubosian star-myths, and the transcendental element of an optimistic religion is not incompatible with the progress of liberal ideas. Our Spiritualists are bold free-thinkers. Many of the freest and noblest nations of Antiquity were firm believers in supernatural agencies; but their superstition differed from the superstition of the Church as the inspired love of Nature differs from the ecstatic fury of her enemies, as the day-dream of a happy child differs from the fever-dream of a gloomy fanatic. The champions of Nature were at peace with her God.

It is probable that but few of the reformers could foresee the consequences of the movement they were setting forward, but the instinct of the people could not be deceived; they felt the true import of the great regenesis, and expressed their appreciation of its chief fact by the popular name of the cause of *Protestantism*. That protest has been repeated till we can no longer doubt that its causative principle is a REVIVAL OF NATURALISM. At a cost of two hundred million human lives, three million square miles of wasted lands, and sixteen centuries of wasted time, the history of the Middle Ages has taught us that Man's departure from Nature is the removal of a tree from its native soil, a removal from the basis of life. Pessimism was on trial for sixteen hundred years, and the result of the experiment is a lesson which shall not be forgotten, and has not been neglected. The abolition of witchcraft laws, of religious disabilities and ecclesiastic privileges, the divorce of church and state, secular education, civil marriages, our newspaper oracles, lecture bureaus and cyclopaedias, our republics, our railways, telegraphs, telescopes and electric lights, our life insurances and lightning conductors, mechanics' institutes and gymnasiums, our zoölogical gardens, Sunday excursions and festivals of the Turnerbund, are strange comments on the theory of the sages who ascribe our superior civilization to the restoration of the patristic dogmas.

Anti-naturalism was not only the consequence, but the cause, of those dogmas ; their source, as well as their logical outcome.

The ministers of Pessimism still disregard the signs of dawn or mistake them for the reflection of their mystic light, but they cannot help perceiving that the demand for consecrated candles has alarmingly decreased. Their didactic functions have been intrusted to the exponents of secular science; their judicial and statistical functions to the municipal authorities; their tribunal of public censure has been surrendered to the public press; and the very foundation of their spiritual authority has been undermined by the agencies of that ominous phase in the decadence of a creed which drives its ablest champions into the camp of the opposition. Two hundred years ago a considerable plurality of our educated clergymen would have been burned as heretics, and the veil of external forms can hardly disguise the fact that the doctrine now preached in the city churches of the progressive nations is neither Romanism nor Calvinism, but *eclectic causistry*. The signs of a progressing change are, indeed, getting distinct enough to be visible even through the painted windows of the Latin churches. The seven nations of ancient Rome have awakened from their death slumber, and, like the Seven Sleepers stepping from their cave, are once more breathing the air of God's free world. The tenure of the infallible Church is in litigation; her drafts on Heaven are sadly below par; her Hades has changed its climate, as well as its name. The spectres of the Middle Ages are fleeing from the morning air; dogma after dogma has silently evanished before the advance of that Reform of which the Augsburg Confession was not the consummation, but the beginning. Schisms still multiply, and each new sect turns its weapons against its former allies.

The plan of pressing Science into the service of Dogmatism has only hastened the progress of disintegration. Nature cannot be fought with her own weapons; by just as much as her enemies increase the knowledge of their disciples, they decrease their orthodoxy; the ministers of darkness try in vain to utilize the electric lights of civilization. A spirit of free inquiry is abroad; an instinct which the age of miracle-worship had almost blotted out from the minds of men has again been recognized as a primary virtue. The revived love of truth for its own sake is, indeed, the happiest omen of the future, though it clearly presages the advent of an ethical emancipation—the emancipation of morality by its divorce from Anti-naturalism.

For such a divorce would not endanger the interests of *religion*

unless unrealized doctrines have made that word a synonym of hypocrisy. Moral principles can only gain by a deliverance from their association with untenable dogmas; moral enthusiasm will not suffer a decline by its transfer to less delusive ideals. The religion of the future will have no foe but vice. It will be at peace with Science, with Nature, with the Spirit of Freedom, and all useful and peaceful spirits whatever. We shall keep our God, but he will be an All-father, and not an all-but-All-tormentor. The Spiritualists may keep their ghosts—hornless and rather harmless goblins—who will not victimize our swine and confine their inroads to a corps of well-compensated mediums. We may even keep our altars, but the God of the future will not require the sacrifice of our reason, our earthly happiness, and our natural affections, and will not reject an honest votary though he should decline to hate his father and mother, yea, and his own life.

The Church of Natural Religion is still a militant church; yet its victory is certain, so certain that we can afford to be generous. Pessimism is fighting its last battle with bitter obstinacy, but we should recognize the fact that even in Europe that struggle is a contest of principles, rather than of personal interests. The charge of bigotry is still an *ex parte* argument. If our traditional creed is a delusion, we cannot abandon it too soon; but, as long as we abet it, we should not blame its ministers for trying to be consistent. Voltaire defines a physician as "an unfortunate mortal who is daily called upon to perform a miracle—namely, to reconcile intemperance with health;" but a latter-day clergyman is beset with the still greater difficulties of reconciling his faith with modern optimism—the doctrine of renunciation with German Nature-worship, with British wealth-worship, with the American worship of progress, and the French and Italian worship of joy. During the Middle Ages some of the deadliest enemies of freedom were men of spotless morals and of a perfectly disinterested devotion to what their dreadful creed represented as their duty; nor is it impossible that Pessimism has still some honest and even hopeful defenders, faith-entrenched dogmatists, who have actually misread the signs of the times and the handwriting upon their own castle-walls. Some of their battered forts still menace the highways of progress, and we can admire at least the courage of the defenders.

Superstitions die hard; but, like a waylaying sphinx, an obstructive delusion can often be removed by solving its riddle. What, then, is the meaning of Pessimism? What is, or what was, the secret of its

success? We will venture to answer that question. It is the false pride of a defeated man. It is the spite against fate which tempts us to deny the value of blessings beyond our reach, and to console ourselves by dwelling upon the vanity of a baffled hope. It is a significant circumstance that effete nations, unmanly men and undesirable females make the best pessimists. Effeminate Asiatics were the first converts, valiant Northmen the first *Protestants*. Degeneracy and bigotry are as concomitant as health and optimism. Nearly every caged murderer edifies his jailers by renouncing the vanities of this vale of tears. Unmasked hypocrites console themselves with the hope of a better hereafter. Dyspeptic gluttons, rejected suitors and superannuated coquettes generally become devout and very severe on the frivolities of this worldly life. When the French had beaten his last army, Charles the Fourth of Spain solaced his spirit by embroidering a petticoat for the Holy Virgin. On the morning after a lager-beer spree most German students take a growing interest in Schopenhauer's thanatopsis. Pessimism can flourish only in a sickly soil. Its apostles have always insisted on the moral value of affliction and disease, and its general tendency has been to promote the conditions most favorable to its growth—like the East Indian poison-vine that destroys the health of the trees on whose corruption it is going to feed.

The rise and decline of Pessimism is clearly the history of a moral epidemic, but the pragmatical exegesis of the great mania is a more evasive problem. Was it the *Katzenjammer*—the blue-devil reaction, which, as Ludwig Börne suggests, had to expiate the Græco-Roman carnival of pleasure? Or, did it correspond in the development of the human race to that period of splenetic sullenness and metaphysical crotchets which often follows upon the eupeptic realism of a happy childhood?

It certainly was a disease—a disease whose horrors at times seemed almost to excuse the tenets of its victims—but the trust in God's everlasting mercy has at last been justified. We have recovered.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

IRISH DISAFFECTION AND ENGLISH LEGISLATION.

NOT long since a demonstration was made by the Irish in Boston in sympathy with their suffering compatriots at home. An overflowing assemblage crowded into Boston Theatre to welcome two delegates from Ireland—T. M. Healy, Esq., M. P., and Rev. Eugene Sheehy, the former distinguished as the author of the Healy Clause in the recent Land act, and the other no less distinguished as having endured incarceration on behalf of his country. After a cautious speech from Governor Long, who occupied the chair, these gentlemen addressed the audience in the style to which we are accustomed in the Irish agitator—strong in language, not over-careful in statement, and for all logical deficiencies making ample amends by abundant abuse of England. The name of Mr. Gladstone was not received with any special favor at this meeting. The Land act of 1881, round which gathered so many hopes, was simply trampled on. Its provisions were bad; its administration promised to be ineffective; the sub-commissioners appointed under it were Dublin “jakeens,” and John O’Hagan, at the head of the commission, a man of character and a Catholic, had sold his country—and so on, and so on.

Demonstrations of the same kind, and characterized by the same spirit of passionate exaggeration, have also been held in New York, Pittsburgh and other important centres. One in Chicago—a meeting intended to represent “transplanted Ireland,” or the whole Irish nation in America, was held on November 1 last and the two succeeding days. Delegates to the number of 773, commissioned by the various branches of the Land League and other Irish societies scattered over this continent, assembled in McCormick’s Hall, and pledged themselves to the cause of Ireland in a series of wonderful resolutions. These resolutions may be pronounced remarkable for what they say, and also remarkable for what they do not. After affording to us the curious information that the English Government had “avowed the resolve to subjugate the Irish nation by wholesale eviction” and by “the suspension of every”—not one or two—but “every popular right,” they proceed heartily to “indorse the ‘No Rent’ policy of the home executive of the Irish Land League” as an admirable weapon

for smiting their landlord jailors and abolishing a bad and hateful system. But from first to last no word was uttered, whether in resolution or in speech, in condemnation of the burnings, the houghings of cattle, and the cowardly assassinations of peaceable men, that were coming with monotonous iteration as the most important articles of news from Ireland. The end aimed at by this new method of warfare being excellent, namely—the extermination of the landlords—every expedient tending to its promotion is viewed, we presume, with something of equanimity; if not with positive approval.

The agitation of Irish grievances thus transferred to this country, and the strange statements it has called forth, may justify a review of the situation by one who, though himself an Irishman, cannot join in the popular denunciation of England. We think it may be made perfectly clear to everyone, not rendered impervious to argument by passionate sympathies and equally passionate antipathies, that the course of English legislation from the beginning of this century has been, with one insignificant exception, uniformly favorable to Ireland; and that at this day Irish grievances have gone down to a very small point, indeed. In an article in the *North American Review*, Mr. Parnell says: "It may seem strange to Americans that England should prefer to keep Ireland poor and miserable, rather than to make her prosperous." The implication contained in this statement is simply a misrepresentation, as the history of the last half-century will show. John Bright said some time ago, in a speech to his constituents in Birmingham: "We propose a new conquest of Ireland, without confiscation and without blood, with only the holy weapon of a frank and generous justice, which is everywhere patent to bring together nations that have been long separated by oppression and neglect." In this sentence we have described the true attitude of all that is really influential in English statesmanship toward Ireland.

It has been said that the history of a single grain of sand—an explanation of its position and of the fact that it constitutes a grain of sand—can only be reached through a history of the world from the earliest geologic time. So with Irish troubles and discontent; their remotest beginnings antedate the conquest of the Green Isle itself. We shall pass by this historic question, however interesting, at present, and, confining ourselves to a consideration of recent events, shall inquire what was the political condition of Ireland some sixty years ago, and what is its political condition now, and through what instrumentalities the beneficent change has been effected. The review may be effective in

dismissing some prejudices, and bringing to the test of reason certain remarkable exaggerations.

Sixty years ago the political and social condition of the Irishman was not good. It was bad. If the back of the penal laws was broken, and everything like active persecution had passed away, much injustice still remained—disability for office, inequality of treatment, unjustifiable exactions, circumstances entailing almost inevitable ignorance and equally inevitable distress, if not persecution, the degradations that its infliction leaves behind. The capital grievances lay especially in the line of political disability, the want of facilities for education, Protestant ascendancy, with all that it implied, and unjust land laws. And, in reference to these, what has been the course of English legislation for the last sixty years?

And, first, in the matter of disability for office. Much inequality in this respect had been removed by the Relief act passed by the Irish Parliament in the year 1793; yet the disqualifying clause incorporated in this act was sufficiently comprehensive. It debarred the Irish Catholic from Parliament; from the offices of Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor of Ireland; from all the judgeships, whether of record or of admiralty; it rendered him incompetent to become a Master of Chancery, Sheriff or Sub-Sheriff of a county, or even a King's Counsel. But the parliamentary franchise was now his own, or the power to vote for any non-Catholic as a candidate for parliamentary honors; and through it the most important of the disabilities just enumerated were in a few years swept away. It is well known that at the time of the Union, in 1800, Mr. Pitt pacified the Irish Catholic by the promise of emancipation; but that when the Union was consummated the obstinacy of King George III., who pleaded his coronation oath and threatened abdication, proved an insuperable obstacle in the way. When, however, in the face of the legal disqualification, Daniel O'Connell was returned member of Parliament for County Clare, in the year 1829, and the Irish people showed themselves in earnest in their demand for emancipation, the Duke of Wellington, who was then at the head of the Government, yielded to the necessities of the situation, and brought in the well-known Catholic Relief bill. George IV., however, inherited the scruples of his father. "You know, Arthur," said he to the Duke, "I am bound by the honor of a gentleman." "You are no gentleman, sir," responded the Duke, "you are the King of England," and he proceeded to expound to the King the duties of a constitutional monarch, and led him to subordinate personal consider-

ations to the expressed wish of the people. This difficulty removed, the Emancipation act was passed through Parliament, and at one stroke swept away almost every existing disability. The Irish Catholic might henceforth become a representative in Parliament, a Sheriff, Privy Councillor, Ambassador, Judge, Prime Minister; he might aspire to any office of honor and emolument for which the ordinary British subject was qualified, with the exception of those of Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor of Ireland. But even this disqualification has to a certain extent been removed; and, some twelve years ago, Lord O'Hagan, a man highly esteemed by all political parties, became the first Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and at this moment the English Governor-General of India is a Catholic, the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, and about one-half of the Judges in the Four Courts, Dublin, are Catholics. Not long since it was felt as a grievance, at least in the North of Ireland, that in the distribution of judicial honors unequivocal partiality was shown to the adherents of the national faith. It was a part of the programme of Gladstone to conciliate Ireland by the appointment of Irish Catholics to the judicial bench.

In the department of education, also, the present shows a favorable contrast to the past. By a remarkable concurrence of testimony, on which all reliance may be placed, we are assured that the Irishman is a lover of knowledge; and yet, at the beginning of this century, the facilities for its acquisition were very limited. The schools of the last century, the Charter Schools of Primate Boulter, and Erasmus Smith's schools, existed principally for purposes of proselytism; and the Kildare street schools, that flourished about the beginning of the century, and to which an annual parliamentary allowance was made, fell under the control of a religious party, the Evangelic Protestants, who repelled the Catholics by insisting upon what was called "an open Bible." The only schools which enjoyed the full confidence of priest and people were the old Hedge schools, then rapidly disappearing. These schools were sometimes miserable erections. Placed on the roadsides, they were often excavations made through a hedge into a rising ground beyond, with a roof of *scraws*, or sods, surmounted with a layer of rushes; and hence the name of "Hedge schools." The teachers of these people's colleges are well described by Carleton in *Mat Kavanagh*, and really were very curious specimens of the pedagogue. They delighted in the name of philomath, and, though possessed of considerable knowledge, they claimed the possession of far more. Mat

Kavanagh undertook to teach, not only *omma omnium* of the classics, but the whole range of the sciences—"Pneumatics, Optics, Dioptics, Catoptics, Glorification and Divinity," and so forth. The philomath was rather a hard master, and various ingenuities, such as inviting him to dinner, had to be resorted to by the scholars for the purpose of escaping the rod. Pedantry and pomposity were his most marked characteristics, and a tendency to the use of polysyllabic words. He obtained graduation originally by *sacking* his teacher—that is, by overcoming him in a contest of proposing and answering puzzling questions; and from time to time he kept up his reputation by the *sacking* of an opponent. And, as to the education administered, it was not very liberalizing. When the pupil entered the school, the first thing he did was to throw the turf he carried into a heap in the corner, which was intended to furnish fuel for the day; and then, amid a continual buzz, he was taught a little reading, some arithmetic, not much writing, and, in a very mechanical way, the doctrines of the Church. He was also instructed in the repetition of the *confiteor*, or, as it was pronounced, the *confeether*.

The philomath was not only the schoolmaster—he was the letter-writer of the neighborhood, and his elaborate flourishes and his fine English were a wonder to behold. He conducted the correspondence of lovers, answered the letters from abroad, applied for situations, and occasionally addressed the public through the newspaper. "That word 'supereminently' was enough to take the jacket off him," said one of this fraternity, after finishing an epistle complaining of the conduct of a policeman. Though the species is extinct, Mr. A. M. Sullivan finds traces of the philomath in a communication addressed to a Dublin paper so late as the year 1874. Speaking of an encounter with a Protestant missionary in Connemarra, the writer says: "I found myself under the sternly imperative necessity of having recourse to a perfunctory subterfuge that precipitated his biblical interpolations into a chaotic state of chimerical amalgamation."

The philomath gave place to the National School teacher in the year 1830. In that year Mr. Stanley, afterward Lord Derby, with the assistance of Lord Anglesea, the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Cloncurry and others, introduced the Irish National School system. Into the details of this system it is needless at present to enter. It is enough to say that, through a central board of commissioners in Dublin, assistance was given to all schools in the country satisfying certain easy conditions, an admirable series of class-books was published, and pro-

vision made for the inspection of the schools and for the training of the teachers. The religious difficulty was met by the principle of "united secular and separate religious instruction." In other words, no religious instruction was given on the authority of the board, but opportunity was offered to the parents or the various churches to provide for such instruction, to be given at a particular hour, set apart for that purpose.

The system encountered opposition, of course, and, we believe, from all the leading churches. The clergy of the Protestant establishment remembered the obligation of their ordination vows, and refused to countenance a system that did not admit of proselytizing. Dr. Cooke and the Presbyterians of the North thundered on behalf of the "open Bible." The Catholics, though at first accepting with some cordiality the advantages of the new system, finally condemned it, and pronounced in favor of denominational schools. By judicious concession, however, in the line of denominationalism, the opposition of the churches considerably gave way, and at this time the greater part of the youth of Ireland are taught in these schools, and are receiving an education that may be fairly called good. And so thoroughly has the religious difficulty vanished that perhaps not a single child, Catholic or Protestant, has left the faith of its fathers through any instruction or influences communicated through the National Schools.

The university difficulty was not easy of settlement on account of a certain antagonism of opinion. The English Government is pledged to non-sectarianism in collegiate education, and, in consequence, has been throwing open Oxford and Cambridge to the dissenters. The Catholic Church insisted on the establishment of a Catholic university, to be endowed by the state. Without satisfying this demand, the Government has been doing what it could. The Queen's University, with its three colleges—one in Belfast, one in Cork and one in Galway—was established in 1849, and offered an education free to all who could pass the matriculation examination. The door of Trinity College, Dublin, was opened to the Catholics and the Presbyterians. And only recently the constitution of the Queen's University has been modified to allow students, no matter how educated or where, to compete for its honors and degrees. It is also worthy of record that a million sterling portion of the "surplus" realized by the disendowment of the Established Church has been appropriated to the encouragement of intermediate education, or to the establishment of schools intended to prepare youth for the universities. In calculating

the Catholic grievance in this matter of university education it is also to be remembered that Maynooth College, the great national seminary for the education of the priesthood, has been supported by public funds since the latter part of the last century, and that it is now permanently endowed to the tune of £30,000 a year, out of the "surplus" of the disendowed Episcopal Church.

The Episcopal Church, which we must now consider, comprehended in itself almost everything objectionable in a church establishment. The church of the minority, it was patronized and pampered by the state; the church of the rich, it appropriated to itself the whole ecclesiastical revenues of the country; intended to be a missionary church, its clergy seldom condescended to learn the language of the people; a symbol of national subjugation, its policy throughout was high-handed and embittering. Its adherents in its best day seldom numbered more than 600,000, and for the spiritual instruction of this small minority a whole army of ecclesiastics, comprehending four archbishops, twenty-two bishops and other high dignitaries, and costing the country not less than £600,000 a year, had to be maintained. Nor was the church in its general administration calculated to win favorable opinions. The bishoprics, when not filled by Englishmen, were the appanage of a few high families. Pluralities abounded. Many of the parishes had ample revenues and very insignificant congregations. In a return furnished to Parliament, and referred to by Lord Morpeth in 1835, we learn that 151 of these parishes do not contain a single Protestant inhabitant, and that in 194 more the adherents of the church comprehended little more than the family of the rector and the parish clerk, as the Protestants within their boundaries were less than ten. It was quite possible for an incumbent in these circumstances to follow the example of Dean Swift and address the congregation as "my dearly beloved Roger." It was quite possible for him also to spend a pleasant time amidst the gaieties of Bath or Tunbridge Wells without feeling that his expatriation involved any important neglect of his spiritual duties. In a return furnished to Parliament, the parish of Clondrahad, in the diocese of Cloyne, is described as containing a population of 5,070 Catholics and 30 non-Catholics; the rector as enjoying the handsome income of £1,000 a year, together with 60 acres of glebe lands, and the amount of the parish cess as £165. This parish cess was a miserable exaction intended to meet incidental expenses and keep the church in repair. Not contented with absorbing the whole tithes of the country, this

unique establishment absolutely compelled the public—that is, substantially the Catholic rate-payers—to purchase for it the elements used in the communion!

Such an institution contained in itself the seeds of dissolution. And, as may be expected, it received the attention of Parliament again and again during the last half century. At first objectionable things were removed and excrescences lopped off. By the Church Temporalities act, passed in the year 1833, the establishment was reduced by the excision of two archbishoprics and eight bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities, and the application of the revenues thus liberated to the repair and the erection of churches and an increase of the salaries of the minor clergy. Thus the parish or vestry cess was got rid of. Then the question of tithes, which always encountered resistance, and sometimes brought the country to the verge of civil war, was dealt with. Even in the middle of the last century secret societies, as that of the Whiteboys, Rightboys, Oakboys, were organized, partly to resist the collection of the tithe. And down to the year 1834, when any period of unusual turbulence occurred, the agitation might be traced either to difficulties with the landlord or to the exactions of the tithe-proctor. In the year last named Parliament hit on a happy expedient for removing this standing source of irritation. Instead of being collected from the tenant, the tithe was imposed as a rent-charge on the land, payable by the landlord, who received the handsome allowance of 20 per cent. of the principal as remuneration for the trouble of collection. And, though many ridiculed the arrangement and called it an example of economic legerdemain, it served the purpose intended, and dismissed the tithe question forever from the arena of politics. But, notwithstanding this endeavor to render the church less intolerable to the people, it still remained in itself a visible embodiment of the hated Protestant ascendancy, and the next movement of reform assumed, in consequence, the dimensions of disestablishment and disendowment. The church fell as an establishment, and her revenues were withdrawn by the Irish Church act of 1870. Ample provision was made in this act for existing interests, but the old prerogatives were withdrawn. The bishops vacated their places in the House of Lords; the fat benefices assumed moderate proportions, and in lieu of the state connection and patronage there were left to the church only the advantages of self-government. And it may be mentioned as a curious comment on the enormous revenues of this establishment that the final report of the

Church Commissioners appointed by the Irish Church act announces that after making all the payments necessary—and they were many—a surplus revenue of £570,000, representing a principal of twelve millions sterling, is left.

The principal source of Irish discontent is, however, the land laws. The Irish have their own ideas about the land, and unfortunately these are not the ideas of the landlord, and hence the discontent, turbulent agitation, incendiarism and murders with which the recent history of the country is surcharged. The grievances especially complained of have been rack-renting, insecurity of tenure, and the confiscation by the landlord of the tenant's improvements. In the South and West, through the enormous competition for the land, and a system of subletting through middlemen, rents were in many districts too high. And no tenant in any part of the country had any reliable guarantee of permanence in the occupation of his land. For any cause, or for no cause—because his political opinions were unsatisfactory, or the land was wanted for the consolidation of farms—he might be dismissed from his homestead any morning, and dismissed, too, without a farthing of compensation for the improvements he may have effected. The money expended in making drains, reclaiming waste land, or erecting houses, became the landlord's property as soon as expended, and in hundreds of cases it was confiscated for the advantage of the owner by law.

In Ulster a certain protection was offered to the farmer by what is called Ulster Tenant Right. But how insufficient, after all, was the safeguard! In favorable circumstances the possession of tenant right implied authority in the tenant to dispose of his interest in his land to the highest bidder at public sale, with the single qualification that the purchaser must be in solvent circumstances and a man of fair character. By this arrangement—which, on the whole, worked well for all parties—a farm often sold for £20 an acre. But in a great variety of ways restrictions were imposed on the right of free sale. It was an office regulation on one estate that the tenants should receive only £10 an acre, or £5 as tenant right; on another, that only neighboring farmers should be allowed to compete for the tenant right; on another, that tenant right was frittered away and destroyed altogether. And when it is remembered that this tenant right, thus variously restricted, did not possess the authority of law, and might be repudiated at any moment by any landlord, it must be acknowledged that the boasted Ulster custom amounted to a very insufficient safeguard against injus-

tice. It may be mentioned that the landlords in Ulster and elsewhere considered that their rights of property extended to their tenants' votes, and when the time of election came sent emissaries around, generally the bailiff, with the name of the candidate to be supported. Woe to the tenant in the old time that dared to disobey this implied mandate! Henceforth a mark was affixed to his name on the books of the estate, and, if his rent was not in consequence raised, he had to thank his stars! In some districts a curious remnant of feudalism subsisted to the middle of the century. Certain days of gratuitous work and certain offerings, principally of poultry, were exacted by the landlord; but, as a certain odium and no small amount of ridicule came to attach to the custom, it gradually disappeared, or, rather, went through a process of transformation that changed it into a money equivalent of pounds, shillings and pence.

It is not surprising that the feeling against the land laws should have sought expression through tenant right societies and other ways less constitutional. The farmers of the North sought especially for full compensation for unexhausted improvements; in the South and the West, security against eviction was the safeguard principally sought. In the phrase of the day, it was sought to "root the people in the soil." With the progress of the tenant right movement, the popular demand for the whole country was expressed in the well-known formula of the three Fs—Free Sale, Fixity of Tenure, and Fair Rents. As the minimum of requirement in the matter of education is conveyed in the three Rs, or Reading, 'Riting and 'Rithmetic, so the minimum of requirement in the matter of amended land laws was conveyed in the three Fs. It may be remarked, in passing, that Sir Stafford Northcote has recently given the conservative interpretation of this popular formula. He says the three Fs really mean Folly, Force, and Fraud. Some two years ago the Land League was established by Michael Davitt, and from that time the demands of the tenant began to assume proportions never before contemplated. The aim then began to be not the rectification of abuses, but the abolition of the landlord. The first conspicuous sign of progress in this direction was offered in the advice of Mr. Parnell that the tenants should settle with themselves what amounts to a fair rent, and, if this was refused by the landlord, they should button up their pockets and try and live rent free. But, then, on what principles was a fair rent to be calculated? At first it was said that Griffith's valuation—about 27 per cent. below the letting value—offered a fair standard. But this did not satisfy the

advanced reformers. And at length Mr. Parnell announced his method of computation, viz., that if you deduct from the produce of the farm fair wages for the laborer, and a fair competence for the occupier, and a small amount for incidental necessities, the balance left might go as rent to the landlord. This method of calculation, as the author of it was good enough to explain, might be expected to reduce rent from its present figure of seventeen millions to between two and three millions.

This new plan of paying rent was tried on poor Captain Boycott with rather disastrous effect. This gentleman held a large farm in the neighborhood of Lough Mask, in County Mayo, and was also land agent to the Earl of Erne, notably a good landlord. The tenantry on Lord Erne's estate offered to the agent the "fair rent" calculated by themselves, and, as this was refused and the resources of the law was brought into requisition for the purpose of enforcing compliance with existing engagements, Captain Boycott was "boycotted." In obedience to a mandate from the Tenant League, the laborer left his farm in the midst of the harvest, the blacksmith refused to shoe his horses, and the washerwoman to wash his clothes; even the postman was threatened with maltreatment if he delivered his letters. With this new and effective weapon of "boycottism," "worth more than a hundred-pounder gun to us," said an enthusiastic tenant leaguer, the tenants advanced quickly to the ultimatum of their demands—the annihilation of the landlord. They spoke of rent itself as an injustice. In a formal manifesto the leaders of the movement indorsed the principle of "No Rent." In the language of the Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin, "an indignity was offered to the moral sense of the people" by "a manifesto which at once assailed the eternal law of God and struck at the foundation on which society rests—the rights of property." "If this is not communism," says the archbishop, "communism has yet to be defined."

To put down this continuous agitation, and to constitute right relations between landlord and tenant, Parliament has been doing much. By the Encumbered Estates act of 1850, the old, impecunious landlords were displaced, and a new class of men substituted in their stead. In 1870 an important land act was passed, and in 1881 another. The first was principally intended to secure compensation to the tenant for unexhausted improvements, and to provide against capricious evictions, and these ends it has fairly accomplished. What were called Bright's clauses in the act, however, through the opera-

tion of which it was hoped that the occupier might become in certain circumstances the owner of his farm, proved inoperative for the purposes contemplated. By degrees other deficiencies came to show themselves. It was decided by the Court of Appeal, in Dublin, that no compensation for improvements could be allowed at the termination of a lease, and it was still possible for the landlord almost to extinguish tenant right by an arbitrary rise of rent. In his striking book entitled "New Views of Ireland," Charles Russell, M. P., gives two examples of the confiscation that might be effected, notwithstanding the safeguards provided in the Land act, of which the following is one: "By the shores of Carlingford Lough," says Mr. Russell, "a landlord had let to a tenant, at the rent of about £7 a year, some fifteen acres on the hillside, which until then spade had never entered. The tenant built a homestead upon it, he fenced it, did such drainage as was needed, and after years of toil brought it into a state of decent cultivation. He died last year. His family, with the exception of his wife and daughter, had gone to America. His widow, finding herself unable, as she thought, to work the land, desired to sell her interest. She duly consulted her landlord; he approved of her plan, and kindly (for she was illiterate) undertook the preparation of the notice advertising the sale; but when prepared there appeared at the foot the ominous announcement that for the incoming tenant the rent in future would be £15 a year." Though the tenant had still her remedy through the Land act, this conduct on the part of the landlord tended to extinguish the tenant right.

To render such acts as this impossible in the future, and to rectify other inequalities, the Land act of 1881 was passed—a stupendous piece of legislation, and fit to be compared with that of Stein and Hardenberg, in Prussia. It amounts, in one sense, to an extinction of landlordism, converting the landlord into a rent-charger, with about as much power of interfering in the management of his estate as the servant who plows his fields. For good or for evil, the tenant is now rooted in the soil. Idle or industrious, whatever his political opinions or whatever his character, if contented to pay a very moderate rent, nothing less than an earthquake can evict him. And, if all this has been accomplished at the cost of a certain rough shaking of the landlords, why "*salus populi suprema lex.*" If the public needs imperatively demand that certain old privileges must disappear, they must, we suppose, disappear.

The first Land act was administered through the ordinary tribu-

nals; that of 1881 instituted a new court, that of the Land Commission, to which, and the sub-commission courts appointed under it, was confided the duty of adjudicating on rent. They were required, if appealed to by the tenant, to determine what the rent should be for the next fifteen years. The Bright clauses in the first Land act had failed because no power was given to compel the sale of land; in the new act the Bright clauses were reënacted, with the addition that if three-fourths of the tenants on an estate arranged to purchase their farms, and could satisfy the Land Commission court that these purposes could be carried out, a compulsory sale of the property would be decreed. As in the previous act, the Government are prepared to lend a sum not greater than two-thirds of the purchase money, and to accept as repayment of the whole interest at 5 per cent., continued for thirty-five years. Honestly carried out, this provision offers a splendid opportunity for the farmer, and we have no doubt that the opportunity will be very generally seized in the North. But of the South and West we are not so certain. A people who plead inability to pay an ordinary rent may be expected to plead inability to pay the Government loan. Our anticipations, therefore, are that the advantages offered by these clauses will not generally be accepted, and that, when accepted, they will be fruitful of embarrassment to the Government. The agitation in favor of no rent will probably be replaced by an agitation in favor of non-payment of the loan.

In a law adjudicating on rent, the spirit by which it is administered is almost as important as the law itself. And, in the case of the Land act, the leaning is clearly in favor of the tenant. Notwithstanding the assurances given by Mr. Gladstone in Parliament that impartial justice would be rendered, the feeling of the country was that the new *regime* would be ushered in by an immediate decline in rents; and such has been the case. The first person who appealed to the Land act—Patrick McAtavey, of Coolatra, in County Monaghan—obtained a handsome reduction of 20 per cent. on a rent of £8 16s. And to the present date, as far as our information goes, the increases in rent have amounted, throughout the whole country, to the large sum of £16 2s., while the reductions have attained the respectable dimensions of almost 20 per cent. on the whole rents adjudicated on. This is surely an important result, but one not very satisfactory to the landlords, who are vigorously denouncing the operation of the Land act, and are preparing to appeal to Parliament on the subject of compensation.

In other ways, also, the Parliament has been addressing itself to the

alleviation or the removal of the difficulties of Ireland. The municipal franchise has been lowered; the protection of the ballot has been secured by the parliamentary voter, and mendicancy has been almost abolished by a Poor Law system. In reference to the last named, it is worthy of note that the introduction of a poor law, so important to the country, was opposed by Daniel O'Connell and his supporters, and on the curious ground that begging was, after all, a valuable institution, as it stimulated the charitable feelings of the people. Whether serving any useful purpose or not, this stimulus was certainly not wanting forty years ago. What a curious spectacle was presented in the country at this time, when the whole army of beggars, in all the picturesqueness of varied rags and patches, went forth on a particular day in the week, generally Friday, surging over the highways and byways to make their periodical call on the farmers' wives! They were to be met, young and old, at every corner and along every road. In almost every house the handful of meal was obtained. At this period even an offering of potatoes was not despised. The applicants generally left behind their blessing, and it is a curious fact that even among the educated a half-superstitious value was attached to this rather conventional expression of good-will.

And at this minute what are the evils, susceptible of legislative removal, now pressing severely on the people of Ireland? We can scarcely think of one. The balance of taxation is in favor of the country, and the agricultural tenant has an advantage not enjoyed by those of England and Scotland. It is quite possible that certain legislative changes might be desirable. It is quite possible that the franchise is not sufficiently low, and that the Grand Jury law leaves an exceptional privilege to the landlord in the disposal of county funds; that greater authority might with advantage be conferred on the Poor Law boards. But these are matters of subordinate importance, and, we believe, do not weigh as the dust in the balance in the promotion of Irish disaffection. And in estimating the reasonableness of this disaffection it is not to be forgotten that the position of the Northern Presbyterian this minute is, in every substantial particular, the position of the Southern and Western Catholic, and that the one is as determined in retaining as the other is determined in repudiating the English connection.

What we have been saying naturally leads to one conclusion—the conclusion that the sources of Irish discontent cannot be removed by any efforts of legislation. One who knew the country well, an Irish-

man himself, Charles Lever, said, "You might as well try to cure the small-pox by act of Parliament as by legislation reach the permanent sources of Irish discontent." At every score made for Ireland in the game of politics the hat has been thrown up in the air; and enthusiastic gentlemen prophesy that the millennium of peace is coming. But, somehow or other, the millennium does not come. In the year 1825 O'Connell, in a famous speech delivered at Waterford, showed from the example of Wales that, if "emancipation" were granted, peace and prosperity, and almost every imaginable good, would come. Well, emancipation has been granted, and the peace and prosperity seem as far away as ever. Aubrey De Vere, a great authority on the church question, said twenty years ago, "To deal with the church establishment is to deal with the Irish question." The establishment has been dealt with, and yet the Irish question remains as persistent and intractable as ever. Every endeavor to reach the source of the evil seems only to aggravate its malignity. The good law enacted calls forth a torrent of hard words. And if any one instructed by the experiences of the past would at this date follow the example of O'Connell and De Vere, and try to forecast the future of Ireland, his vaticinations would take something of this shape: Lay the strong hand of repression on the country, and it will be discontented—discontented, but comparatively quiet. Refuse to her no advantage that justice could claim, and she will be discontented—with violence. Grant her the *summum bonum* of her political aspirations—national independence—and the result will be social disintegration, civil war.

The real sources of the evils of Ireland appear to us to be the following, which from want of space we shall briefly indicate:

There is, first, the continuous memory of serious injustice. After a vivid picture of Irish wrongs and their evil effect on the Irish character, O'Connell once said in Parliament, "Who did all this? You, gentlemen (cheers), are responsible for this." This feeling is widespread over the country.

There is, besides, a certain antipathy of race, only aggravated by the antipathy of religion. This antipathy is directed principally against England, but it exists as a source of diversion in the country itself, arraying sect against sect and class against class.

The country is poor. Except in Ulster, manufactures are wanting; wages are low, and of the 600,000 farms into which the land is divided 100,000 contain less than five acres. These circumstances entail

occasional distress, which, due to whatever cause, are credited on England, and strengthen rebellion among the people.

Among the difficulties of Ireland, however, we must not forget the Irishman himself. Various pictures have been given of the Irishman. One, all *couleur de rose*, represents him as a fine fellow, genial, hospitable, affectionate, as a companion brimming over with fun, possessed of the sensibilities and imagination that are a large part of genius, deeply religious. There is also the caricature in which we are accustomed in the comic periodicals, and on the stage. In them the Irishman, shillelagh in hand, drags his coat-tails behind him, daring any one to tramp on them, for, as he says, he is "blue-moulded for the want of a batin'." He is a Sir Lucius O'Trigger, the professional duellist; and, whilst humorous, his humor takes the form of incongruous whimsicalities and absurdities, and runs into the inevitable bull or blunder. "I would rather die than be buried there," says the Irishman, passing a graveyard. "As sure as I live," rejoins his companion, "I'll be buried nowhere else." Then there is the picture that finds in Paddy scarcely any redeeming quality; he is indolent, a lover of dirt, spending a congenial time in the society of his pig; he is quarrelsome, whisky-drinking, implacable in his resentments, a nuisance in the country afflicted with his presence.

Without accepting any of these representations, or denying the good qualities of the Irishman, there are certain characteristics of his not pleasant to contemplate, and which go far to account for the degradation of his country. Three of these may be named—a want of the industrial qualities; his sympathies as against law and order; and the curious transformation produced in him by passion. The Irishman is lazy; without the stimulus of necessity he descends readily into a Paddy-go-easy, walking about with his hands in his pocket. With a certain insouciant or reckless carelessness he meets the future, allowing the morrow very much to take care of itself. And, then, the bad history of the past has arrayed his sympathies against the law. His delight is to circumvent the baliff; Ennishowen poteen possesses a peculiar flavor because a product of illicit distillation. And when an outrage occurs there is no witness found to testify, no jury prepared to convict. Some twenty years ago three Irishmen, named Allen, Gould and Lakin, attempted the rescue of two Fenian prisoners in Manchester, and in the course of their operations they fired again and again on those around. One of them, Allen, shot in cold blood the policeman who had charge of the prison-van. The anniversary of the

execution of these "Manchester martyrs" is celebrated in Ireland to this day. But the most curious characteristic of the Irishman is presented in that transformation to which we have alluded. It seems a fact, sustained by ethnology, that qualities may descend in a half-dormant state from the ages of barbarism down into civilized times, and in certain circumstances come forth to shock the community, and astonish even their possessor himself. Of this the Irishman seems an example; in seasons of excitement he leaves his better nature behind him, and is capable of anything that unbridled passion could prompt. Roused by injustice, real or imaginary, he puts on the qualities of a savage.

We intended to portray the professional agitator, and show that his influence is inimical to the best interests of Ireland. But space forbids. We cannot, however, leave our subject without one word on the coercive measures recently adopted by Government, and of which a principal result was the imprisonment of Parnell and the other national leaders. Let it be remembered, then, that the situation was altogether intolerable, and one approaching to civil war. Burnings, the houghing of cattle, assassinations, were frequent, and the persons who committed the outrages were seldom brought to justice. Such was the system of intimidation established that in many districts a farmer dare not pay his rent, nor dare a laborer work for a "boycotted" master. It must also be remembered that the measures adopted for the restoration of order were adopted by the Government of which Gladstone is the principal ornament, and which, by its remarkable remedial measures, has proved itself about the best friend Ireland ever had.

JOHN ORR.

MR. LOWELL AND THE IRISH-AMERICAN "SUSPECTS."

WHEN Mr. Gladstone brought forward the act for the Protection of Persons and Property in Ireland, better known as the Coercion act of 1881, the danger was foreseen at the time that the operation of the law would be likely to involve other questions than those alone which were mutual to England and Ireland.

That the execution of the statute would affect England's relations with other countries, and more especially with the United States, was a fact

which English Liberals could hardly lose sight of in the discussion of a measure so much like those adopted for the government of Ireland during periods of similar agitation in 1848, 1866 and 1868. On those occasions the enactment of a law suspending the right of *habeas corpus*, and the execution of the powers of arbitrary arrest conferred by it, gave rise to international questions much like that which during the past year might have seriously threatened to disturb the friendly relations between the two powers. The prediction that international complications would follow the execution of the Coercion act was speedily verified. Daniel McSweeney, a naturalized citizen of the United States, was arrested on the 2d of June, 1881. His case, with those of Michael Boyton, Henry O'Mahoney, John McEnery and others, who had been arrested and confined under the provisions of the act, was reported to Mr. James Russell Lowell, our Minister at London, and his protection claimed on the ground of their citizenship of the United States. In answer to that application Mr. Lowell sent to the United States Consul at Cork the following reply:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, August 3, 1881.

SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ult., inclosing the naturalization papers and passports of John McEnery, a political prisoner in her Majesty's jail at Limerick. This is one of a number of cases in which parties desire my intervention upon the allegation that they are American citizens, that they have done nothing contrary to law, and that they desire a speedy trial.

The Coercion act, so called, is an exceptional and arbitrary measure. Its chief object is to enable the authorities to arrest persons whom they suspect of illegal conduct, without being able to produce any proof of their guilt. Its very substance and main purpose are to deprive suspected persons of the speedy trial they desire. This law is, of course, contrary to the spirit and foundation principles of both English and American jurisprudence. But it is the law of the land, and it controls all persons domiciled in the proclaimed districts of Ireland, whether they are British subjects or not, and it is manifestly entirely futile to claim that naturalized citizens of the United States should be excepted from its operation. The only possible case in which it would be proper for me to interfere would be where an American citizen who is in Ireland attending exclusively to his private business, and taking no part whatever in public meetings or political discussions, should be arrested. In such a case it would be proper to appeal to the courtesy of the Government, and ask for the release of the prisoner. It does not appear, however, that these reasons exist in any of the cases that have so far been brought to my knowledge. Unless I am instructed to the contrary by the Department of State, I must take this view of my duties, and it is proper that you should give this intimation to the parties interested. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

J. R. LOWELL.

E. P. Brooks, Esq., U. S. Consul at Cork, etc.

As this dispatch has formed the substance of Mr. Lowell's replies to all communications asking for his official interference in behalf of men who have relied upon their alleged United States citizenship to secure them from the operation of the Coercion act, it is no more

than fair, before concluding, as so many have hastened to conclude, that Mr. Lowell has been derelict in his duty and wanting in respect for American citizenship, that we should examine carefully the position assumed by him, to see what ground he has for his attitude toward those for whom his protection has been, it is claimed, justly demanded and unfairly refused.

We must first concede that the United States have laid it down as an inviolable rule that it will permit no distinction to be made, either at home or abroad, between native born and naturalized citizens. It is true that writers upon international law, whilst recognizing the exclusive right of every nation to declare the terms upon which it will admit an alien to citizenship, have at the same time admitted the right of every nation to prescribe the conditions upon which it will allow one of its citizens to expatriate himself.

It has been claimed that these conflicting admissions are capable of reconciliation in the domain of international law by subordinating both to the principle of recognizing the absolute sovereignty of each State in its own territory.¹ But whenever a practical application of this distinction has been attempted the only result has been embarrassment and confusion. More than once have we found ourselves in the mortifying position of having the opinions and decisions of American jurists quoted against the positions assumed by American diplomats and American statesmen. For many years our courts held that the common law rule of perpetual allegiance still obtained; that the feudal maxim, *nemo potest patriam exire*, continued in force, despite the principles fought for and decided by the Revolution; and that the bonds of national allegiance could not be got rid of save by legislative act of the country of origin.² Chancellor Kent, at the conclusion of his historical review of the decisions in the Federal courts where this question had been discussed, declares that "the better opinion seems to be that a citizen cannot renounce his allegiance to the United States without the permission of the Government, to be declared by law; and that, as there is no existing regulation on the case, the rule of the English common law remains unaltered."³ At the same time that our jurists were declaring one set of opinions, the executive branch of our Government was enforcing another. When

¹ Calvo, *Derecho Internacional*, vol. I., p. 295.

² See opinions of Iredell, J., in *Talbot vs. Janson*, decided in 1795, 3 Dallas, 133; of Ellsworth, Ch. J., in *re Isaac Williams*, 2 Cranch, 82; of Washington, J., in *U. S. vs. Gillies*, 1 Pet. C. C. Rep., 159; and of Judge Story, in *re Santissima Trinidad*, 7 Wheat. 283.

³ Kent's *Commentaries*, II., 49.

Great Britain attempted to put into practice the theory of perpetual allegiance, by treating as traitors British born citizens of the United States taken in arms against the mother country, we hastened to retaliate by confining as hostages double the number of English officers and men. Double that number of Americans were thereupon ordered into confinement by the English, and the American Commander-in-Chief was notified that if the British soldiers were put to death the American prisoners would be treated with equal severity; and a further threat was added that, if retaliation were offered, the war would be prosecuted "with unmitigated severity against all cities, towns and villages belonging to the United States." Happily the British Government forbore to push to the extreme the unreasonable and barbarous doctrine of perpetual allegiance, which English and American jurists united in upholding, but which a distinguished authority on international law declared to obtain in no nation save where the state was a prison!¹ The English, to use the words of Lord Cockburn, appear to have shrunk from the horrors of reciprocal and indefinite retaliation. None of the prisoners were executed as traitors, and an exchange was effected by the Convention of July 14, 1814. Yet in the same month the Regent reiterated the doctrine of indelible allegiance in a proclamation directed against Englishmen who, after naturalization by the United States, should take service against Great Britain, declaring that "such are and will be guilty of high treason."²

It is apparent, therefore, that the English Government and English jurists have been equally inconsistent in urging the theory of non-expatriation, while admitting its absurdity in practice, not only by encouraging free immigration, but by always practically conceding the point when put to the issue in conflicts with this country.³ Charges of inconsistency have, of course, been freely bandied in diplomatic correspondence between the two nations. "American jurists and American statesmen appear to be at issue" on this point, says Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn.⁴ But the words were written in the bitterness of a professional defeat at the hands of American "attorneys" before the Geneva Convention; and the charge was one which came with an ill grace from an English source. This, at least, was admitted by Mr.

¹ Bynkershoek, in speaking of the right of expatriation, says: "*Et ubique licet ubi civitas non carcer est.*" *Quaes. Jur., Pub. Cap. 22.*

² Royal Proclamation of July 24, 1814.

³ Phill. Int. Law, vol. I., § 330, note—Convention between Great Britain and the United States, 16 July, 1814.

⁴ Cockburn on Nationality, p. 64.

Vernon Harcourt, in the famous "Historicus" letters to the London *Times*, written in the heat of the discussion over the Fenian arrests in 1867. Commenting upon the Federal maxim of non-expatriation, he declared, "To attempt to enforce against America the doctrine of the Norman lawyers would be a greater blunder than any committed by Lord North."¹

It was not until 1868 that Congress declared expatriation to be a natural and inherent right of all people, a doctrine, as we have seen, formerly denied by our courts, though enforced by our Government.² Finally, Great Britain in her turn, after denying the right of expatriation in theory and admitting it in practice for many years, formally abandoned her untenable position in her treaty with this country in 1870; a concession the way for which was paved by the report of a Royal Commission, which advised her Majesty "that the common law doctrine is neither reasonable nor convenient."³ This, then, is the position which, after much uncertainty it must be admitted, has been finally adopted by England and the United States, and which recognizes at once the loss of sovereign rights by the country of nativity, and the duty of the country of adoption, in cases of citizenship by naturalization. Although an open question until a comparatively recent date, it is so no longer; and it was, therefore, Mr. Lowell's duty to admit no distinction on the score of Irish birth between native and naturalized citizens of the United States sojourning in Ireland. This duty, we believe, he has kept faithfully in view; and we venture to predict that, when the records of the State Department come to be submitted to the public for examination, his official conduct and correspondence will show that the naturalized Irish-American has been the same in his eyes as though born upon American soil. This much, however, we believe should be conceded—that the language used by him in his letter to the Consul at Cork does not contain an accurate expression of the advanced American position, or of the position which we believe to be that of civilized nations, with respect to the duty of a State toward its citizens in a foreign land.

To admit that the Coercion act is "an exceptional and arbitrary measure, * * * opposed to the spirit and foundation principles of both English and American jurisprudence," and at the same time to assert

¹ "Historicus" in London *Times*, 11 December, 1867.

² Opinions of Attorneys-General VIII., 139, IX., 356.

³ Report of Royal Commission, appointed May 21, 1868, and consisting of Sir Roundell Palmer, the Attorney General, W. E. Foster, Sir Robert Phillimore, Sir Travers Twiss, Baron Bramwell and Mr. Vernon Harcourt, among others.

without qualifying limitations that because it is the law of the land it therefore "controls all persons domiciled in the proclaimed districts of Ireland, whether they are British subjects or not," is to push the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of every State within its own territory to an extreme which, of all nations, England and America would be the first to resist. We cannot always accept as a satisfactory explanation, in reply to complaints arising from the operation of a law of a foreign country upon our citizens sojourning there, the answer that the law in question bears with no greater severity upon them than upon the subjects of that country.¹ Such an explanation England herself refused to accept in the once famous "*Don Pacifico*" case, in the discussion of which Lord Cockburn won his most conspicuous parliamentary success, and Palmerston, in spite of a bad cause, and in the teeth of a powerful opposition, bore off the honor of a substantial majority. *Don Pacifico* was a Jew of Portuguese extraction, a native of Gibraltar, and a British subject, residing in Greece. In April, 1847, his house at Athens was sacked by an Athenian mob. He made no appeal to the law courts for redress, but placed his case in the hands of the British Legation. His claims were enormously exaggerated, including such items as £150 for a bed and £30 for sheets. But the Greeks were dilatory in coming to a settlement, and Lord Palmerston became imbued with the idea that the French Minister at Athens was urging resistance. He demanded an immediate settlement of *Don Pacifico's* claim, and with it that of Mr. Finlay, the historian, whose land at Athens had been taken without compensation to round off the palace grounds, threatening in the alternative to order the British fleet to the Piraeus. The Greeks appealed to France and Russia for intervention to protect them against the alleged high-handed demands of Great Britain, but Lord Palmerston peremptorily declined to admit of any interference. The affair assumed so threatening an aspect at one time that the French Minister withdrew from London, and diplomatic negotiations were broken off, but subsequently resumed on England's giving way, and a settlement was finally reached, substantially upon the terms for which France had contended—an allowance of about one-thirtieth of *Don Pacifico's* claim. The House of Commons passed a resolution which implied a censure upon the Government for its support of the exaggerated claims. Whereupon Mr. Roebuck offered a counter resolution approving the general policy of the Government. This was opposed by the Liberals, foremost

¹ Morse on Citizenship, p. 109.

among whom was Mr. Gladstone himself; but the Government succeeded in carrying the resolution by a majority of forty-six. The bearing of the question upon the point in Mr. Lowell's letter which we are considering may best be seen by a quotation from a contemporary historian upon the Don Pacifico debates: "Lord Palmerston had also a great advantage given to him by the argument of some of his opponents that, whatever the laws of a foreign country, a stranger has only to abide by them, and that a Government claiming redress for any wrong done to one of its subjects is completely answered by the statement that he has suffered only as inhabitants of the country themselves have suffered. The argument against Lord Palmerston was pushed entirely too far in this instance, and it gave him one of his finest opportunities for reply. It is true, as a general rule, in the intercourse of nations, that a stranger who goes voluntarily into a country is expected to abide by its laws, and that his Government will not protect him from their ordinary operation in every case where it may seem to press hardly, or even unfairly, against him. But in this understanding is always involved a distinct assumption that the laws of the State are to be such as civilization would properly recognize, supposing that the State in question professes to be a civilized State.

* * * If there were a law in Turkey, or in any other slaveholding State, that a man who could not pay his debts was liable to have his wife and daughter sold into slavery, it is certain that no Government like that of England would hear of the application of such a law to the family of a poor English trader settled at Constantinople. There is no clear rule easy to be laid down; perhaps there can be no clear rule on the subject at all. But it is evident that the Governments of all civilized countries do exercise a certain protectorate over their subjects in foreign countries, and do insist, in extreme cases, that the laws of the country shall not be applied or denied to them in a manner which a native resident might think himself compelled to endure without protest. It is not even so in the case of manifestly harsh and barbarous laws alone, or of the denial of justice in a harsh and barbarous way. The principle prevails even in regard to laws which are in themselves unexceptionable and necessary. No Government, for example, will allow one of its subjects living in a foreign country to be brought under the law for the levying of the conscript there, and compelled to serve in the army of the foreign country."¹

¹ Justin McCarthy's Hist. of Our Own Times, p. 86. As to our own recognition of the rights of aliens in the matter of the draft, see Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs, 1862, p. 283.

When we consider that there is no limit, in theory, to the powers of the English Parliament; that there is no constitutional authority, like our Supreme Court, to which the question of the right to pass a given law may be referred; and that the only check to legislation is public opinion, and ultimately revolution, we can readily understand the possibility of a contingency in which a powerful majority might pass an act whose operation, according to the sentiments prevailing in this country, would amount to positive tyranny. Our citizens might with reason demand the protection of our Government against such a law, and the fact that it operated alike upon them and the subjects of the enacting power would never justify our representatives in refusing the application. This, then, is what we conceive to be the rule, if such it may be called, of civilized nations upon the general question of the duty of a country toward its subjects in a foreign State. We believe, therefore, that Mr. Lowell has erred in his statement of a general principle when we apply that statement in the abstract. The limitations for which we are contending are, of course, applicable only in extreme cases, where a law is arbitrary in principle or unjust in operation. But we feel that Mr. Lowell has unfortunately offered a handle to his enemies by allowing the sweeping statement which he has made to go forth without these limitations. In the particular cases presented to him, however, the position assumed by him has ample justification, and we believe that a careful examination of his conduct will show that he is entitled to great praise for his commendable efforts in behalf of the very men toward whom he has been accused of an unpatriotic lukewarmness. Not only was his attitude fully approved by his official superiors, but almost his very language was adopted by the Secretary of State to outline the policy of the Government. No one, we fancy, will be likely to accuse Mr. Blaine of an over-readiness to give way to the unjust encroachments of a foreign power. His State policy is generally believed to have been of a rather "spirited" sort, and yet his indorsement of Mr. Lowell's course is unqualified and complete. In a letter to P. C. O'Connor, of Baltimore, a brother of one of the imprisoned "suspects," he says: "* * * The case is one of a class that has for many months enlisted the earnest and active sympathy of this Government, and in pursuance of that feeling the Minister of the United States at London was early instructed to watch with interest every arrest of an American citizen under the act that might be brought to his notice, to scrutinize each case on its own peculiar merits, to adopt

such measures as his judgment might dictate as most likely to secure a prompt inquiry into the charges, and to do everything that could properly be done by him, as the representative of this Government, to bring about the speedy trial of such of his fellow-citizens as might be so unfortunate as to be denounced under the act of Parliament referred to. Mr. Lowell has pursued these instructions with great energy and sagacity, and in full sympathy with the feeling of his Government. The case of your brother, Mr. Dennis O'Connor, will take the same course as those which have preceded it, and I can only express the hope that the efforts in his behalf may result in his speedy liberation. I must, however, remind you that the act of Parliament under which Mr. O'Connor is held is a law of Great Britain, and it is an elementary principle of public law that in such case the Government of that country, in the exercise of its varied functions, judicial and executive, administers and interprets the law in question. The right of every Government in this respect is absolute and sovereign, and every person who voluntarily brings himself within the jurisdiction of the country, whether permanently or temporarily, is subject to the operation of its laws, whether he be a citizen or a mere resident, so long as in the case of the alien resident no treaty stipulation or principle of international law is contravened by the proceedings taken against him."

Nor is Mr. Lowell dependent upon contemporary authority alone for approval of his position. The most noted publicists, it must be borne in mind, have laid down the rule that, with respect to the administration of criminal law, every individual on entering a foreign country binds himself by a tacit contract to obey the laws enacted in it for the maintenance of the good order and tranquillity of the realm. "*Quare etiamsi peregrinus cum civi paciscatur, tenebitur, illis legibus, quia qui in loco aliquo contrahit, tanquam subitus temporarius* (subject for the time being), *legibus loci subjicitur.*"¹ This right of absolute sovereignty has been reiterated and insisted upon by continental jurists and civilians: "*Il ne peut être limité, ni quant aux choses, ni quant aux personnes. Il n'est rien s'il n'est tout.*"² And we have more than once urged it ourselves in our dealings with foreign States. Lord Granville's recent communication to Mr. Lowell³ is not the first instance where we have been met, in diplomatic discussions over this same question, with the declarations and admissions of our own jurists.

¹ Grotius, I. ii. c. xi. 5, 2.

³ April 6, 1882

² Portalis, Code Civil, t. ii., p. 12.

When *habeas corpus* was suspended in Ireland, in 1848, Bergen, a native American, and Ryan, a naturalized Irishman, were arrested under an order of the British Government, issued upon the belief that a plot had been organized in America for the purpose of sending aid to malcontents in Ireland. Lord Palmerston, in defending the exclusive right of his Government to regulate its own municipal affairs, was able to quote with telling effect to Mr. Bancroft, our Minister at London, the opinion of one of the greatest of American jurists. "Her Majesty's Government," he said, "concurring with Mr. Justice Story, the eminent American authority, maintains that every nation has an exclusive right to regulate persons and things within its own territory according to its own sovereign will and polity;" and he proceeded to insist, on behalf of his Government, "that native born citizens of Great Britain who may have become naturalized in a foreign country, but who return to the United Kingdom, are as amenable as any other of her Majesty's subjects to any laws which may be in force, either of a permanent or of a temporary nature."

In 1840, when Mr. Wheaton, the author of a standard authority on international law, was our Minister at Berlin, he replied to a naturalized citizen of the United States who had returned to Prussia, his native country, and who wished to be relieved from the conscript: "Had you remained in the United States, or visited any other foreign country (except Prussia) on your lawful business, you would have been protected by the American authorities at home and abroad in the enjoyment of all your rights and privileges as a naturalized citizen of the United States. But, having returned to the country of your birth, your native domicile and national character revert (so long as you remain in the Prussian dominions), and you are bound in all respects to obey the laws exactly as if you had never emigrated."¹ Moreover, we have applied with great strictness in our own municipal affairs this principle: that every state is sovereign in its own territory, and that resident aliens must yield implicit obedience to our laws, and submit to their full operation, whether of a temporary or permanent nature.

In 1861 the Government of the United States, acting in pursuance of the power granted by Congress to suspend *habeas corpus*, arrested and kept in confinement for months without trial Patrick and Rahming, British subjects. Lord Lyons, the English Minister at Washington,

¹ For the position of our Government on this point, see Opinions relating to Naturalization and Extradition. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1873.

protested against their imprisonment as the exercise of "a despotic and arbitrary power, inconsistent, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, with the Constitution of the United States." To this protest Mr. Seward, our Secretary of State, replied that, "while this Government does not question the learning of the legal advisers of the British Crown, * * * the President of the United States must be allowed to prefer and be governed by the view of our organic national law which, while it will enable him to exercise his great trust with complete success, receives the sanction of the highest courts of our own country, and is sustained by the general consent of the people, for whom alone that Constitution was established."¹

In 1863 John J. Shaver, another British subject, was arrested under the act, on suspicion of being a Confederate spy. In answer to an application for his release, Mr. Seward informed Lord Lyons (14th November, 1863) that he had received information of the grounds of the arrest, "upon considering which I decided that his release would not be compatible with the public safety."² It was on this occasion that Mr. Seward laid down the very principle for the reiteration of which Mr. Lowell has been denounced. The British authorities claimed that Shaver's house was in Canada, where his wife was domiciled. "Wherever born and wherever living," replied Mr. Seward, "Shaver owed obedience to the laws of the United States while enjoying their protection. And he had no right to engage in any seditious proceeding which could endanger the public peace or safety, and he was necessarily amenable to the surveillance of the police when it became necessary to exercise it."³

Still another British citizen, J. M. Vernon, was arrested under the act and imprisoned in Fort Lafayette, the 18th of January, 1863. On the 4th of the following April a demand was made for his trial or release. It was claimed that his lungs were affected by the bad air of his prison. On the 14th of May his release was again demanded, but refused by Mr. Seward, in a reply dated 11th June, 1863, on the ground that the Government was in possession of evidence pointing to his having had dealings with the insurgents. From the diplomatic correspondence of the year it appears that he was still in confinement at Fort Warren on the 17th of September, 1863.⁴

The foregoing are but a few of the cases in which, as the records of our foreign relations will show, we claimed and insisted upon the

¹ Dip. Cor., 1861.

² Dip. Cor., 1863, p. 408.

³ Dip. Cor., 1863, p. 450.

⁴ Dip. Cor., 1863.

sovereign right to exercise even arbitrary powers over aliens within our territory.

In later years we admitted, in our turn, England's right to act upon the same principle with regard to her internal affairs. When *habeas corpus* was suspended in Ireland, in 1866, Mr. Seward wrote to Mr. Adams, our Minister at London, the letter quoted by Lord Granville in his note to Mr. Lowell of April 6, 1882. "It may be expected," he said, "that some of our Irish born naturalized citizens who are now sojourning or traveling in Ireland will be arrested. * * * Americans, whether native born or naturalized, owe submission to the same laws in Great Britain as British subjects, while sojourning there and enjoying the protection of that Government. We applied the converse of the principle to British subjects who were sojourning or traveling in the United States during the late rebellion."¹

And at the time when Warren, Nagle and Doyle were arrested in Ireland, in 1869, Mr. Adams wrote to his chief: "It has hardly seemed to me possible to dispute the right of this Government to judge of the time when it is convenient to bring a prisoner to trial, in the face of the fact, universally known here and much commented on, of the long detention in confinement of Mr. Jefferson Davis."² The general rules by which our consuls abroad are governed give them explicit instructions that, * * * "when their intervention is invoked on behalf of citizens of the United States residing in foreign countries, they will be careful to remember that it is as incumbent on such persons as it is upon the citizens or subjects of such foreign countries to observe the laws of the country in which they reside,"³ and consuls are enjoined to exercise cautious scrutiny in such cases, "because evidence has been accumulating in this Department for some years that many aliens seek naturalization in the United States without any design of subjecting themselves by permanent residence to the duties and burdens of citizenship, * * * relying on such naturalization to evade the obligations of citizenship to the country of their native allegiance and actual habitation."⁴ This claim of absolute territorial sovereignty is not one which England had advanced for herself whilst refusing to concede it to others. In the debate over the arrests made in 1868, Sir Roundell Palmer, then Attorney-General, and speaking for the Government, said that as long as a British subject, whether native born or naturalized, was resident in a foreign country, he was to all intents and pur-

¹ Dip. Cor., 10th March, 1866.

³ U. S. Con. Reg., § 109.

² Dip. Cor., 1868, p. 21.

⁴ U. S. Con. Reg., § 111.

poses a subject of that country and subject to its laws. Such a foreign Government had a right to say to the British resident: "We have nothing to do with your former allegiance. Whatever our laws require from you we have a right to exact from you during your residence here."¹

In his refusal to interfere without specific instructions, Mr. Lowell was simply following the precedent set by Mr. Adams, under similar circumstances, in 1866, who wrote to Mr. West, the acting American Consul at Dublin, instructing him "to secure a proper share of attention for innocent persons who were citizens of the United States, without attempting to interfere on behalf of those who had justly subjected themselves to suspicion of complicity with treasonable practices."

Whilst declining to hold out hopes of interference on grounds which seemed to him unreasonable, it appears that Mr. Lowell has, in point of fact, been constantly and actively engaged in making careful inquiries with regard to the cases submitted to him, and diligently prosecuting the interests of the persons involved. McSweeney, as we have seen, was arrested on the 2d of June. On June 10th Mr. Lowell sent instructions to the Vice-Consul at Belfast to ascertain the cause of his arrest, and, if innocent, to present the matter in the proper quarter and ask for his release or trial. But this sort of action appears to be too mild for some of our warlike statesmen: "This dispatch," says Senator Voorhees, "would be a farce if it were not a crime. It marks his (Mr. Lowell's) total, absolute unfitness for the place he holds. The man whose methods of thought, whose education and legal training could give birth to such a document as this cannot be trusted with the safety of American citizens or with the honor of this Government."²

In the House of Representatives Mr. Lowell appears to suffer with equal severity at the hands of Mr. Robinson, of New York, who, on April 28th, introduced a resolution demanding his recall. Mr. Robinson, by the way, is the gentleman who, as he naively admits, "could not get the attention of the members of the House on either side" upon this question in 1868, "until I moved to impeach the Minister of the United States, Charles Francis Adams, at the Court of St. James,"³ and who seems to think that "we have had but indifferent luck, in the way of representatives, in Rufus King and Charles Francis Adams and James Russell Lowell, who shamefully neglected their

¹ House of Commons Debates, March 20, 1868.

² Congressional Record, 15th April, 1882.

³ Congressional Record, 15th February, 1882.

duty to protect the lovers and apostles of liberty * * * Edward Everett, Washington Irving, George Bancroft, and J. Lothrop Motley, only literary men," who "comprehended nothing at all beyond literary matters."¹

The real facts in regard to Boyton, O'Connor, McSweeney, McEnery and O'Mahoney, the "suspects" whose cases have given rise to most of this sort of talk on the floors of Congress, are these: Boyton, according to Mr. Robinson, "had a passport from Wm. H. Seward, * * * and yet, sir, would you believe it, our Government here, and our representatives there at the Court of Great Britain, went to work and managed to proclaim the face of our great Seal of State to be a lie!" In plain English, they proved that Boyton came to this country when a boy; that he had never been naturalized, but falsely swore, when he applied for a passport, that he was a native born American, as he afterwards admitted when in trouble and questioned by our authorities. O'Connor, who was naturalized in 1875, has practically abandoned his rights as a citizen of the United States, having been domiciled in Ireland for four years, where he is at the head of two business houses, one in County Cork and one in County Limerick.² McSweeney has also resided for the last four years in Ireland, with no apparent intention of returning to the United States. O'Mahoney was in Ireland from 1874 to 1879, where he married and took out a license to keep a public house; came back to this country in 1880 to be naturalized, and returned to his wife in Ireland in January, 1881, and, being a voter and taxpayer, was elected poor-law guardian, which office he held at the time of his arrest! As to McEnery, Mr. Orth, from the committee to whom these matters had been referred, declared that they had been trying for six months to make out the fact of his citizenship, and had failed to do so. In all these cases Mr. Lowell seems to have made every effort to secure their release. On the 5th of April last Mr. Frelinghuysen reported that the active negotiations which had been carried on between the two Governments had so far advanced that only three American citizens were held in Ireland as prisoners, with a prospect of the speedy liberation of the remainder. This method of applying for the release of suspected persons in a courteous manner, instead of attempting to secure their freedom by threats of coercion, has always been approved by our Government, and attended with excellent results. It was suggested by Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams

¹ Congressional Record, 25th April, 1882.

² See Mr. Blaine's letter, 25th November, 1881.

in 1866, and, as in the present cases, Mr. Adams was able to report with regularity constant and steadily increasing releases.¹ So, too, in 1868, a like policy met with a like success.² Finally, the clamor which has been raised in some quarters,³ because certain of the "suspects" have been liberated on condition of their leaving the country, is without sound foundation, for the reason that it does not lie with us to find fault with a plan which Mr. Seward himself suggested to the English authorities in 1866,⁴ which we agreed to in the Bergen and Ryan cases in 1848, and in the famous Kozta case (cited by Mr. Cox, of New York, against Mr. Lowell), in 1853,⁵ and which we ourselves pursued in the case of Francis Carroll, a British subject, imprisoned at Fort Lafayette, who was discharged on condition of his leaving the United States or giving security not to aid the insurgents.⁶

It appears, then, that Mr. Lowell's attitude and policy, so far from compromising the American position or displaying a weak deference to foreign opinion, has not only had the sanction of repeated authority in American precedent and uniform success in American practice, but by the manner in which he has performed his duties he has secured the results aimed at by our Government, and claimed to be sought by those who are demanding his recall.

If his assailants continue to press the attack in the face of the success which he has been able to report, they must not be surprised if fair-minded people begin to suspect them of bad faith, and to hint, as was suggested by Mr. Orth of Indiana, that they are more concerned about the Irish vote in their districts than for the Irish "suspects" in Ireland.

We question whether he is not a better friend of the imprisoned Irish-Americans who quietly secures their liberation than those who practically block the way of successful negotiation by seizing upon the occasion of their imprisonment as the pretext for an insulting attack upon a friendly nation ready to grant all reasonable concessions. The success of a diplomatic career is measured, as we understand it, by the practical results secured. Referred to this standard, we believe Mr. Lowell's course will be approved. It may well be doubted whether it be part of a diplomat's duty, without specific instructions from his

¹ Dip. Cor., 23d August, 1866.

² Dip. Cor., 22d April and 22d May, 1868; Rep. of House Com., 2d March, 1869.

³ Speech of Congressman Robinson, Cong. Rec., 25th April, 1882.

⁴ Dip. Cor., 1866.

⁵ Cockburn on Nationality.

⁶ Dip. Cor., 1863, p. 406.

official head, to engage in an empty discussion upon abstract questions of public law, and to ungenerously insist upon irritating concessions of principles, however well founded, from a foreign Government at a time of great embarrassment in their domestic affairs, when, as the event has proved, the ends in view may be as speedily secured by an appeal to international comity and the medium of friendly intervention.

GEORGE WALTON GREEN.

THE AFFINITY AND DIVERGENCE OF VERSE AND MUSIC.

WAIGNER'S Trilogy of Art, or Theory of the Relation of the Fine Arts, and their mutual helpfulness to each other, is founded in fact and reason. Considering Music the divinest of them all, he yet calls it a receptive force of Nature which needs the creative force of words to produce life; so that he would vivify music by marrying it to beautiful and noble verse, and would use all the other fine arts in their appropriate spheres, Sculpture, Painting, Architecture, to adorn and illustrate the Temple of Song.

Before Wagner, Gluck believed that the office of Music was to help words utter the profound and pathetic feelings of the soul. In his dedication of "Alceste" to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he says: "*Je chercherai à reduire la musique à sa véritable fonction, celle de seconder la poésie pour fortifier l'expression des sentiments et l'intérêt des situation, sans interrompre l'action et la refroidir par des ornemens superflus.*"

Wagner goes still further than Gluck, and the aim and scope of his endeavor is to strengthen and glorify and perfect music through the conjunction and aid of all the other arts.

He believes that in the process of time all arts reach their limits of perfection, and that the present deadness of all creative art proves that each art, in its separate path, has reached its limits and culmination; and that now they must unite their forces for further progress and elevation.

He desires to return to the Greek drama, letting the voice and melody express the *motif*, the orchestra the declamation and comments of the Greek chorus. He seeks anew the origin of all European

art form—the Greek—and endeavors to transfuse the Greek spirit in his nineteenth century work.

By using the mythos, or myth, as a poetical basis, and introducing the *Volkslied*, or popular song, he trusts to arouse once more strong national feeling.

He claims that music in itself is wholly sensuous, and must be lifted to the sphere of the ideal by words which express a poetical basis, and also by scenery and dramatic representation, which latter comprehends gesture, costume and declamation.

This is a practical project, and on one side founded in philosophy; but there is another side, which proves and demands the individuality of each art and its perfection and growth by itself.

When these arts are bound in Wagner's sheaf or bouquet, they are a shape of beauty; but, as each head and spire of grain, or each flower of the bouquet, grew by itself, so each seed of the dropping grain will always bring forth the single stalk—never the sheaf, which cannot perpetuate itself, but must always be a production of man's design and intelligence, and never Nature's work.

While Wagner lives he will bind music into this beautiful sheaf with its sister arts, but the seed-grains that drop out of it and sow themselves broadcast in many soils will bring forth a variety of growths.

In Wagner's great "Niblung Lied," with its vast reach and wide scope, with its building erected for its performance, where architecture and painting will assist the development of the story in verse and music, we find the sheaf with its seed-grain—the sheaf of the reaper being one of the most artistic and significant symbols of man's dominion and use of Nature.

He has bound together the drama, one of the highest forms of verse, the opera score, one of the highest forms of music, and illustrated both by architecture, sculpture and painting, and interpreted them by eminent singers and actors.

It stimulates the imagination to conceive of this noble and wonderful scheme, and of its great creator, Wagner.

There is, though, another side to the subject, which we desire to consider. Let us look at the history of these arts, especially the history of music and verse, and see what can be learned from the past.

The Arts are all the expression of human feeling unrestricted by the reason or by logical thought. Poetry is an expression in language of what music says less definitely, but more subtly, in sound. Art is really expression. As long as inward perception and feeling of beauty

remain silent or hidden in the soul, they are not Art. They must take a body upon the spirit, and, emerging from the twilight of the soul, enter the daylight of sense. When these subtle, spiritual gleams are fixed in outward shapes of grace and beauty, they become Art.

All the Arts are mediums of expression, though by different methods; but, however different their final declarations, all the fair and noble kindred spring from the soul, and from the same root of necessity, though their blossoms differ essentially in shape and hue.

There are closer sympathies and relationships between some of the Arts than bind the rest of the goodly company. Though a family likeness runs through them all, yet, as in children of the same family, there are special intimacies, special resemblances of the body, and special kinships of the soul; so there are closer ties and more common sympathies between some of the arts than others can possibly show.

Take, for instance, Painting, which speaks to the eye by color, and Music, which speaks to the ear by sound, have no methods in common. Painting is rather the friend of the two sciences, chemistry and mathematics, or their dependent. But, though there is no affinity between Painting and Music, there is an analogy between them. They can appropriate each others' vocabularies, exchange epithets, borrow and lend terms of description and technical language, and assist in illustrating and explaining each other. *Tone, color, harmony, light and shade* are used as often in one art as in the other.

In the same way Poetry borrows expression from Painting, and verse is said to be *picturesque*, to be set in a *high and low key of color*, to have *atmosphere*, all terms seized from Painting, while they both borrow the expression *high and low key* from Music.

These three arts are, however, wholly independent one of the other, though they often assist each other. Good words help a fine aria to popularity, and a choice and expressive melody will add a charm to weak and inferior verses; while, on the contrary, painting could live and thrive if verse and music were blotted out, and verse and music could come to their highest perfection if painting should vanish from the world.

On the other hand, there is a very close connexion or relationship between Verse, Music and Dancing. They have a common origin, and have had for years a common history. In their beginning they were all acts of religious worship, and in religious rites were associated together as expressing consecration and adoration. To praise a Supreme Being by such services seems to have been a common instinct

of humanity, and David the poet, King of Israel, sang and danced with exulting thanksgiving before Jehovah, as now the low conjurers of Africa posture in unseemly attitudes before their Mumbo Jumbos. The Greek vestal virgins compassed the same ends in their chorus and dances as the Hindoo Bayaderes, from whom comes our word *ballet*, and also *ballad*, showing the common origin of dancing and singing-verse.

This common use in worship was one reason for the close affinity of these exquisite arts, sisters as they truly are, possessing *time*, *rhythm* and *accent* in common.

But, as worship grew more spiritual in its form, the adoration of the body became less essential, and dancing now is only an amusement, and loses character more and more as national dances lose ground.

In leaving the art of dancing behind us, it is proper to say a few words in regard to these national dances, which have their place and value in the past life of some superior nations, and which still keep a present place and value among barbaric and uncivilized people. From its early and close connection with poetry and music, it will be well to allude to its origin, history, and relation to human feeling.

National dances, as well as music, declare the history of races, and hold embodied in their gestures, modulations and *tempo* the psychological story which reveals their original temperaments and souls.

The Spanish Bolero or Fandango, the choruses of the Dancing Dervishes of Hindostan, the Austrian Ländler, the Italian Tarentella, the Polish Mazurka (which is so poetically described in Liszt's life of Chopin), the Csárdás of the Magyars, the Gypsy carols of the Bohemian Czechs, called "Verbungos"—not to mention the Tigritya of the Abyssinians, with Scotch and Irish jigs—all have different rhythmical construction, and reveal national characteristics.

Exorcism and incantations are still hidden in the dances of the savage races, and the Shakers of Lebanon and elsewhere still worship in their eccentric and monotonous dance. Love is declared in these dances, and not always in the most decorous manner; but, in short, music and dance in the early ages expressed almost as plainly as verse the religion, the love, the hate, in short the character, of different races, and everywhere show this close affinity between themselves. Indeed, dancing is quite dependent on music, and, if in any way music should be separated from it, dancing could hardly survive the divorce, especially since, in civilized countries, it is no longer linked with religion, but with amusement. Even gymnastics, which are much simpler and less elegant than dancing, are uninteresting without music.

There was also a close connection between verse and music, which we propose to examine. There seems, in these latter days, to be some confusion of feeling in regard to their constituent elements and offices. To understand these elements and offices, it will be necessary to define the words *verse* and *music*.

What, then, is *verse*? The dictionary tells us that the English word *verse* comes from the Latin word *versus*, which means a *furrow*, and that comes from the word *vertere*, which means *to turn*. It is a little curious that the word *art* springs from the root *ar* in the Aryan language, which means to plow. Plowing in those agricultural days was the art of arts. It was also applied to plowing the sea, or *rowing*, and still lives in the English word *oar*.

This definition, which springs from the soil, and is closely connected with the roots of the idea, defines the form of verse, which differs from prose in its furrow-like regularity, and also in the lines turning, after a certain regular length and duration. This form speaks to the eye; but, if this were all of verse, prose might conform to these rules. Indeed, the name *verse* has been given to the division into sentences of the Bible, to some of the Persian and Hindoo writings, to the Koran, to Caedmon's and Bede's lines among the Anglo-Saxons, to Ossian, and, in our day, to Walt Whitman's cadences.

But there is something more in the form of verse than meets the eye; there is a larger element that speaks to the ear. There must be regular accent and rhythm, and equal time taken in pronouncing a certain number of syllables.

Leaving out for a time the soul and meaning of verse, let us consider the essential points where it harmonizes with music, and also their inherent differences.

What, then, is *music*? The same dictionary tells us that it comes from a Greek word, *μουσική*, and meant any art over which the muses presided, such as eloquence, poetry, painting, dancing, and this definition makes the descriptions of the wonderful effects of music in classic time refer to the exhibition of some other art under the protection of the muses, rather than to music, as we now define the word.

Perhaps music in those days had the broad meaning of melody or harmony wherever found; but, from these definitions, it is clear that verse and music had no common origin of language, although verse, like painting and sculpture, was probably comprehended in the general term *music*.

Now, music is the science of harmony or melody developed in

successive or contemporaneous sounds, or combinations of sound modulated to please the ear.

This definition would answer for many modern writers' definition of poetry, as they conceive of it in the same way.

Let us see if these arts are Siamese twins, with different names like Chang and Eng, or if they are but members of the same family of fine arts, each having its separate individuality stamped upon it.

Each fine art has its science underlying it. Science refers to the understanding of first principles and final causes. Art refers to production, and is putting these principles into practical use.

But there is another common use of the word *art*, which refers to the attempt to soar by the aid of the fine arts into the ideal regions of the imagination and emotions. The province of the fine arts is to lift the thoughts and feelings. Yet they do this by certain laws, obeyed by instinct or choice, and these laws or rules, obeyed by instinct or choice, constitute the science of the art. There is a sort of confusion of terms here, for science and art are used indiscriminately to express the process which, more or less understood, or used with more or less skill, musicians or poets employ to effect their ends of expression. While study of these rules often limits a merely mechanical worker, yet a thorough knowledge of them often helps the expression of a really poetic nature like Tennyson or Longfellow, or a really great musician like Bach or Beethoven, for they know when to obey and when to disregard those rigid laws, which, in their hands, become flexible curves, bending, yet not breaking, which reveal new beauties.

The sciences and the arts of verse and music are more nearly coincident than happens in the cases of the other arts which are independent of each other; as at the present day these certainly are. For instance, verse and music are both rooted and grounded in mathematics. Time is expressed in both by the Arabic numerals, and the terms "long" and "short" measure the use of bars and feet. As the most beautiful curves in form have their origin in mathematical combination, and can be expressed in exact figures and calculated with precision, so the loveliest poetry and most delicious melody obey stern mathematical laws. Indeed, art of all kinds is rooted in science, if its head tower in the skies. Art in one sense might be called the blossom of science.

Besides this common basis of numbers, verse and music also agree in the fact that they express in measured and melodious sounds a kind of fancy and feeling which is not soluble in prose, however

rhythrical that prose may be; and this same insoluble fancy or feeling does not take shape in color, so that prose at one extreme, nor color at the other, do not suffice for its utterance.

They also have strong resemblance in emphasis and accent, modulation and inflexion. This is inevitable, as they have a common foundation in numbers and rhythm.

This close connection and harmony between verse and music probably began in the earliest stages of language, when words were few and language rudimentary, and music came as a help to the expression of her young and feeble sister. The addition of musical tones and intervals added expression and intelligence to the germs of speech, which afterward was so developed as to far outstrip her sweet assistant.

In that groping stage of progress one art constantly came to the help of another. Speech had music and gestures, and pictures were added to Egyptian inscriptions to help them tell their story more completely. This was the beginning of the *London Illustrated News*, *Harper's Weekly* and the *Daily Graphic*. In the same way pictures came to the help of musical notation, and painting, as well as verse, assisted music.

Catlin found songs written out in the picture dialect of the Chippeway Indians. These symbolic charts of rude figures, drawn on birch bark, performed the same office for music as for language, and one art was called in to complete the other. Schoolcraft mentions Indians singing from a picture document which illustrated a war song in this wise: 1st. The hero with his magic rattle and war club. 2d. Birds of prey flying in the sky. 3d. The hero lying slain on the battle-field. 4th. The hero appearing as a spirit in the sky. This chart the singer held before him, and interpreted the pictures thus: 1st. I devote my body to battle. 2nd. I take courage from the flight of eagles. 3d. I am willing to be numbered with the slain. 4th. For even then shall my name be repeated with praise. This picture notation is still extant.

But, besides this mutual dependence of verse on music and music on speech for interpretation, they have a common origin in the fact that they both imitated the sounds and rhythms of nature. Language, according to Max Muller, began with phonetic signs, but music and verse were surely imitative at first.

The savages in the chase first learned to imitate the calls of the hunted creatures. This imitation must be exact enough to deceive

the prey they designed to capture. Thus their ears and their voices were gradually trained to utter certain intervals of sound, which gradually were wrought into their primitive songs.

The notes of birds are another source of the musical scale. The Kamtschakans, according to Steller, have a number of songs called "Aangitsch" songs, because they have been suggested by the gregarious flocks of these aquatic birds. And, as the quality and pitch of song is very different in different members of the same family, there is room for discovering here almost the whole of our diatonic and chromatic systems.

Plutarch says that once when Terpander was playing upon the lyre at the Olympic games to an enraptured audience a string broke, and a cicada, perched upon the bridge, supplied the loss of the string.

The bleating of flocks also, the whirr of the locust, the hum of the bee, would suggest tones of music.

A savage would probably adapt these songs to the rhythms of footsteps while walking, or the swinging of his arms, or, as when carrying a weapon or burden of any sort one arm will be heavier than the other, he would begin to accent every other or every other third time. When he rows he would keep time to his oars, as is now the custom of the Chinese river boatmen, the Egyptian boatmen on the Nile, and the Samoans in their canoes.

Besides these rhythms of labor, there are the rhythms of Nature, the waves of the seashore, the waves of the ocean, whence Homer and Spenser are supposed to have derived their forms of verse. Also, the wind in the pines, the wind shut up in corners, and the waterfall and roaring brook, all were sources of music.

Almost the earliest recorded music, after Jubal's unrecorded music, has words. The timbrels of Miriam beat time to her triumphant song. David sang his paens, and Homer his epic. The victorious poems of the Greek games, the choruses of the Greek plays, were sung, and the services of the Jewish temple. Troubadours, jongleurs, minnesingers, all sang their lyric or narrative verses. The two arts seemed indissolubly linked together, and music was really married to (immortal) verse.

In this way words were broken into verse by being sung or chanted in rhythmic development. But, after verse and music had reached this first simplest natural development, the singers began to fill them with ideas and emotions, and they became less imitative—less objective and more subjective. Whatever interested them most was put into verse

and music. Love songs and serenades are universal, whether sounded on the North Americans courting whistle, the Bushman's solitary stringed gorah, the Dahomey chief's sanko, the Corsican's melancholy vocero referring to death in the prime of life, or the Spaniard's guitar, all chanting of love and despair.

Cradle songs and lullabies all had words. Drinking songs and songs of welcome and songs of war, all were made more expressive by language, and even the African griots or bards are the historians of their tribes.

Beside these, which are the clearer and simpler feelings set in words, complex and perturbed emotions expressed themselves in inarticulate sounds, but with few words. Ululation over the dead, called by the Irish caoinan and oolooleh by the Arabs, belongs to this class of rude music, and one can still hear it at an Irish wake even on this side of the water.

The cannibal song of the Marquesas Islanders is terrific even to us when slowly played with one instrument or chanted by a single voice; but when the words are understood, and the capturing, roasting and feasting of their horrible banquets narrated and sung in unison by several hundred warriors, with women and children adding their treble octaves and tiny voices to the wild, heavy bass of the savage men, while they lie on the ground at their horrid repast or dance madly around a large fire, the effect must be torturing to the soul.

No one who has examined the history of music can doubt that it was first an imitative art, and afterward rose to the expression of ideas and emotions. At first descriptive, it gradually penetrated into the inner world of the soul. We think it has advanced steadily in this direction, and will continue to advance in its power of expressing those subtle and complex feelings and fancies that words cannot seize. Music dissolves the spoken idea in feeling, and presents it in a fluid shape which is more easily absorbed by the soul. Instrumentation brings out the great primal feelings of nature, and represents the infinite. The human voice represents the human heart and its solitary, individually centered emotion. Orchestral music broadens and strengthens the soul by pouring into it these elemental feelings; the voice is limited and defines the lesser channel, but fills it with a warm stream of human sympathy.

Verse is a sort of cross between language and music, but, like other hybrids, it partakes of the character of both its parents.

Leaving the past, and looking at the present relations of music and

verse, we see that they have gradually severed their intimate connection, and are perfecting themselves apart from each other. The epic poem, the highest form of verse, and the symphony, the highest form of music, are now perfectly independent of each other.

Gradually verse, which is the more intellectual and the less sensational of the two arts, grew faster, and passed far beyond music. While music was comparatively a child, the epic, the romantic narrative poem and the drama were full grown, and the childish footsteps of music lagged far behind its robust and magnificent sister.

A century or so after this triumph of verse, the symphony, equally splendid and self-sustained, "divinely large, divinely fair," burst forth from Beethoven's imperial brain. As the epic tells its own story, and fills the soul and the mind without any musical accompaniment, so the many-chorded symphony makes words seem an impertinence.

The sonata, the stringed quartette, and lastly the song (*lieder ohne Worte*), all dispense with interpreting words, and speak their own dialects with entire understanding.

It would not be singular if this law of divergence controlled both arts even more in the future than at present; each art growing more independent and perfecting itself, until opera in music, which corresponds to drama in verse, will be given without words, and a great improvement it will be upon our present librettos. The first step in separation was taken when the arts began to use different characters, and verse chose the alphabet, and music notation, for their written forms. The last step was the "song without words" of Mendelssohn, the song heretofore having been peculiarly dependent on words.

Perhaps it may be interesting to notice a few directions in which music may advance in the future. In later years, without relinquishing melody, it has developed harmony, and is yet struggling boldly in that direction; and yet, while growing richer and more complex in all ways, it has never lost its capacity for simple melody. It is fair to prophesy a still further advance in melodic harmony.

1st. The best music of the best musicians has developed a double consciousness. By using different tempo in the treble and base, by making the base and treble carry different airs, the contradictory and contending elements which may rage in the same breast are represented. Here is a field for study, and psychological, as well as musical, study.

2d. Again, the use of mixed time has sprung up, introduced by the best composers. Beethoven uses it in his "Sinfonia Eroica," and also

in his "Ninth Symphony." This change of time within the compass of a few bars gives a wonderful facility of variety of expression. The change in expression that a change in tempo gives is well known to the Scotch minstrels, who often set pathetic words to their gayest strathpeys, and sing them slowly with great pathos, as in the well-known air, "Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch," which is a lively dance tune.

In some of the German drinking songs, in certain bars $\frac{2}{4}$ time is prolonged to $\frac{3}{4}$ time, and the increased vigor infused by this change is evident. In the German national song of "Prince Eugenius Before Belgrade," there has been the same change. It was originally written by a common soldier, in 1717, in $\frac{3}{4}$ time; now a bar of $\frac{2}{4}$ is always added.

Indeed, music has capacity to change time in every two or three bars. Savages, like the Mandingoies, add intense expression to their airs by using two or three measures in the same air—*i. e.*, $\frac{6}{8}$, $\frac{4}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ time. German ballads constantly change from $\frac{6}{8}$ time to $\frac{3}{8}$. Bavarian dances often have $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ written in front of them. A Swiss air had $\frac{15}{8}$ written in front of it. There are specimens of compound time like $\frac{9}{8}$, $\frac{12}{8}$, $\frac{3}{8}$. How many delicate nuances of color may spring out of these perfectly natural modifications. Gluck and Mozart have borrowed this method, and have employed it very effectively; also Jomelli.

Musicians will also probably employ a variety of scales. Hitherto European composers have agreed in using the scale which they call a diatonic, the eighth tone of which is the octave of their first tone. This scale has eight sounds and seven intervals, of which two are semi-tones and five whole tones.

The pentatonic scale was in popular use among the ancient Egyptians, Hebrews and Assyrians. This is seen from their musical instruments, as represented in painting or sculpture.

The ancient Greeks used it, and it was said to be the invention of Olympus of Mysias (B. C. 1250). This scale can be traced in the national music of the Scotch and Irish, and it is commonly said that a Scotch tune can be played by using only the black keys of the piano. This is entirely true, as the black keys constitute the pentatonic scale of G flat major, or F sharp minor.

Haydn has borrowed this scale perhaps from the Wallachians, among whom he resided while in the service of Prince Esterhazy, who use it constantly in their national melodies. An instance occurs in the second movement of his symphony in E flat major, No. 8, of the twelve which he composed for Salomon's concerts.

Cherubini, in Act II. of his "Medea," has employed it, and Gluck also in many of his operas. Chopin has composed No. 5 of the "Douze Grand Etudes" on the black keys, and kept to the pentatonic scale in his melody, though in his accompaniment he uses the diatonic scale. Mason, of the Mason and Thomas Conservatory, has written a romance founded on the Hungarian scale, which has two minor thirds.

The pentatonic and diatonic scale are not further apart than the diatonic major and minor scale, which are constantly used by our great composers in rapid alternation, and with great expression. In Mozart's overture to his opera, "Die Entführung aus dem Serail," the clearness of form and distinctness of character cannot be surpassed, notwithstanding the perpetual alternation of these scales or passages founded upon them. Mozart and Beethoven use irregular scales with great beauty. In an air of Papageno's, in the "Magic Flute," "Good Night, Thou False World," Mozart adopts the Italian way of using the minor second. Beethoven, in the "Sonata Appassionata," and in the third movement of the "Sonata Pathétique," does not follow the rules of theorists, and by disregarding produces beautiful effects. In Sonata, Opus 10, No. 1, and Sonata, Opus 2, No. 1, he has gone his own way in the teeth of the theorists.

Besides these scales there are several orders of intervals which can hardly be called regular scales, but which are peculiar to the nations that use them. M. Fétis points examples in Scotch, Russian and Irish music, and, as musicians become students of the music of other nations, bright minds and sympathetic souls will avail themselves of all these new possibilities of beauty. It is easy to see that in this way the range of musical expression would be enlarged.

4th. Another change that is possible, or probable, is the division of whole tones into tri-tones, instead of semi-tones. Each whole tone can be divided into three tones or into four tones (quarter tones). There has even been an instrument of the nature of a piano invented which plays these smaller intervals, calling them *duodenies*, and the Alpine horn and the violin both use them.

Many nations beside the modern European have the smaller divisions of tone; for instance, the ancient Greeks. Burney says, speaking of their *Diesis*: "How this quarter tone could be rendered pleasing still remains a mystery; yet the difficulty of splitting a semi-tone into two equal parts, or even dividing it into more minute intervals, is less perhaps than has been imagined. When it is practiced by a capital

singer or a good performer on the violin or hautbois at a pause, how wide it seems."

The violin in the hands of a master uses these intervals smaller than semi-tones, and that is one reason why excellent soloists often make inferior and inharmonious quartette players.

The Arabs divide all their notes into three parts, instead of two, and Mr. Lane says that he has heard Egyptian musicians argue against the European systems of music that they were deficient in the number of sounds, and Mr. Davies, the author of the "Essay on the Native Songs of New Zealand," says: "Selim Agar, a Nubian, when singing Amharic songs, complained that the piano was very much out of tune, and *jumped* very much"—that is, his ears were accustomed to the shorter intervals, and the semi-tones seemed abrupt.

These delicate gradations of sound might greatly increase the impressiveness of certain melodies, especially such as are intended to express pathos. We do not miss these tones from our scale because we are unused to them, and taste and predilection oppose change, even though it be reform.

It has been said that the senses of savages are so much keener than ours that they only could distinguish these small intervals of third and quarter tones, but piano-tuners constantly distinguish intervals smaller than quarter tones.

5th. The rapidity and prolongation of tones is another means of expression as yet hardly developed. In Beethoven's *cadenza* dedicated to Prince Rasumousky there are two hundred notes in one bar. In the celebrated symphony of C minor the violin has a holding note through forty-three bars in one bow, which, properly executed, produces the hush of the orchestra. Think of these hidden powers of intense expression and portrayal of emotion, none of which could be set to words.

We believe in future, through the facilities for travel and the more varied and thorough culture of musicians, that the music of all countries, especially barbaric, will be studied. Rossini and Auber went to Switzerland and Italy, and Meyerbeer has used African melodies in "L'Africaine," and Verdi also in "Aida." Mendelsohn borrowed them in the choruses of the Priests of Baal in his "Elijah," and Handel employed them in his oratorio of "Samson," in his song of "Delilah," and Philistine choruses.

As music is an universal solvent, there is nothing in the music of one race which prevents its adoption by another different race. This

adoption has constantly taken place in the past. For instance, the melody known as "God Save the King," in its earliest appearance in England as a Christmas carol of 1611, is very much like the Swedish song, "En gäng i bredd med mig," and the old Danish tune of "King Regner's Vise" is much like another early version of "God Save the King," called "Ayre," and composed by Dr. Bull. Our American air, best known as "We Won't go Home Till Morning," is the French air, "Chanson de Malbrouk," which was brought by the French from Arabia in the time of the Crusades. Villoteau heard the same air sung, with a *Zamer* as an accompaniment, for a wedding march somewhere in the East.

As such musicians as Weber, Rossini and the rest have not been unwilling to borrow heretofore from all sources open to them, so in the future this instinctive, sensational, savage music will be translated and express the instinctive and yet complex and refined feelings of civilization, for music is like a mirror which reflects our souls, and not a mold in which they must be cast, or a die which bears a fixed image.

To return now to the progress of verse since it separated itself from music. We have shown that verse began with music, in indissoluble intimacy, then separated from it, and perfected itself apart, and now Wagner would remarry them forever.

The custom of accompanying words with songs still prevails in half-savage countries, where thought springs to the lips as soon as conceived. We all remember the extempore song of the compassionate negro woman who ministered to Mongo Park, on the banks of the Niger, who, as she gave him food and shelter, was heard by him singing his story to her companions: "The winds roared and the rain fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under a tree. He has no mother to bring him milk. No wife has he to grind his corn."

Some Russian gentlemen visiting Kamtchatka noticed that their habits and those of their servants were closely watched, and soon the natives expressed their conclusions in a long song, of which a few verses will serve as a specimen: "If I were the ensign's cook, I would always take the kettle off with gloves." "Should I ever be Pauloska, I would tie a white 'kerchief around my neck." "Were I Pauloska's man John, I would always wear red stockings." "If I were the student, I would describe all the dragon flies," the student being a naturalist.

This is an exact illustration of the birth and growth of verse and song together.

In the same way the more cultured nations still have, the Italians, their Improvisatori; the Welch, their Pennillion singing; and the Southern Germans, their Schoda Hupferln, which last are a continuation of the old custom of illustrating ideas by music, as they are short epigrams sung to their favorite dance music. Even the negro quirots and jellekea of the sable kings of Senegambia are representatives of the bards and improvisators of Europe, but their music is still rudimentary.

We think we can trace certain forms which are gradually disappearing from verse to this early original and close connection with music. While they were very common in the old ballad, these forms seem now to be used by modern writers as a matter of imitation in the past or ingenuity in the present.

Among these vanishing forms are the recurring meaningless syllables of old verse, and the refrains of disconnected words. These are early musical features, and were used or sprung up from the necessities of keeping rhythm and regularity.

When singers found it difficult to bring new words and music together, or wished to use favorite airs in new combinations, they filled out deficient lines, or gave syllabic utterances to choruses by means of these syllables or disconnected words.

Some of these that are most common in Northern nations are *ho, halloo, ho; lay, lay, la, lay; Noel, Ule, Yule*, which last is thought to come from the Hooli festival of the Hindoos about the same time of the year as our Christmas. The Austrians use *oi* or *ojzwidy*. In the swinging festival of Krishna he is placed in a cradle and swung as dawn, while a Guy Fawkes effigy of lath and straw and bamboo is committed to the flames of a bonfire, around which the people dance and vociferate *Holika, Holika, Holika*. In the sun song of the Esquimaux the refrain is *Amna ajah, ah hu!* The palankeen bearers use *cubbadar, chota baba, cubbadar*.

The poets of our day do not find these refrains accessories, but hindrances, to their verse, and now they are not used except by a few moderns who carefully study the forms of early verse. Rossetti and his sister recognize that these refrains belonged to an instinctive and spontaneous age of verse when it was linked to music. Dante Rossetti, in the poem of "Troy Town, Sister Helen, and a New Year's Boon;" Mrs. Browning in "The Rhyme of the Duchess May," and other poems, have imitated these early barbaric habits, which arose in the first place from the paucity of language, and which continued to be

used for their melodic effects after other words might have been supplied from affluent and full-grown speech, because they were so firmly associated with the tunes. Perhaps we ought to say here that Rossetti has shown in his verse a wonderful knowledge of the roots and inherent meanings of language on its Anglo-Saxon side. It is delightful to read his verse for the perfect use of words according to their original idea, and he has laboriously investigated old customs, old costumes and ancient life for both his painting and his poetry. Tennyson and Swinburne have each copied and infused a new vitality into alliteration, and some of the minnesinger forms of repetition of sounds. They hold to modern feeling, but express and illustrate it by the older natural forms. These first-named poets, Rossetti and the like, seem in this respect to have taken a backward step in their progress—if an Irish bull can be made about it. This feature of their verse has been seized upon by parodists and made ridiculous, but there is nothing inherently ridiculous in a refrain. On the contrary, it might be written so as to emphasize the idea of the poem, like a refrain in music, but it has hardly been done yet.

Although music and verse sprang up originally from imitation, they have both outstripped any mechanical effects of adapting sound to sense. Verse trusts, and should trust, to ideas; while music has passed beyond the inarticulate rhythm of dance music into inarticulate emotion, imagination or fancy. Verse might be called articulate music with propriety, but in music occult ideas often struggle for expression, while verse should have clear and positive ideas.

But just at this time in verse writing it seems as if verse was trying to imitate music. The intellectual art humbly follows in the footsteps of the emotional. Verse, which leaped far in front of its sister, in the epic, the narrative poem and the drama, is leaning on the art of sound. Of course, verse is degraded, and until it returns to its nobility of ideal it will be despised.

We hear constantly the few young people who care for verse, and they are very few, say, "Music is the only thing to care for in poetry. Musical verse will live; thoughtful verse is a bore." In a work on prosody we see it comfortably stated "that the metrical arrangement of articulate sounds in verse, and not the superior beauty of thought or expression, is the distinctive characteristic of poetry." Why not have nonsense verses in beautiful metrical arrangement at once. They would perfectly fit this definition.

It seems fitting to try to clear up the confusion that seems to exist

in some quarters as to the provinces of verse and music, as each art can advance faster and further unincumbered by the other. The divorce of two such powerful arts was necessary, as one could easily trespass on the rights of the other, and words and melody at their best must each go their separate winding way. The pervading music of society would all be absorbed and lost in a few large, wonderful operatic or dramatic representations, and in this Wagner aristocracy of music the democracy of the art and its widespread life would vanish.

Madame de Stael had all her life a sort of organic delight—that is to say, an ear-pleasure—in the melody of certain verses, altogether abstracted from any consideration of their sense. She recited them often with great pomp and emphasis, and said, “that is what I call poetry; it is delicious, and so much the more that it does not convey a single idea to me.” The fire and mist verses of Swinburne and Poe would have pleased her.

Her taste for pure music, on the other hand, would have faltered in listening to a symphony of Beethoven, and, though in one eloquent passage in “Corinne” she declaims upon its charms, yet her feeling existed but in this rudimentary appreciation of sound. In her works she neither alludes to the science, the art, nor any famous musicians of her time whom so distinguished a woman must have met. She compares architecture to frozen music, but this is from an intellectual perception of the mathematical element underlying both arts. As she scorned nature and landscape scenery, so she was in like manner ignorant of music, differing greatly in this respect from her successor and countrywoman, George Sand. There are many people like Madame de Stael, gifted and wise, who have little musical feeling, to whom it is not a necessity of every-day life, nor an instinct of pleasure, yet who are fond of verse, and receive melodious lines and combinations of verse with pleasure, even with great enthusiasm. Alexander Pope belonged to this large class. His ear for music was so poor that he could not distinguish one tune from another, and, what was worse, he despised it, and sneered at it, as for instance :

“Here, no man prates of idle things,
How this or that Italian sings.”

“See now, half cured, and perfectly well-bred,
With nothing but a solo in his head.”

And yet in his time he was a perfect master of meter.

He falls into the same error of confounding poetry and music—Dryden being a poet, not a musician :

“The power of music all our hearts allow,
And what Simotheus was, is Dryden now.”

The well-known story of Pope’s rivalry with a young and beautiful songstress, who at a soiree of Lady Mary Wortley Montague’s attracted more attention than himself, shows the same contempt and ill appreciation of music. The friend of the house was jealous of the stranger guest, and the poor, deformed, feeble poet expressed himself with violent contempt of the fortunate woman who possessed at once, youth, beauty and song. In contrast to Pope, Thomas Moore was endowed by nature with both a musical and metrical ear.

Sometimes it has seemed to us, in spite of Shelley’s metaphysics and his political enthusiasm, that music was his right sphere, rather than verse. Though he is a word-builder of cloud castles, yet he mastered sounds rather than words. Rhythm was instinctive with him, and this brings out a fact of verse-making—*i. e.*, that there are some technical methods in which, without attempting to produce equal effects with music, or to compass the same ends of expression of vague, diffusive emotion, verse may borrow from music. The three points to be studied are irregular time, accent and syncopation. Indeed there are often poems where one or other of these rules is carried successfully into verse. Some of our lady poets have entirely found out that as accent is more important in music than the number of notes in a bar, so accent is far more important in verse than the number of syllables in a line, as Coleridge proved long since in “Christabel” and “Kubla Khan,” though he probably learned this from the German minnesingers. This knowledge prevents melodious jingle, the jingle that Browning is so afraid of, and so successfully avoids.

Another means of improving verse will be by borrowing from other nations their rhythms and accents, as the musicians borrow to brighten and improve and use again melodies and cadences. For instance, consonantal forms from the Bohemian, Hungarian and Wallachian tribes.¹

¹ THE RUSSIAN GYPSY SINGERS.—The Russians are passionately fond of the Tzigan, with their homesick, foreign singing, which makes you dream of a tree life amid primitive nature, outside of all restraint and all law, divine or human. This passion I share myself, and it drives me almost to madness. So I made good play with my elbows to reach a place near the platform where the musicians stood. There were five or six haggard, wild-looking young girls, with that half-bewildered air which strong light causes to nocturnal, furtive, vagabond creatures of every race. They made one think of deer brought suddenly from a

It seems to us that some of the modern poets are already at work in this field, and have studied the poetry of other countries. Tennyson certainly has successfully examined Theocritus and the French and Norman chronicles; Goethe went to the early poets of Germany and Grecian masters; Byron lived in a convent to learn Armenian, that he might learn the language from the monks and study its poetry; Morris is at work on the Icelandic tongue; Swinburne makes the rugged English tongue sing in Greek measures; Bowring examined the Turkish and Servian; Weatherby in a rediscovered Lap epic has explored the fresh field of Peivash Parneh, and opened it to us.

In our own country Longfellow has translated Swedish and Danish poetry, and beautifully adopted many of the forms of verse of the Teutonic nations; R. H. Stoddard has made himself generally familiar with Oriental forms, and often his verse has an atmosphere of the deserts of Arabia and the gardens of Damascus hanging about it; M.

forest glade into a drawing-room. There was nothing remarkable about their costume; it seemed they had felt bound, in coming to sing at this ball, to lay aside their characteristic attire and make a fashionable toilette. In consequence their appearance was like that of ill-dressed maid-servants. But one quiver of the eyelashes, one black, untamed glance wandering vaguely over the audience, was enough to give back all their native character. The music began. They were strange melodies of pensive sweetness or of wild gayety, broidered with infinite *fioritura*, like the singing of a bird that listens to himself and grows wild with his own warbling—sighs of regret over some brilliant past existence, with careless outbreaks of a free and joyous humor, which mocks at all things, even at its own lost happiness, if so be that liberty remains; choruses with stamping of the feet and outcries designed to accompany those nocturnal dances which form upon the turf of forest glades what we call “fairy rings,” something like a *Weber*, a *Chopin*, a *Liszt*, in the savage state. At times the theme was borrowed from some popular melody which has been the rounds of all the pianos, but its commonplace character vanished utterly under the runs and trills, the ornaments and caprices; the originality of the variations made you quite forget how trivial was the *motif*. Paganini’s marvelous fantasies upon the “Carnival of Venice” give an idea of these delicate musical arabesques—silk, gold and pearls embroidered upon the coarse material. A gypsy man, a kind of clown with fierce aspect, brown as an Indian, recalling the Bohemian types so characteristically represented by Valario in his ethnographic water-color sketches, accompanied the singing with cords from a great rebeck which he held between his knees, playing in the manner of the Oriental musicians. Another big fellow exerted himself upon the platform, dancing, striking the floor with his feet, thrumming a guitar while he marked the rhythm upon the wood of the instrument with the palm of his hand, making strange grimaces, and occasionally uttering an unexpected cry. This was the joker, the buffoon, the merry-andrew of the troupe. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm of the audience immediately about the platform. They applauded and called out to the singers, they kept time with their heads, they repeated over the refrains. These songs, with their mysterious extravagance, have the power of an incantation; they make you dizzy and mad, and throw you into the most incomprehensible moods. You listen, and a mortal longing comes over you to disappear from civilized life forever—to go off and range the forests accompanied by one of these sorceresses with cigar-colored complexion and eyes like lighted coals.—*Théophile Gautier’s Russia.*

Conant has translated a natural and pathetic Russian poem through the German into English. Perhaps in music the Slavonic race, with Rubinstein at their head, are to be the successors of the German.

It seems sometimes as if the great creators of art have passed away, leaving only the second class of artists, the adapters. The rules of art, the outside cup and platter, are to be kept bright and clean; the wine and meat within are of little consequence, or are absent entirely. And yet, while there is this tendency to enameling and high finish in small detail, there are some few who go to the other extreme, and give us, like Browning, wine and meat in cracked cups and chipped and shabby platters.

There is also an analogy between the present moods of poets and singers. As rapid execution fines the voice and destroys its power to express large, massive passion, so the aim for dainty expression must prevent large, noble conception. Large, grand singing is just opposed to aerial and rapid execution, and a singer must often choose in which direction she or he must cultivate his or her powers, as both styles cannot be united in one voice. The popular feeling now demands execution in singing, and also dainty, delicate verse. Florid singing of a light brilliant type answers to the slight, graceful, ingenuous verse of the day. The industrious fancy is far busier with it than the larger imagination. The decorative enamel is so thick and glistening that the inward soul which might flush or pale it, or shine through it, is never missed in the glitter, but there is no illuminating power in the verse. Poetry now leaves one unlighted, and a sort of despairing cry, half sad, half passionate, arises out of the dark. More than anything else verse needs to utter the inner voices of our noblest ideals—not the trivialities that are so curiously and beautifully expressed in most of the younger poet's verse. When the Dutch farmer painted his bell a beautiful red, he changed its rich tone to a dim, dull sound that had no reverberation. They paint their bells all colors, careless if their reverberations are silenced.

The very power and fertility of some imaginations is a snare to them. Imaginative people need but a hint, and away the faculty rushes, conceiving, constructing, supplying, and the vision is complete. Unimaginative people, of whom it is best that the bulk of readers should be composed, have no power to paint for themselves unless infinite details be furnished, and everything put in proper position for the feeble faculty to grasp and use. This is the reason why the greater poets and musicians grow so slowly into favor, for this

faculty is so large and potent in one class and so limited in the other class that, as a natural consequence, the two classes cannot understand or enjoy each other. The strong and richly gifted do not understand the necessities of the feeble folk, and they make a mistake in not calling the busy fancy to supplement the larger and nobler imagination. When the statue is once carved, Fancy beautifies the robe, elaborates the details, and adds ornament and devices to its noble proportions, and the average mind appreciates this work better than the larger conception and noble controlling idea of the work.

We think Rubinstein in music, as Gluck in his day, will suffer for lack of this adoring fancy, while Mendelssohn is fascinating because he cultivated it. And George Eliot, in verse, will not receive half the praise for her lofty elevation of poetic thought that Alfred de Musset wins for his prettiness. The multitude do not want to be elevated, and, unaccustomed to the heights, feel uncomfortably dizzy there upon them. They do not miss large elements of grandeur because they are unfamiliar with great thoughts, and they strain their narrow souls to comprehend their majesty. On the other hand, these great minds do not understand that helps of all sorts are necessary to reveal them to their kind, they stand so far above them. After years of waiting they receive their laurels; but, alas, they are often laid on their graves.

It was so with Beethoven and Schubert, it was so with Dante and Tasso, it may be so with Wagner, whose lofty ideal of Art has been striving thirty years for recognition, although his later and more perfected works seem at once to gain favor with the multitude. Meantime, amiable emptiness and coarse chromo painting at once win the favor which is denied to greater and glorious conceptions.

It has been predicted that in this material age people would prefer to live their poetry, either by surrounding themselves with the extreme of luxury, or by carrying out some noble ideal of life, rather than to write or read it. But experience has shown that the more exacting and severe practical life especially needs the ministry of the ideal. The great poems and the great symphonies will not be left in the past, like the ruins of Nineveh and the temples of Luxor and Karnak in the desert, while new far-away civilizations express new ideas for humanity in new forms. The old primal feelings of verse and song will always claim a place in the world's need and the world's delight, and they will find their interpreters, either single or wedded forever, as Wagner would prophesy.

EMILY E. FORD.

BOOK REVIEWS.

“OUR Merchant Marine.”¹ Had it been asked, in 1860, what industry (agriculture apart) showed the most healthy and normal increase in the United States, it would have been answered, the building and navigation of ships. In 1882, in less than a quarter of a century after, the mercantile marine of this country is practically non-existent, and does not figure in the commerce of the world. With naturally a fine and extensive seacoast, with good harbors, with an abundance of almost every material that enters into ship-building, with labor that has a world-wide reputation for skill and ingenuity, with abundant and rapidly-increasing wealth and population, the humiliating fact remains that the supremacy of the sea has passed from America, and has been acquired by the very power which feared most, and from cause, the rivalry of our ship-builders and navigators. Surely this is a curious position for a nation that once ranked as a great maritime power, and is worthy of the careful study of the economist and statesman. Our consular reports have teemed with complaints that the American flag is never seen in foreign waters, that our commerce suffers thereby, and that new markets for our products are lost; and all sorts of remedies are proposed, good, bad, and indifferent.

The volume which now lies before us is a welcome contribution to the commercial history of this country, a field of investigation that is exceedingly rich in materials, and as yet almost wholly unexplored. Of Mr. Wells' fitness to conduct such an investigation there can be no question. With a mind trained in scientific methods, he regards the *fact* as more important than the *conclusion*. In fact, he errs in leaving the conclusion too much to the reader, being content with furnishing the material for forming a conclusion. This book is a very good specimen of his method. It teems with facts and illustrations, and by cumulative evidence leads up to the final conclusion, which none but those who are willfully blind can misinterpret. It is a healthy sign when an economist of Mr. Wells' standing turns his attention to what is necessarily but a small part of our commercial system, and treats of it as *the* most important question of the hour. By his earnestness he carries conviction, nor can it be said that he exaggerates the importance of the subject matter:

¹ Our Merchant Marine. By David A. Wells. New York: Geo. P. Putnam's Sons. 1882.

The expulsion of the Moors and Jews from Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella and their successors, and the repeal of the "Edict of Nantes," which deprived France of her best artisans and industries, have been accepted by all historians and economists as the two most striking and exceptional examples in modern times of great national industrial disaster and decay, directly contingent on unwise and stupid, but at the same time deliberately adopted, state policies. It has been reserved for the United States, claiming to be one of the most enlightened and liberal nations of the world, after an experience of near three hundred years since the occurrence of the above precedents, to furnish a third equally striking and parallel example of results contingent on like causes, in the decay and almost annihilation of her merchant marine and ocean carrying trade—a branch of her domestic industry which formerly, in importance, ranked second only to agriculture.

When the Constitution was framed in 1789 this country had 123,893 registered tons of shipping, by which is meant tonnage engaged in foreign trade; thus showing that the people were not backward in availing themselves of the natural advantages they possessed for commerce, and which had hitherto been in great part neutralized by hostile legislation on the part of Great Britain. In the eight succeeding years, or from 1789 to 1797, a great part of the carrying trade of the world was thrown into the hands of the ship-owners of this country by the war then waging in Europe, and this resulted in an increase of 384 per cent. in the tonnage, a rate of increase that has never since been equaled, and which was due to wholly exceptional conditions. A further increase of 42 per cent. took place between 1797 and 1807, when the growth in the shipping appears to have been checked, and in subsequent years to have at times even declined. It may have been that the European war acted as an artificial stimulus, and on the return of peace profitable employment could not be found for all the shipping that had been called into existence. At all events, from 1807 to 1837 there was no increase, and the amount of tonnage fluctuated so that periods of decrease were followed by a partial recovery. In the succeeding decades, however, the increase was very marked: 1837, 810,000 tons; 1847, 1,241,000 tons; 1857, 2,463,000 tons; and in 1861, the year of the outbreak of the war, the highest figure was attained, viz., 2,642,000 tons. And to show the relative position of this country in this regard, as compared with European nations, the following table may be given, which includes all tonnage, foreign and domestic (registered and enrolled), and that engaged in the fisheries:

	Tons.
Belonging to the United States.....	5,539,813
Belonging to Great Britain and her dependencies.....	5,895,369
Belonging to all other nations.....	5,800,767

Although the figures are but approximate, yet their general accuracy may be depended upon.

Another curious fact, which escaped notice until attention was called to it by Mr. Wells, is that from 1855 to 1860, the period when American shipping had attained its greatest prosperity, the tonnage of the United States engaged in foreign trade was fully 50 per cent. in excess of what our imports and exports required, thus showing that to that extent at least American vessels were employed by nations not possessing a sufficient amount of shipping of their own. This fact, that American ships participated largely in the carrying trade of the world at that time, should not be lost sight of, for it serves to bring out in stronger contrast the present situation. It is well known that the American clippers of that day were regarded as among the finest vessels afloat, and readily found employment by which profits accrued to their owners, and a hardy race of seamen was being formed, which might be called upon in case of war to man the navy. The more that period of the history of American shipping is examined, the greater and more deplorable appears the subsequent decline and almost complete extinction of both the construction and the navigation of ships. While in 1856, 75 per cent. of exports and imports were carried in American vessels, in 1881 but a little more than 16 per cent. was so carried.

The causes of this decline have been variously explained by interested and by disinterested parties. The navigation laws, the high cost of labor and materials in this country, as compared with England, the tariff duties on ship-building materials, the comparatively high rate of interest upon money, local taxation, consular and harbor dues, are but a few of the reasons that have been advanced. And there is a grain of truth in each reason assigned; but no one reason has been of sufficient influence to produce the existing result, and this result must be explained by assigning a number of causes. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to assign even a proximate cause. But at least the more important causes may be isolated, and their influence shown; and it may be shown, as is done by Mr. Wells, that the most important causes are artificial in their origin, and are due chiefly to ill-advised legislation. This alone would prove that a revival of American shipping is among the possibilities.

So long as wooden ships were exclusively built this country possessed a natural advantage, which placed her among the foremost of ship-building nations; for she possessed an almost unlimited supply of suitable timber; and, so great was her advantage in this regard, and in the efficiency of her seamen, that the difference in the cost of labor,

which was nearly as great as it is now, was not felt. Moreover, each year a large amount of shipping was sold to foreigners. So that up to 1855 the shipping interest ranked second in importance to agriculture, which was then, as it is now, the greatest of American industries. But with the introduction of steam for the purposes of propulsion the advantage leaned toward England, and, when vessels were constructed of iron, the difference in the cost of construction and of navigating them at once gave England such a start that this country has never been able to catch up with her. It is said that at the present day the original cost of an iron vessel is less than that of a wooden one, and, when the duration of life and economy of space and working are considered, the difference becomes still more marked. A still further advance is now being made by the substitution of steel for iron as a material of construction, a change that is made possible by the recent great improvements in the manufacture of steel, and, though the first cost of the vessel is enhanced, yet a greater economy accrues in the end. Under present conditions the United States cannot compete with England in the construction of iron and steel vessels, and it is useless to expect it. So that by the substitution of steam for sails as a means of propulsion, and of iron or steel for wood as a material of construction, the ship-building trade was drawn from this country to England, her chief rival up to 1861.

Under a liberal and enlightened policy this change would have but lightly affected America, because ships could have been purchased of England, and we could have still maintained our position as navigators of ships, and have retained a large and profitable share of the carrying trade of the world. But by our own stupidity this was forbidden, and under the influence of our navigation laws, as absurd as they are noxious, which indirectly say that we cannot buy a vessel and use her for the purpose for which she was intended, but may so use her if we steal her (prize in war), the carrying trade also went out of American hands, and was engrossed by other nations. There is no denying the influence of these laws. And yet a small party of interested persons still persist in speaking of them as the cause of the prosperity of our mercantile marine—as if there could be such prosperity without any visible marine. And a late Secretary of State, with a presumption that is refreshing, addressed a letter to a chamber of commerce in one of our leading cities, in which occurs the following remarkable sentence :

I don't believe in false trade-marks. I don't believe that buying a British ship and calling

her an American ship makes her an American ship. I believe that this very day and hour every single article that goes into the manufacture of a ship can be produced and made as well here as in any spot on the earth.

It is such utterances that make us welcome such a philosophic study of the subject as is this of Mr. Wells.

No one recognizes more clearly than Mr. Wells that the repeal of the navigation laws alone would not bring about a resuscitation of our mercantile marine. There must be radical change in local taxation, and in our whole commercial policy. How complete such a reform must be can best be shown by quoting Mr. Wells' own language, in which, however, he sums up what has been examined at great length in the preceding chapter of his book:

From this review it must be evident that no one measure will arrest the decay of American shipping, bring back prosperity to our ocean carrying trade, or revive the industry of ship-building in this country. The field of reform to be entered upon is a very large one; the number of details which are to be attended to are numerous; but reform, nevertheless, is both possible and practicable if the American people desire and will it.

The first thing to be done is, then, to educate the people up to a full understanding of the subject.

Second, We must repeal our navigation laws, at least to the extent of permitting our navigators and merchants to supply themselves with ships on conditions as favorable as are enjoyed by their competitors, who are the merchants and sailors of all other maritime nations. There is no other way in which we can supply our needs in respect to ships so speedily. Grant to the subsidy scheme all that its friends claim for it, and it will be years before any considerable results will accrue from its adoption.

Third, If we are to build ships in the United States as cheaply as they can be built by other nations—and unless we can do so the ships we may build will never be voluntarily bought or used by our own citizens or any others—our ship-builders must have their materials for construction as cheap as the builders with whom they are to compete. Either allow the importation free of duty of all the material and stores that enter into the construction and equipment of ships, or reduce the tariff. So long as the business of constructing iron steamships has to bear the burden of high prices consequent on protective duties averaging 40 per cent., it cannot compete with like industries in free-trade countries. There is no possibility of evading this conclusion.

Fourth, If foreign competing maritime nations do not subject their ships to local taxation, the United States evidently cannot afford to do so. The continuance of such a discrimination against our merchant marine of itself and alone may, and probably will, be sufficient to prevent its resuscitation in face of a foreign competition exempt from similar burdens. Whether Congress, under the power conferred upon it by the Constitution "to regulate commerce," can exempt as instrumentalities of commerce vessels engaged in foreign or inter-state carrying trade from all forms of local—state or municipal—taxation is, however, an open question. The decisions of the United States Supreme Court on this subject look both ways.

Fifth, Abolish compulsory pilotage, and reduce the fees for pilotage by law so that they shall not be in excess of those charged in British and other European ports.

Sixth, Repeal the tonnage tax.

Seventh, Reduce all expenses connected with the hiring or discharge of seamen, consular charges, and the like, to the level or below those imposed by other nations. If, however, the decline of American shipping continues much longer, these reforms will be unnecessary, for there will be no sailors hired or discharged; and no necessity of invoking the co-operation of consuls, for there will be no ships engaged in foreign trade.

Eighth, Reform the tariff, and the natural resources of our country and the intelligence of our people are such that, with the reduction of the burden of taxes and prices consequent on low rates of duty, we shall regain in the next twenty years more than we have lost in the last twenty, and become the first maritime nation of the world.

Ninth, Without resorting to the artificial expedient of subsidies and bounties, let Congress assimilate in their treatment steamships and railroads, to the extent of paying steamships for carrying the mails of the United States good compensation—as good as the Government now pays railways for performing similar service.

This subject is important on account of its intimate connection with another question which is now before the people. Are we to have a navy? Clearly not, unless it is preceded by or accompanied with a revival of our merchant shipping. A French writer, Raymond, recently wrote: "Naval power depends upon three things, each of which is indispensable to the vitality of the navy. These three things are material wealth, an active and progressive industry, and a hardy and enterprising seafaring population. The third element of strength can only exist where the merchant navy is flourishing and vigorous." We forbear comment, but merely call the attention of those who are recommending Government expenditure on a large scale to this sentence, which embodies an undeniable truth. We also heartily recommend to them a careful perusal of Mr. Wells' volume. W. C. F.

"Selected Odes of Pindar,"¹ "Selections from the Latin Poets—Catullus, Lucretius, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Lucan."² "An Etymology of Latin and Greek."³ "Outlines of Latin Grammar."⁴ This publishing house (Ginn, Heath & Co.) is diligently endeavoring to win a name for superior editions of text-books in the classics, bringing out the work of the best scholars in the best mechanical style. Professor Seymour's edition of the Greek Poems contains, of notes and introductions, 50 pages; of clear print Greek text, 78 pages; critical notes, metrical schemes, with a Greek and an English Index, carry the pages up to 252, or over 300 pages in all. The editor claims no originality, but he has done an industrious and valuable work in

¹ Selected Odes of Pindar. With Notes and an Introduction by Thomas D. Seymour, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Yale College. 12mo. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1882.

² Selections from the Latin Poets—Catullus, Lucretius, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Lucan. Edited by E. P. Crowell Moore, Professor of Latin in Amherst College. 12mo. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1882.

³ An Etymology of Latin and Greek. By Charles S. Halsey, A. M. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1882. pp. xx, 252.

⁴ Outlines of Latin Grammar. By Cyrus S. Richards, LL.D., Author of Latin Lessons and Tables, Howard University, Washington, D. C. Published by the Author. 1882. Small 12mo., pp. x, 110.

bringing together the views of scholars whose works are not accessible to the ordinary student. A valuable suggestion in these days of "grind" is that the references are made a little fuller for convenience of those who may prefer to take up the Odes in some order other than that in which they are printed. He gives: Olympian Odes, 1, 2, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14; Pythian Odes, 1, 2, 4; Nemean, 1, 2; Isthmian, 1, 5, 8, and fragments.

Professor Crowell has grouped choice selections of the various Latin authors named, free from impurity of sentiment, to form a collection most suitable for college use, as an introduction to critical study of the fuller works of the same authors and of the history of Roman literature. There are 137 pages of text, easy for the eye, followed by notes enough, with the appendix, to round out just 300 pages, without the brief preface.

"The object of this work (the Etymology) is to present within the limits of a school-book the most needful etymological information that is not adequately furnished by the grammar or the lexicon. * * * Great prominence has been given to the derivation of English words. * * * The present work may be used for daily lessons, in connection with the study of the classical text, and may also, with equal advantage and facility, be employed for reference on individual words." This is a pioneer work that, recognizing the changing nature of views upon its subject-matter, and without insisting on finality regarding disputed points, brings within the reach of the beginner in the classics the best conclusions and suggestions of modern American and European scholarship. There is a good table of contents, and there are three good indexes—Latin, Greek, and English—referring to five hundred and twenty-eight sets of roots and derivations, systematically arranged, making the book a valuable reference book to the advanced student who may wish to look up etymological points. These indexes require 50 pages, or nearly one-fifth of the entire work, printed four columns on a page. It is a great excellence of the work that it is so arranged that one can learn in a little time to know where to look for any of its contents.

The principles of etymology form the general basis of about 50 pages. About 150 pages are occupied with the specific treatment of the five hundred and twenty-eight roots, with some supplemental ones, or, with the 50 pages of indexes, swelling to some 200 pages of this definite work.

Classical teachers of every rank not already in possession of the

best foreign authorities will welcome this as a helpful hand-book, even where it may not be made the basis of class recitations.

Some text-books grow, and some are made to order. The four text-books we have before us are growths. Every one of them has gradually assumed form for general advantage through the manuscript notes made by its author in patient effort year after year to be helpful to his own pupils. The great Boston fire destroyed the plates of a book which, prepared some twenty years ago, was the forerunner of the little grammar just named. The multitude of prominent men who were once at Meriden (N. H.) Academy, and are now in the prime of useful life, testifies to the scholarly inspiration of the author. The work is a model of compactness.

"To master with facility and success a new language the beginner should not be diverted from the comparatively few fundamental elements that meet him at the threshold, and which are absolutely necessary for his work. In systematic rules and exact definition, and distinct analyses of inflection, and their euphonic changes, the hand-book of the student should be full and explicit, without abatement." Postponing doubtful points for later study, this work is for a beginner something like what the old Andrews and Stoddard's Grammar would have made if only its coarse print and paradigms were retained—about the portion used by many teachers in first taking a class over it. This book, however, has material that would not be found in such a condensed Andrews and Stoddard's. It is surprising to see how much is brought into so small a space by avoidance of repetition and by ingenious arrangement. The verb is made the prominent point of study, and comes before the other parts of speech. Room is found for nearly forty declined forms of third declension nouns, for ten pages of good matter on prosody, illustrated in part by musical notation, for the accepted standard rules of syntax, with extended explanation of principles, a good table of contents, and a good index, with some hints on English words and English verse, and many definitions of terms—in its totality a very superior book for the place it is intended to fill. Although published by the author, it has a printers' mark that shows its indebtedness for its neat mechanical execution to the care of Ginn, Heath & Co.

The first two works will find favor in colleges and advanced classical schools. The Etymology will have a larger field among scholarly individuals, as well as in organized classes; while the Grammar may be made useful to the still more numerous students of elementary Latin.

"Capital and Population: A Study of the Economic Effects of their Relations to Each Other."¹ If one turns this over hastily, his eye will be caught by the long quotations from Mill and by the frequency of the pronoun "I." A closer reading will show that the quotations are no padding. The author writes as a pupil of Mill and of Ricardo, but dissenting from some of their positions. In the physical sciences one who discovers a fact gains prompt assent from the multitude, who can test it by their own senses, and the discoverer loses prominence. In abstract sciences truths are not as readily tested, and one who advances an opinion must identify himself as its champion while it is on trial, which necessitates the prominent "I."

The work is full of important points for study in the great financial and social changes now in progress and demanding legal recognition.

"That the tendency of capital is to increase faster than population, is steady and constant whenever and wherever men in their economic actions are undisturbed by abnormal events, is the central thought of this treatise, and is the contribution I bring to the science of political economy." This tells, in the author's words, what he has attempted.

"All wealth, and therefore all capital, is the result of abstinence." Panics he does not regard as the result of over-production directly, but of over-accumulation, seconded by loss of confidence. "Over-investment," he says, "puts off the time when labor cannot be profitably employed," but increases the difficulty of recuperation. The arbitrary destruction of dead stock and the natural activity of re-creation explain the recuperation of nations after war.

Proportional wages is a term which the author claims as his own, by which he means the proportion of the product received by the laborer as wages after charges for rent and for the use of fixed capital are deducted. The employment of female labor he considers an element in national prosperity. He would carry this so far as to have women fill every office not inconsistent with their physical organization or with moral delicacy, even though it involve considerable additional expense for their inferior efficiency, as compared with men. He looks to the employment of both men and women as adding an adjustment upon the growth of population as related to capital.

He makes a distinction of real, proportional and money wages in his discussion of the labor question. The laboring classes he deems to have their interest in real wages, and this interest is to be promoted

¹ Capital and Population: A Study of the Economic Effects of their Relations to Each Other. By Frederick B. Hawley. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882. 12mo, pp. 267.

by their increase of efficiency, through fidelity and industry; by changes in national industries, by which more rise from common laborers to artisans; by increasing the proportion of their own number that enter the labor market as competitors for employment, referring to female labor; lastly, by never seeking to raise their proportional wages to a point that will allow capital such a scant remuneration as will lead to a decline of production.

The disturbances caused in market by unwise action of laborers soon reach the laborers themselves, through enhanced value of the products which they consume, as well as make. Out of all the difficulties between capital and labor, "Coöperation is undoubtedly the only final solution of the labor question."

Free trade, protection, commerce, taxation, indebtedness, are topics which he treats at length, reiterating at the last the tendency in civilized nations of capital to accumulate faster than it can be utilized

"The Way of Life."¹ "Ecce Spiritus."² These two books are alike, yet very unlike. They are alike in aiming to help those looking for a better insight into the purposes of human existence, and for a better knowledge of what may be termed the religious relations. The first is avowedly from the standpoint of a man who discards incarnation and the miracle, but classes himself with Christian people in his reverence for the founder of Christianity, his life and his teachings. The unannounced author of the second seems to have a deeper distrust of the conventional beliefs and methods of churches, and does not like to use the word Christian, which seems to stand for the extreme abuses of ecclesiasticism. Yet he is equally reverent for the person and the teachings of the founder of Christianity, as we say colloquially, and occasionally falls into the use of the word Christian to indicate a true religion, without the abuses of the sects. He is not the only one who has felt the lack of a word suitable to designate true religion from the beginning, Christianity being a comparatively modern term.

Mr. Merriam's book is the republication of a chapter on the character of Jesus, and of a series of letters first put forth through the Springfield *Republican*. It is more popular in its style—molded, possibly, by the channel through which it was aiming to reach people. These letters are under the titles: "Up and Enter," "The Unfailing

¹ The Way of Life. By George Merriam. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1882. 16mo, pp. 205. \$1.00.

² Ecce Spiritus. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1882. 12mo, pp. 238. \$1.25.

Resource," "Knowledge of God," "The Friendliness of Law," "Fullness of Life," "Immortality," "Our Father's House," "The Personal Revelation." It will find more readers perhaps than the other book. The mechanical difference of the books is suggestive of their essential difference. The first hardly varies by a hairsbreadth from the second in height as they stand on the shelf. Yet Mr. Merriam's 16mo speaks to the multitude with an every-day English title. The other, 12mo, requires scholarly thought by its Latin title. The first begins numbering its pages at the blank leaf before the title-page; the second passes title-page and table of contents before it makes account of its pages. The pages of the second are compacted by grade of type and a slight diminution of margin till each page has 50 per cent. more print upon it than in the other. This compacting in the printing is indicative of what has been done in the matter. The causes of things are dealt with, and those who may dissent from some of the views expressed will have occasion to think carefully how they word their dissent. The author has evidently had his soul stirred within him by the abuses of church management; yet he is very calm in his discussion. In a single instance we get a glimpse of some sanctimonious pharisee who stirs his righteous indignation into the sentence: · "The religious leech that passively absorbs another's salvation can have no part in that triumph which Jesus wrought out in his own soul between himself and God." In the discussion of matters where language fails so far to convey the shades of difference between men who use the same words in a different spirit, it is better to quote some expressions than to interpret them. Most that is contained in his pages has been essentially said in some pulpits that may deem it a duty to attack the same statements made from his standpoint. There are great-souled men in the pulpit who try to be honestly helpful to the people who gather about the churches; but, let anyone look at the clap-trap advertising of Sunday subjects, or hear the trifling jokes on plain, honest ways that are given out to some congregations, and he will not wonder that in some quarters religious men find the church unsatisfying. "Of all the people who think at all upon religious matters, we might make three distinct classes: those whose thought is traditional, whose minds are subject to certain modes of faith and feeling which obtain in the church, or methods by which it impresses and holds its members; those who bring to bear upon religious problems nothing but purely rationalistic processes; and those who stand between these two, the converts of

neither, and yet indebted to each for a side to the completeness of their faith." "Thus, the real history of Jesus is found, not only in the Gospels, but in the sum total of all the influences which as inspirations from him have been, and still are, shaping the world's thought and life." "The Church has tended to exalt religion, technically considered, over everything else; while its instruments of books or creeds or formulas have too often overshadowed the new and conscious functions of man's nature." "We have infinite faith in the future of man. We fear neither materialism, nor any threatening form of atheism. * * * Already there is deep expectancy of a reign of spiritualities about to come. It will come, and will save Christianity, whereof the age has despaired." "A church is the formulation of the religious idea. It is spirituality organized." "There is infinite weakness and danger in the position that a person owes his attendance upon church service simply because of his children and society." Many who will not agree with all the details of thought in the book most fervently long for the reformation in the pulpit thus set forth: "The lecture is not going to take the place of the sermon; but the sermon itself is to be taken back to the Mount, and dipped in the dews of a new consecration. The literary function of the pulpit is to give way to the living, the power of personality is to do the saving work so long delegated to mere opinion."

"*Sermons to the People*," New York: E. & I. B. Young & Co., Henry Parry Liddon, now Canon of St. Paul's, London, unites the gifts of scholarship to the graces of a most eloquent tongue. His Bampton Lectures, and his Professorship of Exegesis at Oxford, express his learning, while his popular sermons to the great mass of every-day hearers, who are eager listeners to the truths brought home to them in his flame-lit words, display his oratory. He has been called the Bossuet of our century. But he is something more than a court preacher; he is an intense laborer, who endeavors to bring the doctrines of Christ into daily life for the use and comprehension of the multitude.

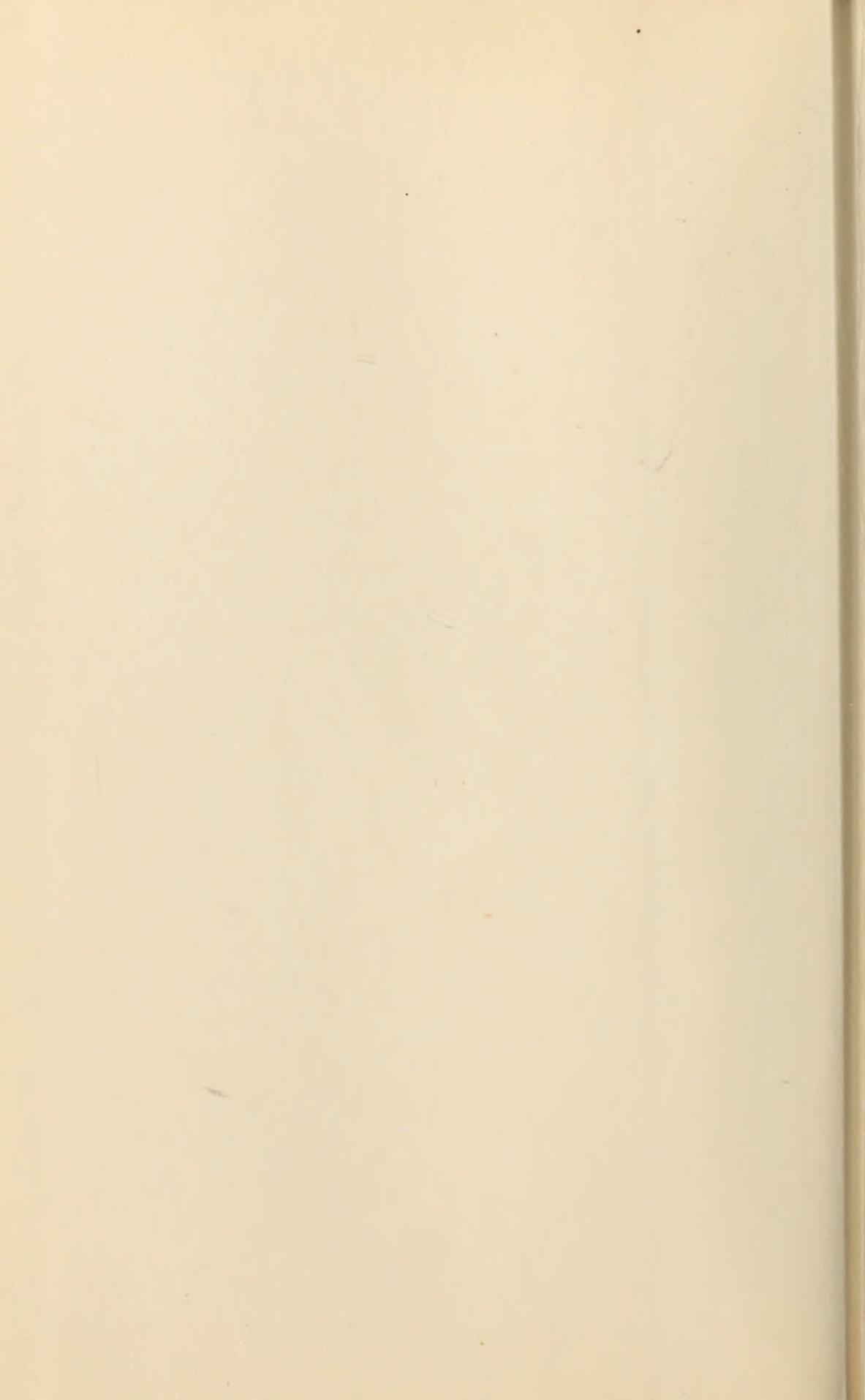
In comparison with Canon Farrar, who dwells upon the historical evidences of Christianity and the Life of Christ, Canon Liddon takes the precepts and examples of this teacher who lived nearly two thousand years ago, and adapts them to the necessities and temptations of the nineteenth century, and translates the dead language into modern and living expression, while his ardent belief in the power

and reality of the teachings of Christ performs the office of trans-fusing his warm life-blood into the dying faith of the age, quickening the dull soul, and reviving the fainting heart. The texts and the titles of this volume of sermons signify this desire and intention, and it will be found full of interest to the thoughtful mind.

"Country Pleasures," a chronicle of a year chiefly in a garden, by George Milner, a reprint of the English edition, by Roberts Brothers Boston, tells its own story in the title. It consists of a pleasant, discriminating description of English rural life, made up of scenery, weather, flowers and fruit, and is evidently the work of a sincere lover of nature, who notes carefully its moods and phases and the yearly calendar of its growths and offerings. The volume is also dotted with fine and appropriate quotations from the best poets, thus showing a knowledge and love of literature, as well as rural life. But it does not compare in vividness of portraiture or versatility with the sketches of our own John Burroughs, which are far more crisp and sparkling, while equally exact and painstaking. Still, for those who enjoy nature, these pictures of English scenery will be sympathetic, while the style is smooth and elegant.

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